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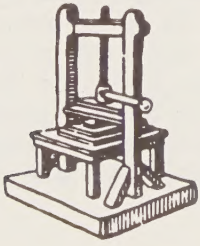

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Old South Leaflets.

No. 126.

Boston in 1788.

JEAN PIERRE BRISSOT.

FROM "NEW TRAVELS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA," BY JEAN PIERRE BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, PUBLISHED IN PARIS IN 1791.

Boston, July 30, 1788.

With what joy, my good friend, did I leap to this shore of liberty! I was weary of the sea; and the sight of trees, of towns, and even of men, gives a delicious refreshment to eyes fatigued with the desert of the ocean. I flew from despotism, and came at last to enjoy the spectacle of liberty among a people where nature, education, and habit had engraved the equality of rights, which everywhere else is treated as a chimera. With what pleasure did I contemplate this town, which first shook off the English yoke! which, for a long time, resisted all the seductions, all the menaces, all the horrors of a civil war! How I delighted to wander up and down that long street whose simple houses of wood border the magnificent channel of Boston, and whose full stores offer me all the productions of the continent which I had quitted! How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the artisans, and the sailors! It was not the noisy vortex of Paris; it was not the unquiet, eager mien of my countrymen; it was the simple, dignified air of men who are conscious of liberty, and who see in all men their brothers and their equals. Everything in this street bears the marks of a town still in its infancy, but which, even its infancy, enjoys a great prosperity. I thought myself in that Salentum of which the lively pencil of Fénelon has left us so charming an image. But the prosperity of this new Salentum was not the work of

one man, of a king, or a minister; it is the fruit of liberty, that mother of industry. Everything is rapid, everything great, everything durable with her. A royal or ministerial prosperity, like a king or a minister, has only the duration of a moment. Boston is just rising from the devastations of war, and its commerce is flourishing; its manufactures, productions, arts, and sciences offer a number of curious and interesting observations.

The manners of the people are not exactly the same as described by M. de Crevecœur. You no longer meet here that Presbyterian austerity which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking; which forbade travelling on Sunday; which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. They are hospitable to strangers, and obliging to friends. They are tender husbands, fond and almost idolatrous parents, and kind masters. Music, which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. In some houses you hear the fortepiano. This art, it is true, is still in its infancy; but the young novices who exercise it are so gentle, so complaisant and so modest, that the proud perfection of art gives no pleasure equal to what they afford. God grant that the Bostonian women may never, like those of France, acquire the malady of perfection in this art! It is never attained but at the expense of the domestic virtues.

The young women here enjoy the liberty they do in England, that they did in Geneva when morals were there, and the republic existed; and they do not abuse it. Their frank and tender hearts have nothing to fear from the perfidy of men. Examples of this perfidy are rare; the vows of love are believed; and love always respects them, or shame follows the guilty.

The Bostonian mothers are reserved. Their air is, however, frank, good and communicative. Entirely devoted to their families, they are occupied in rendering their husbands happy, and in training their children to virtue.

The law denounces heavy penalties against adultery, such as the pillory and imprisonment. This law has scarcely ever been called into execution. It is because families are happy; and they are pure because they are happy.

Neatness without luxury is a characteristic feature of this purity of manners; and this neatness is seen everywhere at Boston, in their dress, in their houses, and in their churches. Nothing is more charming than an inside view of a church on Sunday. The good cloth coat covers the man; calicoes and chintzes dress the women and children, without being spoiled by those gewgaws which whim and caprice have added to them among our women. Powder and pomatum never sully the heads of infants and children: I see them with pain, however, on the heads of men: they invoke the art of the hair-dresser; for, unhappily, this art has already crossed the seas.

I shall never call to mind, without emotion, the pleasure I had one day in hearing the respectable Mr. Clarke, successor to the learned Dr. Chauncey, the friend of mankind. His church is in close union with that of Dr. Cooper, to whom every good Frenchman, and every friend of liberty, owes a tribute of gratitude for the love he bore the French, and the zeal with which he defended and preached the American independence. I remarked in this auditory the exterior of that ease and contentment of which I have spoken; that collected calmness, resulting from the habit of gravity, and the conscious presence of the Almighty; that religious decency which is equally distant from grovelling idolatry, and from the light and wanton airs of those Europeans who go to a church as to a theatre.

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsæ.

But, to crown my happiness, I saw none of those livid wretches, covered with rags, who in Europe, soliciting our compassion at the foot of the altar, seem to bear testimony against Providence, our humanity, and the order of society. The discourse, the prayer, the worship, everything, bore the same simplicity. The sermon breathed the best morality, and it was heard with attention.

The excellence of this morality characterizes almost all the sermons of all the sects through the Continent. The ministers rarely speak dogmas: universal tolerance, the child of American independence, has banished the preaching of dogmas, which always leads to discussion and quarrels. All the sects admit nothing but morality, which is the same in all, and the only preaching proper for a great society of brothers.

This tolerance is unlimited at Boston, a town formerly wit-

ness of bloody persecutions, especially against the Quakers, where many of this sect paid with their life for their perseverance in their religious opinions. Just Heaven! how is it possible there can exist men believing sincerely in God, and yet barbarous enough to inflict death on a woman, the intrepid Dyer, because she *thee*'d and *thou*'d men, because she did not believe in the divine mission of priests, because she would follow the Gospel literally? But let us draw the curtain over these scenes of horror; they will never again sully this new continent, destined by Heaven to be the asylum of liberty and humanity. Every one at present worships God in his own way, at Boston. Anabaptists Methodists, Quakers, and Catholics profess openly their opinions; and all offices of government, places, and emoluments are equally open to all sects. Virtue and talents, and not religious opinions, are the tests of public confidence.

The ministers of different sects live in such harmony that they supply each other's places when any one is detained from his pulpit.

On seeing men think so differently on matters of religion, and yet possess such virtues, it may be concluded that one may be very honest, and believe, or not believe, in transubstantiation, and the word. They have concluded that it is best to tolerate each other, and that this is the worship most agreeable to God.

Before this opinion was so general among them they had established another: it was the necessity of reducing divine worship to the greatest simplicity, to disconnect it from all its superstitious ceremonies, which gave it the appearance of idolatry; and, particularly, not to give their priests enormous salaries, to enable them to live in luxury and idleness; in a word, to restore the evangelical simplicity. They have succeeded. In the country, the church has a glebe; in town, the ministers live on collections made each Sunday in the church, and the rents of pews. It is an excellent practice to induce the ministers to be diligent in their studies, and faithful in their duty; for the preference is given to him whose discourses please the most, and his salary is the most considerable; while, among us, the ignorant and the learned, the debauchee and the man of virtue, are always sure of their livings. It results, likewise, from this that a mode of worship will not be imposed on those who do not believe in it. Is it not a tyranny to force men to pay for the support of a system which they abhor?

The Bostonians are become so philosophical on the subject of religion that they have lately ordained a man who was refused by the bishop. The sect to which he belongs have installed him in their church, and given him the power to preach and to teach; and he preaches, and he teaches, and discovers good abilities; for the people rarely deceive themselves in their choice. This economical institution, which has no example but in the primitive church, has been censured by those who believe still in the tradition of orders by the direct descendants of the Apostles. But the Bostonians are so near believing that every man may be his own preacher that the apostolic doctrine has not found very warm advocates. They will soon be, in America, in the situation where M. d'Alembert has placed the ministers of Geneva.

Since the ancient puritan austerity has disappeared, you are no longer surprised to see a game of cards introduced among these good Presbyterians. When the mind is tranquil, in the enjoyment of competence and peace, it is natural to occupy it in this way, especially in a country where there is no theatre, where men make it not a business to pay court to the women, where they read few books, and cultivate still less the sciences. This taste for cards is certainly unhappy in a republican state. The habit of them contracts the mind, prevents the acquisition of useful knowledge, leads to idleness and dissipation, and gives birth to every malignant passion. Happily, it is not very considerable in Boston: you see here no fathers of families risking their whole fortunes in it.

There are many clubs at Boston. M. Chastellux speaks of a particular club held once a week. I was at it several times, and was much pleased with their politeness to strangers, and the knowledge displayed in their conversation. There is no coffee-house at Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. One house in each town, that they call by that name, serves as an exchange.

One of the principal pleasures of the inhabitants of these towns consists in little parties for the country among families and friends. The principal expense of the parties, especially after dinner, is tea. In this, as in their whole manner of living, the Americans in general resemble the English. Punch, warm and cold, before dinner; excellent beef, and Spanish and Bordeaux wines, cover their tables, always solidly and abundantly

served. Spruce beer, excellent cider, and Philadelphia porter precede the wines. This porter is equal to the English: the manufacture of it saves a vast tribute formerly paid to the English industry. The same may soon be said with respect to cheese. I have often found American cheese equal to the best Cheshire of England, or the Rocfort of France. This may with truth be said of that made on a farm on Elizabeth Island, belonging to the respectable Governor Bowdoin.

After forcing the English to give up their domination, the Americans determined to rival them in everything useful. This spirit of emulation shows itself everywhere; it has erected at Boston an extensive glass manufactory, belonging to M. Breck and others.

This spirit of emulation has opened to the Bostonians so many channels of commerce, which lead them to all parts of the globe.

> Nil mortalibus arduum est;
> Audax Japeti genus.

If these lines could ever apply to any people, it is to the free Americans. No danger, no distance, no obstacle, impedes them. What have they to fear? All mankind are their brethren: they wish peace with all.

It is this spirit of emulation which multiplies and brings to perfection so many manufactories of cordage in this town; which has erected filatures of hemp and flax, proper to occupy young people, without subjecting them to be crowded together in such numbers as to ruin their health and their morals; proper, likewise, to occupy that class of women whom the long voyages of their seafaring husbands and other accidents reduce to inoccupation.

To this spirit of emulation are owing the manufactories of salt, nails, paper and paper-hangings, which are multiplied in this state. The rum distilleries are on the decline since the suppression of the slave trade, in which this liquor was employed, and since the diminution of the use of strong spirits by the country people.

This is fortunate for the human race; and the American industry will soon repair the small loss it sustains from the decline of this fabrication of poisons.

Massachusetts wishes to rival, in manufactures, Connecticut

and Pennsylvania; she has, like the last, a society formed for the encouragement of manufactures and industry.

The greatest monuments of the industry of this state are the three bridges of Charles, Malden, and Essex.

Boston has the glory of having given the first college or university to the new world. It is placed on an extensive plain, four miles from Boston, at a place called Cambridge; the origin of this useful institution was in 1636. The imagination could not fix on a place that could better unite all the conditions essential to a seat of education; sufficiently near to Boston to enjoy all the advantages of a communication with Europe and the rest of the world, and sufficiently distant not to expose the students to the contagion of licentious manners common in commercial towns.

The air of Cambridge is pure, and the environs charming, offering a vast space for the exercise of the youth.

The buildings are large, numerous, and well distributed. But, as the number of the students augments every day, it will be necessary soon to augment the buildings. The library, and the cabinet of philosophy, do honor to the institution. The first contains 13,000 volumes. The heart of a Frenchman palpitates on finding the works of Racine, of Montesquieu, and the Encyclopædia where 150 years ago, arose the smoke of the savage calumet.

The regulation of the course of studies here is nearly the same as that at the university of Oxford. I think it impossible but that the last revolution must introduce a great reform. Free men ought to strip themselves of their prejudices, and to perceive that, above all, it is necessary to be a man and a citizen; and that the study of the dead languages, of a fastidious philosophy and theology, ought to occupy few of the moments of a life which might be usefully employed in studies more advantageous to the great family of a human race.

Such a change in the studies is more probable, as an academy is formed at Boston, composed of respectable men, who cultivate all the sciences; and who, disengaged from religious prejudices, will doubtless very soon point out a course of education more short, and more sure in forming good citizens and philosophers.

Mr. Bowdoin, president of this academy, is a man of universal talents. He unites with his profound erudition the

virtues of a magistrate and the principles of a republican politician. His conduct has never disappointed the confidence of his fellow-citizens; though his son-in-law, Mr. Temple, has incurred their universal detestation for the versatility of his conduct during the war, and his open attachment to the British since the peace. To recompense him for this, the English have given him the consulate-general of America.

But to return to the university of Cambridge, superintended by the respectable President Willard. Among the associates in the direction of studies are distinguished Dr. Wigglesworth and Dr. Dexter. The latter is professor of natural philosophy, chemistry, and medicine; a man of extensive knowledge, and great modesty. He told me, to my great satisfaction, that he gave lectures on the experiments of our school of chemistry. The excellent work of my respectable master, Dr. Fourcroy, was in his hands, which taught him the rapid strides that this science has lately made in Europe.

In a free country everything ought to bear the stamp of patriotism. This patriotism, so happily displayed in the foundation, endowment, and encouragement of this university, appears every year in a solemn feast celebrated at Cambridge in honor of the Sciences. This feast, which takes place once a year in all the colleges of America, is called the *commencement;* it resembles the exercises and distribution of prizes in our colleges. It is a day of joy for Boston; almost all its inhabitants assemble in Cambridge. The most distinguished of the students display their talents in the presence of the public; and these exercises, which are generally on patriotic subjects, are terminated by a feast, where reign the freest gayety and the most cordial fraternity.

It is remarked, that in countries chiefly devoted to commerce the sciences are not carried to any high degree. This remark applies to Boston. The university certainly contains men of worth and learning; but science is not diffused among the inhabitants of the town. Commerce occupies all their ideas, turns all their heads, and absorbs all their speculations. Thus you find few estimable works, and few authors. The expense of the first volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of this town is not yet covered; it is two years since it appeared. Some time since was published the History of the late Troubles in Massachusetts; it is very well written. The author has found much

difficulty to indemnify himself for the expense of printing it. Never has the whole of the precious history of New Hampshire, by Belknap, appeared, for want of encouragement.

Poets, for the same reason, must be more rare than other writers. They speak, however, of an original but lazy poet, by the name of *Allen*. His verses are said to be full of warmth and force. They mention, particularly, a manuscript poem of his on the famous battle of Bunker Hill; but he will not print it. He has for his reputation and his money the carelessness of *La Fontaine*.

They publish a magazine here, though the number of gazettes is very considerable. The multiplicity of gazettes proves the activity of commerce, and the taste for politics and news; the merits and multiplicity of literary and political magazines are signs of the culture of the sciences.

You may judge from these details that the arts, except those that respect navigation, do not receive much encouragement here. The history of the planetarium of Mr. Pope is a proof of it. Mr. Pope is a very ingenious artist, occupied in clock-making. The machine which he has constructed, to explain the movement of the heavenly bodies, would astonish you, especially when you consider that he has received no succor from Europe, and very little from books. He owes the whole to himself; he is, like the painter Trumbull, the child of nature. Ten years of his life have been occupied in perfecting this planetarium. He had opened a subscription to recompense his trouble; but the subscription was never full.

This discouraged artist told me one day that he was going to Europe to sell this machine, and to construct others. This country, said he, is too poor to encourage the arts. These words, *this country is too poor*, struck me. I reflected that, if they were pronounced in Europe, they might lead to wrong ideas of America; for the idea of poverty carries that of rags, of hunger; and no country is more distant from that sad condition. When riches are centred in a few hands, these have a great superfluity; and this superfluity may be applied to their pleasures, and to favor the agreeable and frivolous arts. When riches are equally divided in society, there is very little superfluity, and consequently little means of encouraging the agreeable arts. But which of these two countries is the rich, and which is the poor? According to the European ideas, and in the sense of

Mr. Pope, it is the first that is rich; but to the eye of reason it is not, for the other is the happiest. Hence it results that the ability of giving encouragement to the agreeable arts is a symptom of national calamity.

Let us not blame the Bostonians; they think of the useful before procuring to themselves the agreeable. They have no brilliant monuments; but they have neat and commodious churches, but they have good houses, but they have superb bridges, and excellent ships. Their streets are well illuminated at night; while many ancient cities of Europe, containing proud monuments of art, have never yet thought of preventing the fatal effects of nocturnal darkness.

Besides the societies for the encouragement of agriculture and manufactures, they have another, known by the name of the Humane Society. Their object is to recover drowned persons. It is formed after the model of the one at London, as that is copied from the one at Paris. They follow the same methods as in Europe, and have rendered important succors.

The Medical Society is not less useful than the one last mentioned. It holds a correspondence with all the country towns; to know the symptoms of local diseases, propose the proper remedies, and give instruction thereupon to their fellow-citizens.

Another establishment is the almshouse. It is destined to the poor who, by age and infirmity, are unable to gain their living. It contains at present about 150 persons.

Another, called the workhouse, or house of correction, is not so much peopled as you might imagine. In a rising country, in an active port, where provisions are cheap, good morals predominate, and the number of thieves and vagabonds is small. These are vermin attached to misery; and there is no misery here.

The state of exports and imports of this industrious people, to prove to you how many new branches of commerce they have opened since the peace, I refer to the general table of the commerce of the United States, which I propose to lay before you.

An employment which is, unhappily, one of the most lucrative in this state, is the profession of the law. They preserve still the expensive forms of the English practice, which good sense, and the love of order, ought to teach them to suppress;

they render advocates necessary: they have likewise borrowed from their fathers, the English, the habit of demanding exorbitant fees. But, notwithstanding the abuses of law proceedings, they complain very little of the lawyers. Those with whom I have been acquainted appear to enjoy a great reputation for integrity, such as Sumner, Wendell, Lowell, Sullivan.

They did themselves honor in the affair of the Tender Act, by endeavoring to prevent it from being enacted, and afterwards to diminish as much as possible its unjust effects.

It is in part to their enlightened philanthropy that is to be attributed the law of the 26th of March, 1788, which condemns to heavy penalties all persons who shall import or export slaves, or be concerned in this infamous traffic.

Finally, they have had a great part in the Revolution, by their writings, by their discourses, by taking the lead in the affairs of Congress, and in foreign negotiations.

To recall this memorable period is to bring to mind one of the greatest ornaments of the American bar, the celebrated Adams, who from the humble station of a schoolmaster has raised himself to the first dignities, whose name is as much respected in Europe as in his own country for the difficult embassies with which he has been charged. He has finally returned to his retreat, in the midst of the applauses of his fellow-citizens, occupied in the cultivation of his farm, and forgetting what he was when he trampled on the pride of his king, who had put a price upon his head, and who was forced to receive him as the ambassador of a free county. Such were the generals and ambassadors of the best ages of Rome and Greece; such were Epaminondas, Cincinnatus, and Fabius.

It is not possible to see Mr. Adams, who knows so well the American constitutions, without speaking to him of that which appears to be taking place in France. I don't know whether he has an ill-opinion of our character, of our constancy, or of our understanding; but he does not believe that we can establish a liberty even equal to what the English enjoy; he does not believe even that we have the right, like the ancient States-General, to require that no tax should be imposed without the consent of the people. I had no difficulty in combating him, even by authorities, independent of the social compact, against which no time, no concessions, can prescribe.

Mr. Adams is not the only man distinguished in this great

revolution who has retired to the obscure labors of a country life. General Heath is one of those worthy imitators of the Roman Cincinnatus; for he likes not the American *Cincinnati;* their eagle appears to him a gewgaw, proper only for children. On showing me a letter from the immortal Washington, whom he loves as a father, and reveres as an angel, this letter, says he, is a jewel which, in my eyes, surpasses all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world. It was a letter in which that general had felicitated him for his good conduct on a certain occasion. With what joy did this respectable man show me all parts of his farm! What happiness he enjoys on it! He is a true farmer. A glass of cider, which he presented to me with frankness and good humor painted on his countenance, appeared to me superior to the most exquisite wines. With this simplicity, men are worthy of liberty, and they are sure of enjoying it for a long time.

This simplicity characterizes almost all the men of this state who have acted distinguished parts in the revolution: such, among others, as Samuel Adams, and Mr. Hancock, the present governor. If ever a man was sincerely an idolater of republicanism, it is Samuel Adams; and never a man united more virtues to give respect to his opinions. He has the excess of republican virtues, untainted probity, simplicity, modesty,* and, above all, firmness: he will have no capitulation with abuses; he fears as much the despotism of virtue and talents as the despotism of vice. Cherishing the greatest love and respect for Washington, he voted to take from him the command at the end of a certain term; he recollected that Cæsar could not have succeeded in overturning the republic but by prolonging the command of the army. The event has proved that the application was false; but it was by a miracle, and the safety of a country should never be risked on the faith of a miracle.

Samuel Adams is the best supporter of the party of Governor Hancock. You know the great sacrifices which the latter made in the revolution, and the boldness with which he declared himself at the beginning of the insurrection. The same spirit of patriotism animates him still. A great gen-

* When I compare our legislators, with their airs of importance, always fearing they shall not make noise enough, that they shall not be sufficiently praised,— when I compare them to these modest republicans, I fear for the success of the revolution. The vain man can never be far from slavery.

erosity, united to a vast ambition, forms his character: he has the virtues and the address of popularism; that is to say, that without effort he shews himself the equal and the friend of all. I supped at his house with a hatter, who appeared to be in great familiarity with him. Mr. Hancock is amiable and polite when he wishes to be; but they say he does not always choose it. He has a marvellous gout, which dispenses him from all attentions, and forbids the access to his house. Mr. Hancock has not the learning of his rival, Mr. Bowdoin; he seems even to disdain the sciences. The latter is more esteemed by enlightened men; the former more beloved by the people. Among the partisans of the governor, I distinguished two brothers, by the name of Jarvis: one is comptroller-general of the state; the other, a physician, and member of the legislature. The first has as much calmness of examination and profundity of thought as the latter has of rapidity in his penetration, agility in his ideas, and vivacity in his expression. They resemble each other in one point, that is, in simplicity — the first of republican virtues: a virtue born with the Americans, and only acquired with us. If I were to paint to you all the estimable characters which I found in this charming town, my portraits would never be finished. I found everywhere that hospitality, that affability, that friendship for the French which M. Chastellux has so much exalted. I found them especially with Messrs. Breck, Russel, Gore, Barrett, &c.

The parts adjacent to Boston are charming and well cultivated, adorned with elegant houses and agreeable situations. Among the surrounding eminences you distinguish Bunker Hill. This name will recall to your mind the famous Warren, one of the first martyrs of American liberty. I owed an homage to his generous manes; and I was eager to pay it. You arrive at Bunker Hill by the superb bridge at Charlestown, of which I have spoken. This town was entirely burnt by the English in their attack of Bunker Hill. It is at present rebuilt with elegant houses of wood. You see here the store of Mr. Gorham, formerly president of Congress. This hill offers one of the most astonishing monuments of American valor; it is impossible to conceive how seven or eight hundred men, badly armed, and fatigued, having just constructed, in haste, a few miserable intrenchments, and who knew nothing, or very little, of the use of arms, could resist, for so long a time, the attack of thousands

of the English troops, fresh, well-disciplined, succeeding each other in the attack. But such was the vigorous resistance of the Americans that the English lost 1200 men, killed and wounded, before they became master of the place. Observe that they had two frigates, which, crossing their fire on Charlestown, prevented the arrival of succor to the Americans. Yet it is very probable that the English would have been forced to retire, had not the Americans failed in ammunition.

While the friend of liberty is contemplating this scene, and dropping a tear to the memory of Warren, his emotions of enthusiasm are renewed on viewing the expressive picture of the death of that warrior, painted by Mr. Trumbull, whose talents may equal, one day, those of the most famous masters.

I must finish this long, and too long, letter. Many objects remain still to entertain you with in this state, such as the constitution, debts, taxes; but I refer them to the general table which I shall make of them for the United States. The taxable heads of this state are upwards of 100,000, acres of arable land 200,000, pasturage 340,000, uncultivated 2,000,000, tons of shipping at Boston 60,000.

VISIT TO MT. VERNON.

I hastened to arrive at Mt. Vernon, the seat of General Washington, ten miles below Alexandria on the same river. On this route you traverse a considerable wood; and, after having passed over two hills, you discover a country house of an elegant and majestic simplicity. It is preceded by grass plats. On one side of the avenue are the stables, on the other a green-house and houses for a number of negro mechanics. In a spacious back yard are turkeys, geese, and other poultry. This house overlooks the Potomac, enjoys an extensive prospect, has a vast and elevated portico on the front next the river, and a convenient distribution of the apartments within. The general came home in the evening, fatigued with having been to lay out a new road in some part of his plantations. You have often heard him compared to Cincinnatus. The comparison is doubtless just. This celebrated general is nothing more at present than a good farmer, constantly occupied in the care of his farm and the improvement of cultivation.

He has lately built a barn, one hundred feet in length and considerably more in breadth, destined to receive the productions of his farm, and to shelter his cattle, horses, asses, and mules. It is built on a plan sent him by that famous English farmer, Arthur Young. But the general has much improved the plan. This building is in brick. It cost but three hundred pounds. I am sure in France it would have cost three thousand. He planted this year eleven hundred bushels of potatoes. All this is new in Virginia, where they know not the use of barns, and where they lay up no provisions for their cattle. His three hundred negroes are distributed in different log houses in different parts of his plantation, which in this neighborhood consists of ten thousand acres. Colonel Humphreys, that poet of whom I have spoken, assured me that the general possesses, in different parts of the country, more than two hundred thousand acres.

Everything has an air of simplicity in his house. His table is good, but not ostentatious; and no deviation is seen from regularity and domestic economy. Mrs. Washington superintends the whole, and joins to the qualities of an excellent housewife that simple dignity which ought to characterize a woman whose husband has acted the greatest part on the theatre of human affairs, while she possesses that amenity, and manifests that attention to strangers which render hospitality so charming. The same virtues are conspicuous in her interesting niece; but unhappily she appears not to enjoy good health.

M. de Chastellux has mingled too much of the brilliant in his portrait of General Washington. His eye bespeaks great goodness of heart, manly sense marks all his answers, and he sometimes animates in conversation; but he has no characteristic features, which renders it difficult to seize him. He announces a profound discretion and a great diffidence in himself, but at the same time an unshaken firmness of character when once he has made his decision. His modesty is astonishing to a Frenchman. He speaks of the American war and of his victories as of things in which he had no direction.

He spoke to me of M. de Lafayette with the greatest tenderness. He regarded him as his child, and foresaw, with a joy mixed with inquietude, the part that this pupil was going to act in the approaching revolution of France. He could not

predict, with clearness, the event of this revolution. If, on the one side, he acknowledges the ardor and enthusiasm of the French character, on the other he saw an astonishing veneration for their ancient government and for those monarchs whose inviolability appeared to him a strange idea.

After passing three days in the house of this celebrated man, who loaded me with kindness, and gave me much information relative to the late war and the present situation of the United States, I returned to Alexandria.

THE WESTERN TERRITORY.

I have not the time, my friend, to describe to you the new country of the west; which, though at present unknown to the Europeans, must, from the nature of things, very soon merit the attention of every commercial and manufacturing nation. I shall lay before you at present only a general view of these astonishing settlements, and refer to another time the details which a speculative philosopher may be able to draw from them. At the foot of the Alleghanies, whose summits, however, do not threaten the heavens, like those of the Andes and the Alps, begins an immense plain, intersected with hills of a gentle ascent, and watered everywhere with streams of all sizes; the soil is from three to seven feet deep, and of an astonishing fertility: it is proper for every kind of culture, and it multiplies cattle almost without the care of man.

It is there that those establishments are formed whose prosperity attracts so many emigrants; such as Kentucky, Frankland, Cumberland, Holston, Muskingum, and Scioto.

The oldest and most flourishing of these is Kentucky, which began in 1775, had 8,000 inhabitants in 1782, 50,000 in 1787, and 70,000 in 1790 [?]. It will soon be a state.

Cumberland, situated in the neighborhood of Kentucky, contains 8,000 inhabitants, Holston 5,000, and Frankland 25,000.

On beholding the multiplication and happiness of the human species in these rapid and prosperous settlements, and comparing them with the languor and debility of colonies formed by despots, how august and venerable does the aspect of liberty appear! Her power is equal to her will: she commands, and forests are overturned, mountains sink to cultivated plains, and nature prepares an asylum for numerous generations; while the proud city of Palmyra perishes with its haughty founder, and its ruins attest to the world that nothing is durable but what is founded and fostered by freedom. It appears that Kentucky will preserve its advantage over the other

settlements on the south; its territory is more extensive, its soil more fertile, and its inhabitants more numerous; it is situated on the Ohio, navigable at almost all seasons: this last advantage is equally enjoyed by the two settlements of which I am going to speak. The establishment at Muskingum was formed in 1788, by a number of emigrants from New England, belonging to the Ohio Company. The Muskingum is a river which falls into the Ohio from the west. These people have an excellent soil, and every prospect of success.

From these proprietors is formed another association, whose name is more known in France; it is that of the *Scioto Company*,* a name taken from a river which, after having traversed the two millions of acres which they possess, falls into the Ohio.

This settlement would soon rise to a high degree of prosperity if the proper cautions were taken in the embarkation and the necessary means employed to solace them, and to prepare them for a kind of life so different from that to which they are accustomed.

The revolution in the American government will, doubtless, be beneficial to the savages; for the government tends essentially to peace. But, as a rapid increase of population must necessarily be the consequence of its operations, the savages must either blend with the Americans, or a thousand causes will speedily annihilate that race of men.

There is nothing to fear, that the danger from the savages will ever arrest the ardor of the Americans for extending their settlements. They all expect that the navigation of the Mississippi becoming free will soon open to them the markets of the islands and the Spanish colonies for the productions with which their country overflows. But the question to be solved is, whether the Spaniards will open this navigation willingly or whether the Americans will force it. A kind of negotiation has been carried on, without effect, for four years; and it is supposed that certain States, fearing to lose their inhabitants by emigration to the west, have, in concert with the Spanish minister, opposed it; and that this concert gave rise to a proposition that Spain should shut up the navigation for twenty-five years, on condition that the Americans should have a free commerce with Spain. Virginia and Maryland, though they had more to fear from this emigration than the other States, were opposed to this proposition as derogatory to the honor of the United States; and a majority of Congress adopted the sentiment.

A degree of diffidence, which the inhabitants of the west have shewn relative to the secret designs of Congress, has induced many people to believe that the union would not exist a long time between the old and new States; and this probability of a rupture, they say,

*The writer in a note here defends the Scioto Company from certain criticism and commends its lands to the poor of Europe contemplating emigration.— *Editor*.

is strengthened by some endeavors of the English in Canada to attach the western settlers to the English government.

But a number of reasons determine me to believe that the present union will forever subsist. A great part of the property of the western land belongs to people of the east; the unceasing emigrations serve perpetually to strengthen their connections; and as it is for the interest both of the east and west to open an extensive commerce with South America, and to overleap the Mississippi, they must, and will, remain united for the accomplishment of this object.

The western inhabitants are convinced that this navigation cannot remain a long time closed. They are determined to open it by good will or by force; and it would not be in the power of Congress to moderate their ardor. Men who have shook off the yoke of Great Britain, and who are masters of the Ohio and the Mississippi, cannot conceive that the insolence of a handful of Spaniards can think of shutting rivers and seas against a hundred thousand free Americans. The slightest quarrel will be sufficient to throw them into a flame; and if ever the Americans shall march towards New Orleans it will infallibly fall into their hands. The Spaniards fear this moment; and it cannot be far off. If they had the policy to open the Mississippi, the port of New Orleans would become the centre of a lucrative commerce. But her narrow and superstitious policy will oppose it; for she fears, above all things, the communication of those principles of independence which the Americans preach wherever they go, and to which their own success gives an additional weight.

In order to avert the effects of this enterprising character of the free Americans, the Spanish government has adopted the pitiful project of attracting them to a settlement on the west of the Mississippi,* and by granting to those who shall establish themselves there the exclusive right of trading to New Orleans. This colony is the first foundation of the conquest of Louisiana, and of the civilization of Mexico and Peru.

How desirable it is for the happiness of the human race that this communication should extend! for cultivation and population here will augment the prosperity of the manufacturing nations of Europe. The French and Spaniards, settled at the Natches, on the most fertile soil, have not for a century cultivated a single acre; while the Americans, who have lately made a settlement there, have at present three thousand farms of four hundred acres each, which furnish the greater part of the provisions for New Orleans. O Liberty, how great is thy empire! thou greatest industry, which vivifies the dead.

I transport myself sometimes in imagination to the succeeding century. I see this whole extent of continent, from Canada to Quito,

* Colonel Morgan is at the head of this settlement.

covered with cultivated fields, little villages, and country houses.* I see Happiness and Industry smiling side by side, Beauty adorning the daughter of Nature, Liberty and Morals rendering almost useless the coercion of Government and Laws, and gentle Tolerance taking place of the ferocious Inquisition. I see Mexicans, Peruvians, men of the United States, Frenchmen, and Canadians embracing each other, cursing tyrants, and blessing the reign of Liberty, which leads to universal harmony. But the mines, the slaves, what is to become of them? The mines will be closed, and the slaves will become the brothers of their masters. As to gold, it is degrading to a free country to dig for it, unless it can be done without slaves; and a free people cannot want for signs to serve as a medium in exchanging their commodities. Gold has always served more the cause of despotism than that of liberty; and liberty will always find less dangerous agents to serve in its place.

Our speculators in Europe are far from imagining that two revolutions are preparing on this continent, which will totally overturn the ideas and the commerce of the old: the opening a canal of communication between the two oceans, and abandoning the mines of Peru. Let the imagination of the philosopher contemplate the consequences. They cannot but be happy for the human race.

In studying the general condition of the United States at the period of the beginning of our independent national life, we find much interesting and illuminating material in the books of foreign travellers, visitors from England and elsewhere. References to many such works, written just before or after the close of the Revolution, will be found in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," viii. 489-491. The accounts of books of travel in the "Literature of American History," edited by J. N. Larned for the American Library Association, should also be consulted. See, too, H. T. Tuckerman's "America and her Commentators." Among such records of American experience and observation are several by intelligent Frenchmen, the most important of which is the well-known work by Brissot, of which two chapters are given in the present leaflet. A few years earlier came the works of Crévecœur and the Marquis de Chastellux.

Jean Pierre Brissot was born near Chartres in 1754, and educated for the bar. He was an eager student of history and politics, earned a literary reputation while still very young, spent much time in England, and had important journalistic experience in London as well as in Paris. He became a republican, and took prominent part in the early movements of the French Revolution. He was deeply interested in our own Revolution, defended us from various hostile critics, and came over here in 1788 to study our social and political conditions, writing his book for the purpose of commending our republican experiment to the French people. His general estimate may be inferred from the following passage from his preface:

"O Frenchmen, who wish for this valuable instruction, study the Americans of the present day. Open this book. You will here see to what degree of prosperity the blessings of freedom can elevate the industry of man; how they dignify his nature, and dispose him to universal fraternity. You will here learn by what means liberty is preserved; that the great secret of its duration is in good morals. It is a truth that the observation of the present

*America will never have enormous cities, like London and Paris, which would absorb the means of industry and vitiate morals. Hence it will result that property will be more equally divided, population greater, manners less corrupted, and industry and happiness more universal.

state of America demonstrates at every step. Thus you will see, in these Travels, the prodigious effects of liberty on morals, on industry and on the amelioration of men. You will see those stern Presbyterians, who, on the first settlement of their country, infected with the gloomy superstitions of Europe, could erect gibbets for those who thought differently from themselves,— you will see them admitting all sects to equal charity and brotherhood, rejecting those superstitions which, to adore the Supreme Being, make martyrs of part of the human race. Thus you will see all the Americans, in whose minds the jealousy of the mother country had disseminated the most absurd prejudices against foreign nations, abjure those prejudices, reject every idea of war, and open the way to a universal confederation of the human race. You will see independent America contemplating no other limits but those of the universe, no other restraint but the laws made by her representatives. You will see them attempting all sorts of speculations ; opening the fertile bosom of the soil, lately covered by forests ; tracing unknown seas ; establishing new communications, new markets ; naturalizing, in their own country, those precious manufactures which England had reserved to herself ; and by this accumulation of the means of industry they change the balance that was formerly against America, and turn it to their own advantage. You will see them faithful to their engagements, while their enemies are proclaiming their bankruptcy. You will see them invigorating their minds, and cultivating their virtues ; reforming their government, employing only the language of reason to convince the refractory ; multiplying everywhere moral institutions and patriotic establishments ; and, above all, never separating the idea of public from private virtues. Such is the consoling picture which these Travels will offer to the friend of liberty."

The time of Brissot's visit was just after the Constitutional Convention and while the ratification of the new Constitution was before the different States. Massachusetts had ratified it just before his arrival in Boston. Boston is the first place which he describes. His whole chapter on Boston is here given, as one of the most interesting and representative in the book. He went as far north as Newburyport and Portsmouth, travelled through Massachusetts to Springfield, greatly enjoying the agricultural life and the little villages, visited the principal places in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and spent considerable time in New York and Philadelphia, to which latter place especially he devotes much space. He met Madison, Hamilton, and Jay in New York. He devotes an enthusiastic chapter to his visit to Franklin. He spent three days at Mt. Vernon with Washington, to whom Lafayette had given him an introduction. He writes about the Quakers, who especially appealed to him, about slavery and the condition of the negroes, about prisons, hospitals, education, trade, and agriculture. He talked with men who had been to the Ohio country ; and his closing chapter in the volume devoted to his travels, upon the Western Territory, given in the present leaflet, in which he speculates concerning the future great western expansion of the republic, is one of the most interesting in the book

Brissot's work was published in Paris in 1791. The first English edition was published in London in 1792 ; the second, revised, in 1794. The first American edition was published in Boston in 1797. This was four years after Brissot s death. The years after his return to Paris from America had been crowded with political activities, accounts of which may be found in the various histories of the French Revolution. With twenty other Girondists, he suffered death under the guillotine, October 30, 1793. A full account of his various writings may be found in the second volume of the 1794 edition of his "Travels in the United States."

Old South Leaflets

No. 127.

The Ordinance of 1784

AND JEFFERSON'S SERVICES FOR THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

Report on Government for Western Territory.*

[March 1, 1784.]

The Committee appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary Government of the Western territory have agreed to the following resolutions:

Resolved that the territory ceded or to be ceded by Individual States to the United States whensoever the same shall have been purchased of the Indian Inhabitants & offered for sale by the U.S. shall be formed into distinct States bounded in the following manner as nearly as such cessions will admit, that is to say; Northwardly & Southwardly by parallels of latitude so that each state shall comprehend from South to North two degrees of latitude beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees North of the equator, but any territory Northwardly of the 47th degree shall make part of the state — next below, and Eastwardly & Westwardly they shall be bounded, those on the Mississippi by that river on one side and the meridian of the lowest point of the rapids of Ohio on the other; and those adjoining on the East by the same meridian on their Western side, and on their eastern by the meridian of the Western cape of the mouth of the Great Kanhaway. And the territory eastward of this last meridian

* Endorsed: "Report of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Chase, Mr. Howell. Temporary Governmt of Western County Delivered 1 March 1784. Entd — Read.— March 3. Monday next assigned for the consideration of this report. March 17. 1784. recommitted." This report is entirely in Jefferson's handwriting.

between the Ohio, Lake Erie & Pennsylvania shall be one state.

That the settlers within the territory so to be purchased & offered for sale shall, either on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive authority from them, with appointments of time and place for their free males of full age to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution & laws of any one of these states, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature, and to erect, subject to a like alteration counties or townships for the election of members for their legislature.

That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any state until it shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants, when, giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointments of time and place to call a Convention of representatives to establish a permanent Constitution & Government for themselves.

Provided that both the temporary & permanent Governments be established on these principles as their basis. 1, That they shall forever remain a part of the United States of America. 2, That in their persons, property & territory, they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled and to the articles of confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject. 3, That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states. 4, That their respective Governments shall be in republican forms, and shall admit no person to be a citizen, who holds any hereditary title. 5, That after the year 1800 of the Christian æra, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty.

That whenever any of the sd states shall have of free inhabitants as many as shall then be in any one the least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by it's delegates into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the said original states: After which the

assent of two thirds of the United States in Congress assembled shall be requisite in all those cases, wherein by the Confederation the assent of nine States is now required. Provided the consent of nine states to such admission may be obtained according to the eleventh of the Articles of Confederation. Until such admission by their delegates into Congress, any of the said states, after the establishment of their temporary Government, shall have authority to keep a sitting Member in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting.

That the territory Northward of the 45th degree, that is to say of the completion of 45° from the Equator & extending to the Lake of the Woods, shall be called SYLVANIA.

That of the territory under the 45th & 44th degrees that which lies Westward of Lake Michigan shall be called MICHIGANIA, and that which is Eastward thereof within the peninsula formed by the lakes & waters of Michigan, Huron, St. Clair and Erie, shall be called CHERRONESUS, and shall include any part of the peninsula which may extend above the 45th degree.

Of the territory under the 43d & 42d degrees, that to the Westward thro' which the Assenisipi or Rock river runs shall be called ASSENISIPIA, and that to the Eastward in which are the fountains of the Muskingum, the two Miamis of Ohio, the Wabash, the Illinois, the Miami of the lake and Sandusky rivers, shall be called METROPOTAMIA.

Of the territory which lies under the 41st & 40th degrees the Western, thro which the river Illinois runs, shall be called ILLINOIA; that next adjoining to the Eastward SARATOGA, and that between this last & Pennsylvania & extending from the Ohio to Lake Erie shall be called WASHINGTON.

Of the territory which lies under the 39th & 38th degrees to which shall be added so much of the point of land within the fork of the Ohio & Missisipi as lies under the 37th degree, that to the Westward within & adjacent to which are the confluences of the rivers Wabash, Shawanee, Tanisse, Ohio, Illinois, Missisipi & Missouri, shall be called POLYPOTAMIA, and that to the Eastward farther up the Ohio otherwise called the PELISIPI shall be called PELISIPIA.

That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of Compact, shall be duly executed by the President of the U. S.

in Congress assembled under his hand and the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated, and shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original States, & those now newly described unalterable but by the joint consent of the U. S. in Congress assembled and of the particular state within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

Report of Government for the Western Territory.*

[March 22, 1784.]

The Committee to whom was recommitted the report of a plan for a temporary government of the Western territory have agreed to the following resolutions.

Resolved, that so much of the territory ceded or to be ceded by individual states to the United States as is already purchased or shall be purchased of the Indian inhabitants & offered for sale by Congress, shall be divided into distinct states, in the following manner, as nearly as such cessions will admit; that is to say, by parallels of latitude, so that each state shall comprehend from South to North two degrees of latitude beginning to count from the completion of thirty-one degrees North of the Equator; and by meridians of longitude, one of which shall pass thro' the lowest point of the rapids of Ohio, and the other through the Western Cape of the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, but the territory Eastward of this last meridian, between the Ohio, Lake Erie, & Pennsylvania shall be one state, whatsoever may be its comprehension of latitude. That which may lie beyond the completion of the 45th degree between the sd. meridians shall make part of the state adjoining it on the South, and that part of the Ohio which is between the same meridians coinciding nearly with the parallel of 39° shall be substituted so far in lieu of that parallel as a boundary line.

That the settlers on any territory so purchased & offered for sale shall, either on their own petition, or on the order of Congress, receive anthority from them with appointments of time & place for their free males of full age, within the limits of

* Endorsed "Report on Western Territory. Delivered 22 March, 1784. Read. Wednesday 24 assigned for consideration." The original report of a temporary ordinance not satisfying Congress, it was recommitted to the original committee for amendment, and the above was by them reported to Congress. It was considered on April 19, 21, and 23, 1784, when, after amendment, it was adopted, by the vote of every state but one.

their state to meet together for the purpose of establishing a temporary government, to adopt the constitution and laws of any one of the original states, so that such laws nevertheless shall be subject to alteration by their ordinary legislature; & to erect, subject to a like alteration, counties or townships for the election of members for their legislature.

That such temporary government shall only continue in force in any state until it shall have acquired 20,000 free inhabitants, when giving due proof thereof to Congress, they shall receive from them authority with appointment of time & place to call a convention of representatives to establish a permanent Constitution & Government for themselves. Provided that both the temporary & permanent governments be established on these principles as their basis. 1. That they shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America. 2. That in their persons, property & territory they shall be subject to the Government of the United States in Congress assembled, & to the articles of Confederation in all those cases in which the original states shall be so subject. 3. That they shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, to be apportioned on them by Congress, according to the same common rule & measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states. 4. That their respective Governments shall be in republican forms and shall admit no person to be a citizen who holds any hereditary title. 5. That after the year 1800 of the Christian æra, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the sd states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty.

That whensoever any of the sd states shall have, of free inhabitants, as many as shall then be in any one the least numerous of the thirteen original states, such state shall be admitted by it's delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the said original states: provided nine States agree to such admission according to the reservation of the 11th of the articles of Confederation; and in order to adopt the s^{d} articles of confederation to the state of Congress when it's numbers shall be thus increased, it shall be proposed to the legislatures of the states originally parties thereto, to require the assent of two thirds of the United

States in Congress assembled in all those cases wherein by the said articles the assent of nine states is now required; which being agreed to by them shall be binding on the new states. Until such admission by their delegates in'o Congress, any of the said states after the establishment of their temporary government shall have authority to keep a sitting member in Congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting.

That the preceding articles shall be formed into a charter of compact, shall be duly executed by the president of the United States in Congress assembled, under his hand & the seal of the United States, shall be promulgated & shall stand as fundamental constitutions between the thirteen original states and each of the several states now newly described, unalterable but by the joint consent of the United States in Congress assembled, & of the particular state within which such alteration is proposed to be made.

That measures not inconsistent with the principles of the Confedn. & necessary for the preservation of peace & good order among the settlers in any of the said new states until they shall assume a temporary Government as aforesaid, may from time to time be taken by the U S in C. assemble^{d}.

Jefferson's Letter, as Governor of Virginia, to General George Rogers Clark.

Richmond. December 25th 1780.

Sir,— A powerful army forming by our enemies in the South renders it necessary for us to reserve as much of our militia as possible free to act in that quarter. At the same time we have reason to believe that a very extensive combination of British & indian savages is preparing to invest our western frontier. To prevent the cruel murders and devastations which attend the latter species of war, and at the same time to prevent its producing a powerful diversion of our force from the southern quarter in which they mean to make their principal effort and where alone success can be decisive of their ultimate object, it becomes necessary that we aim the first stroke in the western country and throw the enemy under the embarrassments of a defensive war rather than labor under them ourselves. We have therefore determined that an expedition shall be undertaken under your command at a very

early season of the approaching year into the hostile coun beyond the Ohio, the principal object of which is to be th reduction of the British post at Detroit and incidental to it the acquiring possession of Lake Erie. The force destined for this enterprise is the Ilinois battalion, Colo Crocket's battalion, Maj Slaughter's corps, with detachments of militia from the Counties of Fayette, Lincoln, Jefferson, Ohio, Monongalia, Hampshire, Berkeley, Frederic and Greenbrier, making in the whole 2000 men. necessary garrisons only to be deducted. Our desire is that the execution of this may be so timed as that you may have the advantage of that interval of time which intervenes between the breaking up of the ice in the Wabache and in the lake so as that you may avail yourself of the navigation of the former the moment it is open for the transportation of your men and baggage and still find the latter blocked up and the vesels of the enemy therein of course liable to be destroyed. That you may be fully possessed of the means which are to be in your hands for the purposes beforementioned, you are furnished with copies of the orders given to the Lieutenants, Commissaries & Quarter Masters in the Counties before mentioned. The substance of them is as follows — Mr. Rowland Madison is employed to carry 1000 of rifle powder from New-London and 1500 lbs of lead from the lead mines to Montgomery Court house. To purchase 300 pack horses with pack saddles, Halters and Bells ready and to lay in subsistence for them and 137 militia from Greenbrier County, who by orders given to the Lieutenant of that County are to rendezvous at Montgomery Court House by the 20th of February, these to take under their escort the ammunition and pack horses before mentioned and to be with them at the falls of Ohio by the 15th day of March. Mr. Madison is furnished with money to purchase the horses and furniture and to lay in subsistence and forage from Montgomery Court House to the falls of Ohio where his duties cease.

Forty bell tents, 40 common tents, a chest of medicine, some summer clothing will be sent from this place; 1000 lb of Rifle powder from Staunton, 400 campkettles from Fredericksburg to the County Lieutenant of Frederick, who is ordered to send them with 285 of his militia to Pittsburg at which place they are to be the first day of March.

The County Lieutenants of Berkeley and Hampshire are

ordered to send the former 275 and the latter 255 of their respective militias to be at Pittsburg by the first day of March. Proper instructions are prepared for such persons as each of the county Lieutenants of Frederick, Berkeley & Hampshire shall appoint to act in the joint offices of Commissary and Quarter Master to Pittsburg where their offices determine, and money is sent to each for the purposes of subsistence and transportation.

The County Lieutenants of Monongalia and Ohio are ordered to rendezvous one fourth of their militia at Pittsburg by the first day of March. All these militia are ordered to go under proper officers well armed with Arms suitable to western service and to serve during the continuance of the expedition as herein described. Colo Crocket is ordered to be with his battalion at Pittsburg by the same day and money to enable him to proceed is sent to him.

An agent is sent to Baltimore and Philadelphia to purchase four tons of canon powder and to send it to Pittsburg by the 1st day of March.

Application is made to Genl Washington to lend us of the Continental stores at Pittsburg 4 canon six pounders mounted on field carriages with ball suitable, a mortar with shells, 2 Howitz, grape shot and other necessary furnitures, 1000 spades, 200 pick axes, 500 axes, a travelling forge, ship carpenter's tools, and boats for transportation down the river should we fail in having a sufficient number in readiness and to send us skilful persons to manage the mortars.

John Francis Moore, who was some time ago sent to purchase in the vicinities of Fort Pitt provisions for the Western Posts, is now ordered to extend his purchases to 200,000 rations of beef and flour, and to provide 100 light Barges fit for transporting men and stores either down or up stream. These to be all in readiness by the 1st of March; as we are not certain whether he may not be gone down the river, these powers were directed to himself, or in case of his absence to any Agent he should have appointed, and if he appointed none, then to Mr William Harrison of Monongalia.

At Pittsburg we depend on orders to be given by you for the removal of men and stores to the Falls of Ohio by the 15 of March.

The County Lieutenants of Fayette, Lincoln and Jefferson

are ordered to rendezvous at the falls of Ohio by the 15 of March 500 of their militia, to be furnished between those Counties in Proportion to their numbers, & have ready at the same place and by the same day 50 canoes each: Money is sent to pay for these. In those counties you inform us you expect 10000 rations will be provided for you; you will of course order them to the falls of Ohio.

All the preceding orders (except as to the number of men from each county) are submitted to any alterations you may think necessary, and you are authorized to supply any deficiencies in them. The Staff Officers are submitted absolutely to you, and on removal of any of them by you or their death, resignation or declining to act you are to appoint others. The County Lieutenants are desired to keep up a constant correspondence with you & the Staff Officers to inform you from time to time of their progress and to receive your orders. Thus you will perceive that we expect all to be in readiness at the Falls of Ohio by the 15th of March.

What number of men and whether of Regulars or Militia you shall leave to garrison the Posts at the falls & Mouth of the Ohio is left to yourself. As the latter however is exposed to attack from an enemy against whom this expedition will be no diversion of force, and as it is distant from succour, it is recommended to you to leave it surely garrisoned and to take measures for its being supported from the Spanish side of the Mississippi should it be necessary.

You will then with such part of your force as you shall not leave in garrison proceed down the Ohio and up the Wabache or along such other route as you shall think best against Detroit. By the construction of a fort or forts for retreat at such place or places as you shall think best, and by such other cautions as you find necessary you will provide for the ultimate safety of your men in case of a repulse. Should you succeed in the reduction of fort Detroit and a hopeful prospect open to you of acquiring possession of Lake Erie, or should such prospect open during the investiture of the fort, you are to pursue it. As soon as you have accomplished both objects of the fort and lake, or shall have accomplished the one and find the other impracticable, or as soon as you shall find that neither is practicable, you are to consider your expedition as ended and to withdraw your whole force. If you attain neither

object, or, if you acquire one or both of them, to retain for a garrison at Detroit so many of the Illinois & Crocket's battalions as you may think necessary and to send the rest back across the Ohio; in the event indeed of declining to attempt the reduction of Detroit you are at liberty to consider whether some enterprise against the hostile nations of Indians may not be undertaken with your force, and if you think it can, and that it will be expedient for the public good, and eligible on view of all circumstances, you will undertake it and detain your force until you shall have finished it: In every event, the militia on their return are to be marched back to their Counties under their own officers and there to be discharged.

Should you succeed in the reduction of the Post, you are to promise protection to the Persons & property of the French and American inhabitants, or of such at least as shall not on tender refuse to take the Oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth. You are to permit them to continue under the laws & form of Government under which they at present live, only substituting the authority of this Commonwealth in all instances in lieu of that of his British Majesty, and exercising yourself under that authority till further order those powers which the British Commandant of the Post or his principal in Canada hath used regularly to exercise. To the Indian neighbours you will hold out either fear or friendship as their disposition and your actual situation may render most expedient.

Finally, our distance from the scene of action, the impossibility of foreseeing the many circumstances which may render proper a change of plan or direction of object, and above all our full confidence in your bravery, discretion & abilities induce us to submit the whole of our instructions to your own judgment, to be altered or abandoned whenever any event shall turn up which may appear to you to render such alteration or abandonment necessary: remembering that we confide to you the persons of our Troops & Citizens which we think it a duty to risque as long as & no longer than the object and prospect of attaining it may seem worthy to risque. If that Post be reduced we shall be quiet in future on our frontier and thereby immense Treasures of blood and money be saved: we shall be at leisure to turn our whole force to the rescue of our eastern Country from subjugation; we shall divert through our own

Country a branch of commerce which the European States have thought worthy of the most important struggles and sacrifices; and in the event of peace on terms which have been contemplated by some powers we shall form to the American union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the Empire of liberty an extensive and fertile country, thereby converting dangerous enemies into valuable Friends.

JEFFERSON'S LETTER, AS GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA, TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, *Transmitting the resolution adopted Jan. 2, 1781, ceding to the United States the lands claimed by Virginia north-west of the Ohio, on condition that the States ratified the Articles of Confederation.*

RICHMOND Jany. 17, 1781.

SIR,— I do myself the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a resolution of the General Assembly of this Commonwealth entered into in consequence of the resolution of Congress of September 6th, 1780, on the subject of the Confederation. I shall be rendered very happy if the other States of the Union, equally impressed with the necessity of that important convention, shall be willing to sacrifice equally to its completion. This single event could it take place shortly would overweigh every success which the enemy have hitherto obtained, & render desperate the hopes to which those successes have given birth.

DRAFT OF DEED OF CESSION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY.*

[MARCH 1, 1784.]

To all who shall see these presents we [here name the delegates] the underwritten delegates for the Commonwealth of Virginia in the Congress of the United States of America send greeting.

Whereas the general assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia at their sessions begun on the 20th day of Octob. 1783, passed an Act entituled 'An act to authorise the delegates &c'—

* The deed as finally executed is in the *Journals of Congress* for March 1, 1784. This rough draft is in Jefferson's handwriting.

in these words following to wit 'Whereas the Congress &c.' [reciting the act verbatim.]

And whereas the sd General Assembly by their Resolution of June 6th 1783, had constituted & appointed us the sd A. B. C. &c delegates to represent the sd Commonwealth in Congress for one year from the first Monday in November then next following, which resolution remains in full force.

Now therefore know ye that we the sd A. B. C. &c by virtue of the power & authority committed to us by the act of the sd. General Assembly of Virginia before recited, and in the name & for & on behalf of the sd Commonwealth do by these presents convey, transfer, assign, & make over unto the United States in Congress assembled for the benefit of the sd States, Virginia inclusive, all right, title & claim as well of soil as of jurisdiction which the sd. Commonwealth hath to the territory or tract of country within the limits of the Virginia charter, situate, lying & being to the Northwest of the river Ohio to and for the uses & purposes and on the conditions of the sd recited act.

In testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names and affixed our seals in Congress the day of in the year of our lord 1784, and of the independance of the United States the eighth.

Signed, sealed and
delivered in presence of

From Jefferson's Letter to the Governor of Virginia. (Benjamin Harrison.)

Annapolis, Mar. 3. 1784.

On receiving the act of assembly for the Western cession, our delegation agreed on the form of a deed; we then delivered to Congress a copy of the act, and the form of the deed we were ready to execute whenever they should think proper to declare they would accept it. They referred the act & deed to a committee, who reported the act of assembly to comport perfectly with the propositions of Congress, and that the deed was proper in its form, and that Congress ought to accept the same. On the question to agree to the report of the Committee 8 states being present, Jersey was in the negative

& S. Carolina & Pennsylvania divided (being represented each by 2 members). Of course there were 5 ayes only & the report fell. We determined on consultation that our proper duty was to be still; having declared we were ready to execute, we would leave it to them to come forward and tell us they were ready to accept. We medled not at all therefore, & shewed a perfect indifference. N. Hampshire came to town which made us 9 states. A member proposed that we should execute the deeds & lay it on the table, which after what had been done by Congress would be final, urging the example of N. York which had executed their deed, laid it on the table, where it remained 18 months before Congress accepted it. We replied, no, if the lands are not offered for sale the ensuing spring, they will be taken from us all by adventurers; we will therefore put it out of our power by the execution of a deed to sell them ourselves, if Congress will not. A member from Rhode Island then moved that Congress should accept. Another from Jersey proposed as an amendment a proviso that it should not amount to an acknowledgement of our right. We told them we were not authorised to admit any conditions or provisions, that their acceptance must be simple, absolute & unqualified or we could not execute. On the question there were 6 ayes, Jersey no, S. Carolina & Pennsylvania divided. The motion dropped & the house proceeded to other business. About an hour after the dissenting Pennsylvania asked & obtained leave to change his no into aye; the vote then passed & we executed the deed. We have desired an exemplification of it under the seal of the states which we shall transmit you by the post if no safer opportunity occurs. This shows the wisdom of the assembly in not tacking any new conditions, which would certainly have defeated their accomodating intentions.

Report on Cession of Western Territory.*

March 22, 1784.

The Report of a Committee on the Subject of Western territory having been referred to the Grand committee they have had the same under their consideration and agreed to the following report.

* Written by Jefferson. Endorsed "Report of grand Comᵉᵉ delivered March 22, 1784. Monday 29 assigned for consideration."

Congress by their resolution of Sep. 6. 1780, having thought it advisable to press upon the states having claims to the Western country a liberal surrender of a portion of their territorial claims, by that of the 10th of Oct. in the same year having fixed conditions to which the Union should be bound on receiving such cessions: and having again proposed the same subject to those States in their address of April 1783, wherein, stating the National debt & expressing their reliance for its discharge on the prospect of vacant territory, in aid of other resources, they, for that purpose, as well as to obviate disagreeable controversies & confusions included in the same recommendation a renewal of those of Sep. the 6th & of Oct. the 10th 1780. which several recommendations have not yet been finally complied with.

Resolved, that the same subject be again presented to the attention of the said states, that they be urged to consider that the war being now brought to a happy termination by the personal services of our souldiers, the supplies of property by our citizens, & loans of money from them as well as from foreigners, these several creditors have a right to expect that funds shall be provided on which they may rely for indemnification; that Congress shall consider vacant territory as a capital resource; that this too is the time when our Confederacy with all the territory included within it's limits should assume it's ultimate and permanent form; & that therefore the sd states be earnestly pressed by immediate & liberal cessions to forward these necessary ends, & to remove those obstacles which disturb the harmony of the Union, which embarrass it's councils & obstruct its operations.

Jefferson to Washington.

Annapolis, Mar. 15. 1784.

Dr Sir,— Since my last nothing new has occurred. I suppose the crippled state of Congress is not new to you. We have only 9 states present, 8. of whom are represented by two members each, and of course on all great questions not only an unanimity of States but of members is necessary,— an unanimity which never can be obtained on a matter of any importance. The consequence is that we are wasting our time & labour in vain efforts to do business.— Nothing less than

the presence of 13. States, represented by an odd number of delegates will enable us to get forward a single capital point. The deed for the cession of Western territory by Virginia was executed & accepted on the 1st instant. I hope our country will of herself determine to cede still further to the meridian of the mouth of the great Kanhaway. Further she cannot govern ; so far is necessary for her own well being. The reasons which call for this boundary (which will retain all the waters of the Kanhaway) are 1. That within that are our lead mines. 2. This river rising in N. Carola traverses our whole latitude and offers to every part of it a channel for navigation & commerce to the Western Country, but 3. It is a channel which can not be opened but at immense expense and with every facility which an absolute power over both shores will give. 4. This river & it's waters forms a band of good land passing along our whole frontier, and forming on it a barrier which will be strongly seated. 5. For 180 miles beyond these waters is a mountainous barren which can never be inhabited & will of course form a safe separation between us & any other State. 6. This tract of country lies more convenient to receive it's government from Virginia than from any other State. 7. It will preserve to us all the upper parts of Yohogany & Cheat rivers within which much will be done to open these which are the true doors to the Western commerce. The union of this navigation with that of the Patowmac is a subject on which I mentioned that I would take the liberty of writing to you. I am sure it's value and practicability are both well known to you. This is the moment however for seizing it if ever we mean to have it. All the world is becoming commercial. Was it practicable to keep our new empire separated from them we might indulge ourselves in speculating whether commerce contributes to the happiness of mankind. But we cannot separate ourselves from them. Our citizens have had too full a taste of the comforts furnished by the arts & manufactures to be debarred the use of them. We must then in our defence endeavour to share as large a portion as we can of this modern source of wealth & power. That offered to us from the Western Country is under a competition between the Hudson, the Patowmac & the Missisipi itself. Down the last will pass all heavy commodities. But the navigation through the gulf of Mexico is so dangerous, & that up the Missisipi so difficult

& tedious, that it is not probable that European merchandize will return through that channel. It is most likely that flour, lumber & other heavy articles will be floated on rafts which will be themselves an article of sale as well as their loading, the navigators returning by land or in light batteaux. There will therefore be a rivalship between the Hudson & Patowmac for the residue of the commerce of all the country Westward of L. Erie, on the waters of the lakes, of the Ohio & upper parts of the Missisipi. To go to N. York, that part of the trade which comes from the lakes or their waters must first be brought into L. Erie. So also must that which comes from the waters of the Missisipi, and of course must cross at some portage into the waters of the lakes. When it shall have entered L. Erie it must coast along it's Southern Shore on account of the number & excellence of it's harbours, the Northern, tho' shortest, having few harbours & these unsafe. Having reached Cuyahoga, to proceed on to N. York will be 970 miles from thence & five portages, whereas it is but 430 miles to Alexandria, if it turns into the Cuyahoga & passes through that, Big Beaver, Ohio, Yohogany (or Monongahela & Cheat) & Patowmac, & there are but two portages. For the trade of the Ohio or that which shall come into it from it's own waters or the Missisipi, it is nearer to Alexandria than to New York by 730 miles, and is interrupted by one portage only. Nature then has declared in favour of the Patowmac, and through that channel offers to pour into our lap the whole commerce of the Western world. But unfortunately the channel by the Hudson is already open & known in practice; ours is still to be opened. This is the moment in which the trade of the West will begin to get into motion and to take it's direction. It behoves us then to open our doors to it. I have lately pressed this subject on my friends in the General assembly, proposing to them to endeavor to have a tax laid which shall bring into a separate chest from five to ten thousand pounds a year, to be employed first in opening the upper waters of the Ohio & Patowmac, where a little money & time will do a great deal, leaving the great falls for the last part of the work. To remove the idea of partiality I have suggested the propriety & justice of continuing this fund till all the rivers shall be cleared successively. But a most powerful objection always arises to propositions of this kind. It is that public under-

takings are carelessly managed and much money spent to little purpose. To obviate this objection is the purpose of my giving you the trouble of this discussion. You have retired from public life. You have weighed this determination & it would be impertinence in me to touch it. But would the superintendence of this work break in too much on the sweets of retirement & repose? If they would I stop here. Your future time & wishes are sacred in my eye. If it would be only a dignified amusement to you, what a monument of your retirement would it be! It is one which would follow that of your public life and bespeak it the work of the same great hand. I am confident that would you either alone or jointly with any persons you think proper be willing to direct this business, it would remove the only objection the weight of which I apprehend. Tho' the tax should not come in till the fall, it's proceeds should be anticipated by borrowing from some other fund to enable the work to be begun this summer. When you view me as not owning, nor ever having a prospect of owning one inch of land on any water either of the Patowmac or Ohio, it will tend to apologize for the trouble I have given you of this long letter, by showing that my zeal in this business is public & pure. The best atonement for the time I have occupied you will be not to add to it longer than while I assure you of the sincerity & esteem with which I have the honour to be Dr Sir Your most obedient & most humble servt.

P. S. The hurry of time in my former letter prevented my thanking you for your polite & friendly invitation to Mount Vernon. I shall certainly pay my respects there to Mrs Washington & yourself with great pleasure whenever it shall be in my power.

Washington to Jefferson.

Mount Vernon, 29 March, 1784.

Dear Sir:

It was not in my power to answer your favor of the 15th by the last post, for the reason then assigned. I wish I may be able to do it to your satisfaction now, as I am again obliged to pay my attention to the other company, the Governor being gone.

My opinion coincides perfectly with yours respecting the practicability of an easy and short communication between the waters of the Ohio and Potomac, of the advantages of that communication and the perference it has over all others, and of the policy there would be in this State and Maryland to adopt and render it facile. But I confess to you freely, I have no expectation, that the public will adopt the measure; for, besides the jealousies which prevail, and the difficulty of proportioning such funds as may be allotted for the purposes you have mentioned, there are two others, which, in my opinion, will be yet harder to surmount. These are (if I have not imbibed too unfavorabale an opinion of my countrymen) the impracticability of bringing the great and truly wise policy of the measure to their view, and the difficulty of extracting money from them for such a purpose, if it could be done; for it appears to me, maugre all the sufferings of the public creditors, breach of public faith, and loss of public reputation, that payment of the taxes, which are already laid, will be postponed as long as possible. How then are we to expect new ones for purposes more remote?

I am not so disinterested in this matter as you are; but I am made very happy to find that a man of discernment and liberality, who has no particular interest in the plan, thinks as I do, who have lands in that country, the value of which would be enhanced by the adoption of such a measure.

More than ten years ago I was struck with the importance of it; and, despairing of any aid from the public, I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense, on conditions which were expressed, the extension of the navigation from tide water to Will's Creek, about one hundred and fifty miles; and I devoutly wish that this may not be the only expedient by which it can be effected now. To get this business in motion, I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River, in order to remove the jealousies, which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac. The plan, however, was in a tolerably good train, when I set out for Cambridge in 1775, and would have been in an excellent way, had it not been for the difficulties, which were met with in the Maryland Assembly from the opposition which was given (according to report) by the Baltimore merchants, who were alarmed, and per-

haps not without cause, at the consequence of water transportation to Georgetown of the produce, which usually came to their market by land.

The local interest of that place, joined to the short-sighted politics or contracted views of another part of that Assembly, gave Mr. Thomas Johnson, who was a warm promoter of the scheme on the north side of the Potomac, a great deal of trouble. In this situation I left matters when I took command of the army. The war afterwards called men's attention to different objects, and all the money they could or would raise was applied to other purposes. But with you I am satisfied that not a moment ought to be lost in recommencing this business, as I know the Yorkers will delay no time to remove every obstacle in the way of the other communication, so soon as the posts of Oswego and Niagara are surrendered; and I shall be mistaken if they do not build vessels for the navigation of the lakes, which will supersede the necessity of coasting on either side.

It appears to me, that the interest and policy of Maryland are proportionably concerned with those of Virginia, to remove obstructions, and to invite the trade of the western country into the channel you have mentioned. You will have frequent opportunities of learning the sentiments of the principal characters of that State, respecting this matter; and I wish, if it should fall in your way, that you would discourse with Mr. Thomas Johnson, formerly governor of Maryland, on this subject. How far, upon mature consideration, I may depart from the resolution I had formed, of living perfectly at my ease, exempt from every kind of responsibility, is more than I can at present absolutely determine. The sums granted, the manner of granting them, the powers and objects, would merit consideration. The trouble, if my situation at the time would permit me to engage in a work of this sort, would be set at nought; and the immense advantages, which this country would derive from the measure, would be no small stimulus to the undertaking, if that undertaking could be made to comport with those ideas, and that line of conduct, with which I meant to glide gently down the current of life, and it did not interfere with any other plan I might have in contemplation.

I am not less in sentiment with you, respecting the impolicy of this State's grasping at more territory than they are compe-

tent to the government of; and, for the reasons you assign, I very much approve of a meridian from the mouth of the Great Kenhawa as a convenient and very proper line of separation, but I am mistaken if our chief magistrate will coincide with us in this opinion.

I will not enter upon the subject of commerce. It has its advantages and disadvantages; but which of them preponderates, is not now the question. From trade our citizens will not be restrained, and therefore it behoves us to place it in the most convenient channels under proper regulations, freed as much as possible from those vices, which luxury, the consequence of wealth and power, naturally introduces.

The incertitude, which prevails in Congress, and the non-attendance of its members, are discouraging to those, who are willing and ready to discharge the trust, which is reposed in them; whilst it is disgraceful in a high degree to our country. But it is my belief, that the case will never be otherwise, so long as that body persist in their present mode of doing business, and will hold constant instead of annual sessions; against the former of which my mind furnishes me with a variety of arguments; but not one, in times of peace, in favor of them.

Annual sessions would always produce a full representation, and alertness in business. The delegates, after a separation of eight or ten months, would meet each other with glad countenances. They would be complaisant; they would yield to each other all, that duty to their constituents would allow; and they would have better opportunities of becoming acquainted with their sentiments, and removing improper prejudices, when they are imbibed, by mixing with them during the recess. Men, who are always together, get tired of each other's company; they throw off that restraint, which is necessary to keep things in proper tune; they say and do things, which are personally disgusting; this begets opposition; opposition begets faction; and so it goes on, till business is impeded, often at a stand. I am sure (having the business prepared by proper boards or a committee) an annual session of two months would despatch more business than is now done in twelve, and this by a full representation of the Union.

Long as this letter is, I intended to be more full on some of the points, and to touch on others; but it is not in my power, as I am obliged to snatch from company the moments, which

give you this hasty production of my thoughts on the subject of your letter. With very great esteem and regard, I am, &c.

"Another service, and one of momentous import, associates Jefferson with the famous Ordinance of the Northwestern Territory. That great tract north of the Ohio River, out of which were afterward carved those five free States, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, had been tendered by Virginia for the benefit of the whole Confederacy in January, 1781, Jefferson, while governor of the State, transmitting the resolution of its legislature to that effect. The formalities of a transfer had been hitherto delayed; but a deed of cession, bearing date March 1, 1784, was now executed by the Virginia delegates in Congress, with Jefferson at the head. The Confederacy accepted the gift, without admitting Virginia's claim to sole ownership of that region, but anxious to encourage by so sisterly an example the relinquishment of all such territorial claims to the unsettled West for the benefit of the whole Union:

"A few days afterward a committee of Congress, with Jefferson as chairman, prepared a plan for the temporary government of the common Western territory. The draft of their report in Jefferson's handwriting is still among the public archives. The whole wilderness of the Mississippi basin to the eastern bank of that great river, our remotest barrier, was brought into contemplation. This report proposed, accordingly, that whatever domain might vest in the United States at any time by the cession of individual States and by Indian purchase should be formed into distinct States, subject each to a temporary government, until the population sufficed for establishing a permanent local constitution on the basis of self-government; after which, upon the assent of Congress, given as the articles of Confederation required, such State, with not less than twenty thousand inhabitants, should be admitted on an equal footing with the original States.

"Ten temporary States, by a single division of this great area between the thirty-first and forty-seventh parallels, with names and boundaries ready made, made too much for immediate legislation. And one may smile at some of the fanciful appellatives which Jefferson's report labored to bestow so prematurely upon these unborn daughters of the Union. Usage, to be sure, had already dignified such sentimental names as Virginia, Carolina, and even Pennsylvania; but American citizens of our own later time will agree that Michigan sounds better than Michigania, Illinois than Illinoia; and as for Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Polypotamia, and Pelisipia, one willingly consigns them to classical lore and the apothecary shop. In most respects, however, the scheme proposed

for these future States was only crude in having to conform to the imperfect plan of union which then existed. Canada or other external colonies might have joined the old thirteen, to be sure, on terms prescribed; but for new States erected from within, these early Articles of Union made no distinct provision. In Jefferson's plan one traces, therefore, the first lines of the method upon which the sublime experiment of State propagation has since proceeded,—at this early date almost a usurpation, but sanctioned and fully provided for in our ampler charter of 1787.

"In each of the new States to be thus erected from the common soil the government was to be republican in form, and slavery was not to exist in any of them after the year 1800. This last fundamental article was the historical one. In all other material portions, except for the romantic names, Jefferson's report was adopted in April; but the clause which ordained freedom was stricken out for want of a majority of States in its favor. Every member from the Northern States voted for it; all but two from the South (Jefferson and Williamson) voted against it. Jefferson's two colleagues arrayed Virginia on the negative side of the question, in spite of him; Williamson divided the vote of North Carolina; New Jersey lost its chance of expression by having but one delegate present; and both Delaware and Georgia, by having no delegates at all. Only six States of the thirteen, in consequence, voted to retain the clause of Jefferson's plan which prohibited slavery.

"Defeat under such qualifying circumstances could not be final and decisive. At a more favorable opportunity, three years later, and while Jefferson himself was abroad, the slavery restriction was renewed in another form, and with reference to the territory northwest of the Ohio alone. That world-renowned Ordinance of 1787 passed, with the aid of Jefferson's Virginia friends, while the framers of a new federal constitution were in session at Philadelphia. The last glorious achievement of the expiring Continental Congress, it was reaffirmed afterward by the first Congress of the new Union, and approved by our first immortal President. No wonder that Nathan Dane and Rufus King, men from anti-slavery States, should have derived lustre from the part they took in preparing and promoting a measure so noble. A tier of energetic States thus erected in the Mississippi Valley gave freedom the vital preponderance in due time by their powerful example. But even here, as in the fundamental verities of our Declaration of Independence, Jefferson's name first blazons the record. He gave the earliest impulse to Congressional regulation, in the common domain, for excluding and forever prohibiting slavery. Freedom, which the Ordinance of 1787 established as partial only and by way of compromise, his earlier ordinance would have made the boon of our whole territorial jurisdiction, south of the Ohio River as well as north. When, about

midway in this nineteenth century, the struggle of hostile systems began in earnest, the party of freedom marched to political victory, baptized by the name of the national party he had once founded, and organized upon the simple platform of the Ordinance of 1787, or territorial exclusion, reaffirmed in its new adaptation as Jefferson's Ordinance. Well would it have been for his own infatuated State and section, in that generation, had they but accepted the instruction of their greatest of political prophets." — *Schouler.*

"The Ordinance of 1787," says Hon. George F. Hoar, "belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title-deeds of American constitutional liberty." "I doubt," said Daniel Webster, "whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character." The Ordinance of 1787 is printed in Old South Leaflet No. 13; and the student of the present leaflet is advised to give that a careful reading in connection. The Ordinance of 1787, on the government of the Northwest Territory, came into existence only as the result of long and varied efforts. The first of those efforts was in the Ordinance of 1784, of which Thomas Jefferson was the author; and into that first Ordinance Jefferson inserted a clause forever prohibiting slavery after the year 1800 in the States to be constituted from the Northwest Territory. The toleration until 1800 was reported in deference to the situation of a few old families, chiefly French, who already held slaves in the territory, and were protected by treaty stipulation. This provision was struck out by Congress, to be restored and made binding from the time of its passage in 1787; but it is memorable that it was penned in 1784 by the great author of the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson was one of the earliest and most earnest opponents of slavery. Already in his "Notes on Virginia" he had written: "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God, that they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that His justice cannot sleep forever." He hoped that a way "was preparing, under the auspices of Heaven, for a total emancipation." See the references in the lives of Jefferson by Randall and others to his anti-slavery sentiments and efforts. These were largely what made Abraham Lincoln Jefferson's great disciple. He felt him to be the most eminent political thinker of our history, declaring that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society." Slavery stood opposed to all of Jefferson's fundamental principles, and he hoped in the Ordinance of 1784 to deal it a death-blow. His account, written in 1786, before the Ordinance with the anti-slavery clause was finally passed, of the action of Congress which so bitterly disappointed him, is as follows:—

"There were ten states present. Six voted unanimously for it, three against it, and one was divided; and seven votes being requisite to decide the proposition affirmatively, it was lost. The voice of a single individual of the state which was divided, or of one of those which were of the negative, would have prevented this abominable crime from spreading itself over the new country. Thus we see the fate of millions unborn hanging on the tongue of one man,— and Heaven was silent in that awful moment! But it is to be hoped it will not always be silent and that the friends to the rights of human nature will in the end prevail."

It was largely through Jefferson's efforts that Virginia had ceded to the general government her claims in the Northwest. The act of cession was passed in 1781, while Jefferson was governor. Jefferson's interest in the organization of the Northwest, and his efforts to make the territory the home of freedom, were the sequel of years of activity devoted to the securing of the territory for the United States and the opening of it to enterprising settlers from the East. Jefferson, as a member of the Council of Virginia in 1778, was one of the most earnest supporters of George Rogers Clark in his famous expedition into the Ohio country, which led to the overcoming of the British garrisons and the conquest of so large a part of that territory. See Clark's account of the Capture of Vincennes in Old South Leaflet No. 43. It was because, owing to Clark's conquest, the country between the Ohio and the Mississippi was actually held by us at the close of the war that it was possible for us to secure, in the Treaty of Paris, the concession of the Mississippi instead of the Ohio as our western boundary. Clark was a native of Jefferson's own county, and Jefferson held him in high esteem. His Memoirs were written, years afterwards, at Jefferson's request. Clark's account of the capture of Vincennes was sent to Jefferson, who enclosed it to Washington in a letter dated June 19, 1779, Jefferson then having become governor of Virginia. Clark named the fort which he established just below the mouth of the Ohio early in 1780

Fort Jefferson. Jefferson was anxious that Clark should push his conquests still further north, including Detroit; and he carefully planned the new expedition, which, owing to changes in the campaign, was not carried out. His letters to Washington, dated Sept. 26 and Dec. 15, 1780, soliciting co-operation, should be consulted. His letter of instructions to Clark himself, Dec. 25, 1780, is included in the present leaflet. One of the closing sentences is a noteworthy revelation of Jefferson's prescience as to the great significance of Clark's activities with reference to the future of the Northwest: "In the event of peace on terms which have been contemplated by some powers, we shall form to the American Union a barrier against the dangerous extension of the British Province of Canada and add to the empire of liberty an extensive and fertile country, thereby converting dangerous enemies into valuable friends." Concerning the literature relating to Clark's work, see the references in Leaflet No. 43. See also Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," William H. English's "Conquest of the Northwest," and Winsor's "The Westward Movement," the latter especially containing many references to Jefferson's varied services in the opening of the West.

An important chapter in the history of Jefferson's services for the Northwest is that to which belongs the correspondence with Washington in 1784, printed in the present leaflet. Washington's own great services in opening up the Ohio country and uniting it with the East are more fully illustrated in his Letter to Benjamin Harrison and other papers published in Old South Leaflet No. 16. Jefferson's warm interest is expressed in a still earlier letter to Washington than that here given. Just before writing this letter to Washington, he had in a letter to Madison, Feb. 20, 1784, gone over much the same ground. In this letter, written from the Federal capital, he laments the narrow, local views taken by many of the politcal people in Virginia. "I see the best effects produced by sending our young statesmen here. They see the affairs of the Confederacy from a high ground; they learn the importance of the Union, and befriend federal measures when they return. Those who never come here see our affairs insulated, pursue a system of jealousy and self-interest, and distract the Union as much as they can."

Early in his Presidency, Jefferson became the chief agent in what was perhaps a still more important chapter in the history of our westward expansion than the opening and organization of the Northwest Territory,—the Louisiana Purchase. The papers illustrating his activity in that important transaction are published in Leaflet No. 128. Immediately afterwards he sent out the famous expedition under Lewis and Clark (a brother of George Rogers Clark), which ascended the Missouri River to its sources and explored the valley of the Columbia to the Pacific, thus strengthening our claim to the Oregon country. Jefferson wrote a brief life of Captain Meriwether Lewis, which is published in Old South Leaflet No. 44.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 128.

The Cession of Louisiana.

TREATY WITH FRANCE FOR THE CESSION OF LOUISIANA.

The President of the United States of America, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, desiring to remove all source of misunderstanding relative to objects of discussion mentioned in the second and fifth articles of the convention of the 8th Vendémiaire, an 9 (30th September, 1800) relative to the rights claimed by the United States, in virtue of the treaty concluded at Madrid, the 27th of October, 1795, between his Catholic Majesty and the said United States, and willing to strengthen the union and friendship which at the time of the said convention was happily re-established between the two nations, have respectively named their Plenipotentiaries, to wit: the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the said States, Robert R. Livingston, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, and James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the said States, near the Government of the French Republic; and the First Consul, in the name of the French people, Citizen Francis Barbé Marbois, Minister of the Public Treasury; who, after having respectively exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

Whereas by the article the third of the treaty concluded at St. Idelfonso, the 9th Vendémiaire, an 9 (1st October, 1800,) between the First Consul of the French Republic and His Cath-

olic Majesty, it was agreed as follows: "His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part, to cede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and stipulations herein relative to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it should be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States." And whereas, in pursuance of the treaty, and particularly of the third article, the French Republic has an incontestable title to the domain and to the possession of the said territory: The First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship, doth hereby cede to the said United States, in the name of the French Republic, forever and in full sovereignty, the said territory, with all its rights and appurtenances, as fully and in the same manner as they have been acquired by the French Republic, in virtue of the above-mentioned treaty, concluded with His Catholic Majesty.

Article II.

In the cession made by the preceding article are included the adjacent islands belonging to Louisiana, all public lots and squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices which are not private property. The archives, papers, and documents, relative to the domain and sovereignty of Louisiana and its dependences, will be left in the possession of the commissaries of the United States, and copies will be afterwards given in due form to the magistrates and municipal officers of such of the said papers and documents as may be necessary to them.

Article III.

The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess.

Article IV.

There shall be sent by the Government of France a commissary to Louisiana, to the end that he do every act necessary, as well to receive from the officers of His Catholic Majesty the said country and its dependences, in the name of the French Republic, if it has not been already done, as to transmit it in the name of the French Republic to the commissary or agent of the United States.

Article V.

Immediately after the ratification of the present treaty by the President of the United States, and in case that of the First Consul shall have been previously obtained, the commissary of the French Republic shall remit all military posts of New Orleans, and other parts of the ceded territory, to the commissary or commissaries named by the President to take possession; the troops, whether of France or Spain, who may be there, shall cease to occupy any military post from the time of taking possession, and shall be embarked as soon as possible, in the course of three months after the ratification of this treaty.

Article VI.

The United States promise to execute such treaties and articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the tribes and nations of Indians, until, by mutual consent of the United States and the said tribes or nations, other suitable articles shall have been agreed upon.

Article VII.

As it is reciprocally advantageous to the commerce of France and the United States to encourage the communication of both nations for a limited time in the country ceded by the present treaty, until general arrangements relative to the commerce of both nations may be agreed on; it has been agreed between the contracting parties, that the French ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce and manufactures of France or her said colonies: and the ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her colonies, loaded only with the produce or manufactures of Spain or

her colonies, shall be admitted during the space of twelve years in the port of New Orleans, and in all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory, in the same manner as the ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain, or any of their colonies, without being subject to any other or greater duty on merchandise, or other or greater tonnage than that paid by the citizens of the United States.

During the space of time above mentioned, no other nation shall have a right to the same privileges in the ports of the ceded territory; the twelve years shall commence three months after the exchange of ratifications, if it shall take place in France, or three months after it shall have been notified at Paris to the French Government, if it shall take place in the United States; it is however well understood that the object of the above article is to favor the manufactures, commerce, freight, and navigation of France and of Spain, so far as relates to the importations that the French and Spanish shall make into the said ports of the United States, without in any sort affecting the regulations that the United States may make concerning the exportation of the produce and merchandise of the United States, or any right they may have to make such regulations.

Article VIII.

In future and forever after the expiration of the twelve years, the ships of France shall be treated upon the footing of the most favored nations in the ports above mentioned.

Article IX.

The particular convention signed this day by the respective ministers, having for its object to provide for the payment of debts due to the citizens of the United States by the French Republic prior to the 30th Septr., 1800, (8th Vendémiaire, an 9,) is approved, and to have its execution in the same manner as if it had been inserted in this present treaty; and it shall be ratified in the same form and in the same time, so that the one shall not be ratified distinct from the other.

Another particular convention signed at the same date as the present treaty relative to a definitive rule between the contracting parties is in the like manner approved, and will be ratified in the same form, and in the same time, and jointly.

ARTICLE X.

The present treaty shall be ratified in good and due form and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of six months after the date of the signature by the Ministers Plenipotentiary, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed these articles in the French and English languages; declaring nevertheless that the present treaty was originally agreed to in the French language; and have thereunto affixed their seals.

Done at Paris the tenth day of Floréal, in the eleventh year of the French Republic, and the 30th of April, 1803.

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON. [L.S.]
JAS. MONROE. [L.S.]
F. BARBÉ MARBOIS. [L.S.]

JEFFERSON TO LIVINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, Apr. 18, 1802.

Dear Sir,— A favorable and a confidential opportunity offering by Mr. Dupont de Nemours, who is revisiting his native country gives me an opportunity of sending you a cipher to be used between us, which will give you some trouble to understand, but, once understood, is the easiest to use, the most indecipherable, and varied by a new key with the greatest facility of any one I have ever known. I am in hopes the explanation inclosed will be sufficient. . . . But writing by Mr. Dupont I need no cipher. I require from him to put this into your own and no other hand, let the delay occasioned by that be what it will.

The session of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France works most sorely on the U. S. On this subject the Secretary of State has written to you fully. Yet I cannot forbear recurring to it personally, so deep is the impression it makes in my mind. It compleatly reverses all the political relations of the U. S. and will form a new epoch in our political course. Of all nations of any consideration France is the one which hitherto has offered the fewest points on which we could have any conflict of right, and the most points of a communion of interests. From these causes we have ever looked to her as our *natural*

friend, as one with which we never could have an occasion of difference. Her growth therefore we viewed as our own, her misfortunes ours. There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three-eighths of our territory must pass to market, and from its fertility it will ere long yield more than half of our whole produce and contain more than half our inhabitants. France placing herself in that door assumes to us the attitude of defiance. Spain might have retained it quietly for years. Her pacific dispositions, her feeble state, would induce her to increase our facilities there, so that her possession of the place would be hardly felt by us, and it would not perhaps be very long before some circumstance might arise which might make the cession of it to us the price of something of more worth to her. Not so can it ever be in the hands of France. The impetuosity of her temper, the energy and restlessness of her character, placed in a point of eternal friction with us, and our character, which though quiet, and loving peace and the pursuit of wealth, is high-minded, despising wealth in competition with insult or injury, enterprising and energetic as any nation on earth, these circumstances render it impossible that France and the U. S. can continue long friends when they meet in so irritable a position. They as well as we must be blind if they do not see this; and we must be very improvident if we do not begin to make arrangements on that hypothesis. The day that France takes possession of N. Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her forever within her low water mark. It seals the union of two nations who in conjunction can maintain exclusive possession of the ocean. From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation. We must turn all our attentions to a maritime force, for which our resources place us on very high grounds: and having formed and cemented together a power which may render reinforcement of her settlements here impossible to France, make the first cannon which shall be fired in Europe the signal for tearing up any settlement she may have made, and for holding the two continents of America in sequestration for the common purposes of the united British and American nations. This is not a state of things we seek or desire. It is one which this measure, if adopted by France, forces on us, as necessarily as any other cause, by the laws of nature, brings on its necessary effect. It

is not from a fear of France that we deprecate this measure proposed by her. For however greater her force is than ours compared in the abstract, it is nothing in comparison of ours when to be exerted on our soil. But it is from a sincere love of peace, and a firm persuasion that bound to France by the interests and the strong sympathies still existing in the minds of our citizens, and holding relative positions which ensure their continuance we are secure of a long course of peace. Whereas the change of friends, which will be rendered necessary if France changes that position, embarks us necessarily as a belligerent power in the first war of Europe. In that case France will have held possession of New Orleans during the interval of a peace, long or short, at the end of which it will be wrested from her. Will this short-lived possession have been an equivalent to her for the transfer of such a weight into the scale of her enemy? Will not the amalgamation of a young, thriving nation continue to that enemy the health and force which are at present so evidently on the decline? And will a few years possession of N. Orleans add equally to the strength of France? She may say she needs Louisiana for the supply of her West Indies. She does not need it in time of peace. And in war she could not depend on them because they would be so easily intercepted. I should suppose that all these considerations might in some proper form be brought into view of the government of France. Tho' stated by us, it ought not to give offence; because we do not bring them forward as a menace, but as consequences not controulable by us, but inevitable from the course of things. We mention them not as things which we desire by any means, but as things we deprecate; and we beseech a friend to look forward and to prevent them for our common interests.

If France considers Louisiana however as indispensable for her views she might perhaps be willing to look about for arrangements which might reconcile it to our interests. If anything could do this it would be the ceding to us the island of New Orleans and the Floridas. This would certainly in a great degree remove the causes of jarring and irritation between us, and perhaps for such a length of time as might produce other means of making the measure permanently conciliatory to our interests and friendships. It would at any rate relieve us from the necessity of taking immediate measures for countervailing such an operation by arrangements in another quarter. Still

we should consider N. Orleans and the Floridas as equivalent for the risk of a quarrel with France produced by her vicinage. I have no doubt you have urged these considerations on every proper occasion with the government where you are. They are such as must have effect if you can find the means of producing thorough reflection on them by that government. The idea here is that the troops sent to St. Domingo, were to proceed to Louisiana after finishing their work in that island. If this were the arrangement, it will give you time to return again and again to the charge, for the conquest of St. Domingo will not be a short work. It will take considerable time to wear down a great number of souldiers. Every eye in the U. S. is now fixed on this affair of Louisiana. Perhaps nothing since the revolutionary war has produced more uneasy sensations through the body of the nation. Notwithstanding temporary bickerings have taken place with France, she has still a strong hold on the affections of our citizens generally. I have thought it not amiss, by way of supplement to the letters of the Secretary of State, to write you this private one to impress you with the importance we affix to this transaction. I pray you to cherish Dupont. He has the best dispositions for the continuance of friendship between the two nations, and perhaps you may be able to make a good use of him. Accept assurances of my affectionate esteem and high consideration.

Jefferson to Monroe.

Washington, Jan. 13, 1803.

Dear Sir,— I dropped you a line on the 10th informing you of a nomination I had made of you to the Senate, and yesterday I enclosed you their approbation, not then having time to write. The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late suspension of our right of deposit at N. Orleans is extreme. In the western country it is natural and grounded on honest motives. In the seaports it proceeds from a desire for war which increases the mercantile lottery; in the federalists generally and especially those of Congress the object is to force us into war if possible, in order to derange our finances, or if this cannot be done, to attach the western country to them, as their best friends, and thus get again into power. Remonstrances memorials &c. are now circulating through the whole of the western country and signing by the body of the people. The

measures we have been pursuing being invisible, do not satisfy their minds. Something sensible therefore was become necessary; and indeed our object of purchasing N. Orleans and the Floridas is a measure liable to assume so many shapes, that no instructions could be squared to fit them, it was essential then to send a minister extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary powers, first however well impressed with all our views and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in full and frequent oral communications. Having determined on this, there could not be two opinions among the republicans as to the person. You possess the unlimited confidence of the administration and of the western people; and generally of the republicans everywhere; and were you to refuse to go, no other man can be found who does this.. The measure has already silenced the Feds. here. Congress will no longer be agitated by them: and the country will become calm as fast as the information extends over it. All eyes, all hopes, are now fixed on you; and were you to decline, the chagrin would be universal, and would shake under your feet the high ground on which you stand with the public. Indeed I know nothing which would produce such a shock, for on the event of this mission depends the future destinies of this republic. If we cannot by a purchase of the country insure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then as war cannot be distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without, however, hastening it, and it may be necessary (on your failure on the continent) to cross the channel.

We shall get entangled in European politics, and figuring more, be much less happy and prosperous. This can only be prevented by a successful issue to your present mission. I am sensible after the measures you have taken for getting into a different line of business, that it will be a great sacrifice on your part, and presents from the season and other circumstances serious difficulties. But some men are born for the public. Nature by fitting them for the service of the human race on a broad scale, has stamped with the evidences of her destination and their duty. . . .

As to the time of your going you cannot too much hasten it, as the moment in France is critical. St. Domingo delays their taking possession of Louisiana, and they are in the last distress

for money for current purposes. You should arrange your affairs for an absence of a year at least, perhaps for a long one. It will be necessary for you to stay here some days on your way to New York. You will receive here what advance you chuse. Accept assurances of my constant and affectionate attachment.

Jefferson to M. Dupont de Nemours.

Washington, Feb. 1, 1803.

Dear Sir,— I have to acknolege the receipt of your favors of Aug 16 and Oct 4. And the latter I received with peculiar satisfaction; because, while it holds up terms which cannot be entirely yielded, it proposes such as a mutual spirit of accommodation and sacrifice of opinion may bring to some point of union. While we were preparing on this subject such modifications of the propositions of your letter of Oct 4, as we could assent to, an event happened which obliged us to adopt measures of urgency. The suspension of the right of deposit at New Orleans, ceded to us by our treaty with Spain, threw our whole country into such a ferment as imminently threatened its peace. This, however, was believed to be the act of the Intendant, unauthorized by his government. But it showed the necessity of making effectual arrangements to secure the peace of the two counties against the indiscreet acts of subordinate agents. The urgency of the case, as well as the public spirit, therefore induced us to make a more solemn appeal to the justice and judgment of our neighbors, by sending a minister extraordinary to impress them with the necessity of some arrangement. Mr. Monroe has been selected. His good dispositions cannot be doubted. Multiplied conversations with him, and views of the subject taken in all the shapes in which it can present itself, have possessed him with our estimates of everything relating to it, with a minuteness which no written communication to Mr. Livingston could ever have attained. These will prepare them to meet and decide on every form of proposition which can occur, without awaiting new instructions from hence, which might draw to an indefinite length a discussion where circumstances imperiously oblige us to a prompt decision. For the occlusion of the Mississippi is a state of things in which we cannot exist. He goes, therefore, joined with Chancellor Livingston, to aid in the issue of a crisis the most important the

U S have ever met since their independence, and which is to decide their future character & career. The confidence which the government of France reposes in you will undoubtedly give great weight to your information. An equal confidence on our part, founded on your knowledge of the subject, your just views of it, your good dispositions towards this country, and my long experience of your personal faith and friendship, assures me that you will render between us all the good offices in your power. The interests of the two countries being absolutely the same as to this matter, your aid may be conscientiously given. It will often perhaps, be possible for you, having a freedom of communication, *omnibus horis*, which diplomatic gentlemen will be excluded from by forms, to smooth difficulties by representations & reasonings, which would be received with more suspicion from them. You will thereby render great good to both countries. For our circumstances are so imperious as to admit of no delay as to our course; and the use of the Mississippi so indispensable, that we cannot hesitate one moment to hazard our existence for its maintenance. If we fail in this effort to put it beyond the reach of accident, we see the destinies we have to run, and prepare at once for them. Not but that we shall still endeavor to go on in peace and friendship with our neighbors as long as we can, *if our rights of navigation & deposit are respected;* but as we foresee that the caprices of the local officers, and the abuse of those rights by our boatmen & navigators, which neither government can prevent, will keep up a state of irritation which cannot long be kept inactive, we should be criminally improvident not to take at once eventual measures for strengthening ourselves for the contest. It may be said, if this object be so all-important to us, why do we not offer such a sum as to insure its purchase? The answer is simple. We are an agricultural people, poor in money, and owing great debts. These will be falling due by instalments for 15. years to come, and require from us the practice of a rigorous economy to accomplish their payment; and it is our principle to pay to a moment whatever we have engaged, and never to engage what we cannot, and mean not faithfully to pay. We have calculated our resources, and find the sum to be moderate which they would enable us to pay, and we know from late trials that little can be added to it by borrowing. The country, too, which we wish to purchase, except the portion already granted, and which must be confirmed to the pri-

vate holders, is a barren sand 600. miles from east to west, & from 30. to 40. & 50. miles from north to south, formed by deposition of the sands by the Gulf Stream in its circular course round the Mexican Gulf, and which being spent after performing a semicircle, has made from its last depositions the sand bank of East Florida. In West Florida, indeed, there are on the borders of the rivers some rich bottoms, formed by the mud brought from the upper country. These bottoms are all possessed by individuals. But the spaces between river and river are mere banks of sand; and in East Florida there are neither rivers, nor consequently any bottoms. We cannot then make anything by a sale of the lands to individuals. So that it is peace alone which makes it an object with us, and which ought to make the cession of it desirable to France. Whatever power, other than ourselves, holds the country east of the Mississippi becomes our natural enemy. Will such a possession do France as much good, as such an enemy may do her harm? And how long would it be hers, were such an enemy, situated at its door, added to G Britain? I confess, it appears to me as essential to France to keep at peace with us, as it is to us to keep at peace with her; and that, if this cannot be secured without some compromise as to the territory in question, it will be useful for both to make some sacrifices to effect the compromise.

You see, my good friend, with what frankness I communicate with you on this subject; that I hide nothing from you and that I am endeavoring to turn our private friendship to the good of our respective countries. And can private friendship ever answer a nobler end than by keeping two nations at peace, who, if this new position which one of them is taking were rendered innocent, have more points of common interest, and fewer of collision, than any two on earth; who become natural friends, instead of natural enemies, which this change of position would make them. My letters of April 25, May 5, and this present one have been written, without any disguise, in this view; and, while safe in your hands they can never do anything but good. But you and I are now at that time of life when our call to another state of being cannot be distant, and may be near. Besides, your government is in the habit of seizing papers without notice. These letters might thus get into hands, which, like the hornet which extracts poison from the same flower, that yields honey to the bee, might make them

the ground of blowing up a flame between our two countries, and make our friendship and confidence in each other effect exactly the reverse of what we are aiming at. Being yourself thoroughly possessed of every idea in them, let me ask from your friendship an immediate consignment of them to the flames. That alone can make all safe and ourselves secure.

I intended to have answered you here, on the subject of your agency in the transacting what money matters we may have at Paris, and for that purpose meant to have conferred with Mr. Gallatin. But he has, for two or three days been confined to his room, and is not yet able to do business. If he is out before Mr. Monroe's departure, I will write an additional letter on that subject. Be assured that it will be a great additional satisfaction to me to render services to yourself & sons by the same acts which shall at the same time promote the public service. Be so good as to present my respectful salutations to Made. Dupont, & to accept yourself assurances of my constant and affectionate friendship and great respect.

Jefferson to Livingston.

Washington, Feb. 3, 1803.

Dear Sir,— My last to you was by Mr. Dupont. Since that I received yours of May 22. Mr. Madison supposes you have written a subsequent one which has never come to hand. A late suspension by the Intendant of N Orleans of our right of deposit there, without which the right of navigation is impracticable, has thrown this country into such a flame of hostile disposition as can scarcely be described. The western country was peculiarly sensible to it as you may suppose. Our business was to take the most effectual pacific measures in our power to remove the suspension, and at the same time to persuade our countrymen that pacific measures would be the most effectual and the most speedily so. The opposition caught it as a plank in a shipwreck, hoping it would enable them to tack the Western people to them. They raised the cry of war, were intriguing in all the quarters to exasperate the Western inhabitants to arm & go down on their own authority & possess themselves of New Orleans, and in the meantime were daily reiterating, in new shapes, inflammatory resolutions for the adoption of the House. As a remedy to all this we determined to name a minister extraordinary to go immediately to Paris & Madrid to

settle this matter. This measure being a visible one, and the person named peculiarly proper with the Western country, crushed at once & put an end to all further attempts on the Legislature. From that moment all has become quiet; and the more readily in the Western country, as the sudden alliance of these new federal friends had of itself already began to make them suspect the wisdom of their own course. The measure was moreover proposed from another cause. We must know at once whether we can acquire N Orleans or not. We are satisfied nothing else will secure us against a war at no distant period; and we cannot press this reason without beginning those arrangements which will be necessary if war is hereafter to result. For this purpose it was necessary that the negotiators should be fully possessed of every idea we have on the subject, so as to meet the propositions of the opposite party, in whatever form they may be offered; and give them a shape admissible by us without being obliged to await new instructions hence. With this view, we have joined Mr. Monroe to yourself at Paris, & to Mr. Pinkney at Madrid, altho' we believe it will be hardly necessary for him to go to this last place. Should we fail in this object of the mission, a further one will be superadded for the other side of the channel. On this subject you will be informed by the Secretary of State, & Mr. Monroe will be able also to inform you of all our views and purposes. By him I send another letter to Dupont, whose aid may be of the greatest service, as it will be divested of the shackles of form. The letter is left open for your perusal, after which I wish a wafer stuck in it before it be delivered. The official and the verbal communications to you by Mr. Monroe will be so full and minute, that I need not trouble you with an inofficial repetition of them. The future destinies of our country hang on the event of this negotiation, and I am sure they could not be placed in more able or more zealous hands. On our parts we shall be satisfied that what you do not effect, cannot be effected. Accept th refore assurances of my sincere & constant affection and high respect.

Jefferson to Horatio Gates.

Washington, July 11, '03.

Dear General,— I accept with pleasure, and with pleasure reciprocate your congratulations on the acquisition of Louisiana: for it is a subject of mutual congratulations as it interests every man of the nation. The territory acquired, as it includes all the waters of the Missouri & Mississippi, has more than doubled the area of the U. S. and the new part is not inferior to the old in soil, climate, productions & important communications. If our legislature dispose of it with the wisdom we have a right to expect, they may make it the means of tempting all our Indians on the East side of the Mississippi to remove to the West, and of condensing instead of scattering our population. I find our opposition is very willing to pluck feathers from Monroe, although not fond of sticking them into Livingston's coat. The truth is both have a just portion of merit and were it necessary or proper it could be shewn that each has rendered peculiar service, & of important value. These grumblers too are very uneasy lest the administration should share some little credit for the acquisition, the whole of which they ascribe to the accident of war. They would be cruelly mortified could they see our files from April 1801, the first organization of the administration, but more especially from April 1802. They would see that tho' we could not say when war would arise, yet we said with energy what would take place when it should arise. We did not, by our intrigues, produce the war: but we availed ourselves of it when it happened. The other party saw the case now existing on which our representations were predicted, and the wisdom of timely sacrifice. But when these people make the war give us everything, they authorize us to ask what the war gave us in their day? They had a war. What did they make it bring us? Instead of making our neutrality the grounds of gain to their country, they were for plunging into the war. And if they were now in place, they would not be at war against the Alliests & disorganizers of France. They were for making their country an appendage to England. We are friendly, cordially and conscientiously friendly to England, but we are not hostile to France. We will be rigorously just and sincerely friendly to both. I do not believe we shall have as much to swallow from them as our predecessors had.

With respect to the territory acquired, I do not think it will be a separate government as you imagine. I presume the island of N. Orleans and the settled country on the opposite bank, will be annexed to the Mississippi territory. We shall certainly endeavor to introduce the American laws there & that cannot be done but by amalgamating the people with such a body of Americans as may take the lead in legislation & government. Of course they will be under the Governor of Mississippi. The rest of the territory will probably be locked up from American settlement, and under the self-government of the native occupants.

Jefferson to John Breckinridge.

Monticello, Aug. 12, '03.

Dear Sir,— The enclosed letter, tho' directed to you, was intended to me also, and was left open with a request, that when perused, I would forward it to you. It gives me occasion to write a word to you on the subject of Louisiana, which being a new one, an interchange of sentiments may produce correct ideas before we are to act on them.

Our information as to the country is very incompleat: we have taken measures to obtain it in full as to the settled part, which I hope to receive in time for Congress. The boundaries, which I deem not admitting question, are the high lands on the western side of the Missisipi enclosing all it's waters, the Missouri of course, and terminating in the line drawn from the northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods to the nearest source of the Missipi, as lately settled between Gr Britain and the U S. We have some claims, to extend on the sea coast Westwardly to the Rio Norte or Bravo, and better, to go Eastwardly to the Rio Perdido, between Mobile & Pensacola, the antient boundary of Louisiana. These claims will be a subject of negociation with Spain, and if, as soon as she is at war, we push them strongly with one hand, holding out a price in the other, we shall certainly obtain the Floridas, and all in good time. In the meanwhile, without waiting for permission, we shall enter into the exercise of the natural right we have always insisted on with Spain, to wit, that of a nation holding the upper part of streams, having a right of innocent passage thro' them to the ocean. We shall prepare her to see us practise on this, & she will not oppose it by force.

Objections are raising to the Eastward against the vast extent of our boundaries, and propositions are made to exchange Louisiana, or a part of it, for the Floridas. But, as I have said, we shall get the Floridas without, and I would not give one inch of the waters of the Mississippi to any nation, because I see in a light very important to our peace the exclusive right to it's navigation, & the admission of no nation into it, but as into the Potomak or Delaware, with our consent & under our police. These federalists see in this acquisition the formation of a new confederacy, embracing all the waters of the Missipi, on both sides of it, and a separation of it's Eastern waters from us. These combinations depend on so many circumstances which we cannot foresee, that I place little reliance on them. We have seldom seen neighborhood produce affection among nations. The reverse is almost the universal truth. Besides, if it should become the great interest of those nations to separate from this, if their happiness should depend on it so strongly as to induce them to go through that convulsion, why should the Atlantic States dread it? But especially why should we, their present inhabitants, take side in such a question? When I view the Atlantic States, procuring for those on the Eastern waters of the Missipi friendly instead of hostile neighbors on it's Western waters, I do not view it as an Englishman would the procuring future blessings for the French nation, with whom he has no relations of blood or affection. The future inhabitants of the Atlantic & Missipi States will be our sons. We leave them in distinct but bordering establishments. We think we see their happiness in their union, & we wish it. Events may prove it otherwise; and if they see their interest in separation, why should we take side with our Atlantic rather than our Missipi descendants? It is the elder and the younger son differing. God bless them both, & keep them in union, if it be for their good, but separate them, if it be better. The inhabited part of Louisiana, from Point Coupée to the sea, will of course be immediately a territorial government, and soon a State. But above that, the best use we can make of the country for some time, will be to give establishments in it to the Indians on the East side of the Missipi, in exchange for their present country, and open land offices in the last, & thus make this acquisition the means of filling up the Eastern side, instead of drawing off it's population. When we shall be full on this side, we may lay off a range of States on the Western bank

from the head to the mouth, & so, range after range, advancing compactly as we multiply.

This treaty must of course be laid before both Houses, because both have important functions to exercise respecting it. They, I presume, will see their duty to their country in ratifying & paying for it, so as to secure a good which would otherwise probably be never again in their power. But I suppose they must then appeal to *the nation* for an additional article to the Constitution, approving & confirming an act which the nation had not previously authorized. The constitution has made no provision for our holding foreign territory, still less for incorporating foreign nations into our Union. The Executive in seizing the fugitive occurrence which so much advances the good of their country, have done an act beyond the Constitution. The Legislature in casting behind them metaphysical subtleties, and risking themselves like faithful servants, must ratify & pay for it, and throw themselves on their country for doing for them unauthorized what we know they would have done for themselves had they been in a situation to do it. It is the case of a guardian, investing the money of his ward in purchasing an important adjacent territory; & saying to him when of age, I did this for your good; I pretend to no right to bind you: you may disavow me, and I must get out of the scrape as I can: I thought it my duty to risk myself for you. But we shall not be disavowed by the nation, and their act of indemnity will confirm & not weaken the Constitution, by more strongly marking out its lines.

Jefferson to John Dickinson.

Monticello, Aug. 9, 1803.

Dear Sir,— Your friendly favor of the 1st inst. is received with that welcome which always accompanies the approbation of the wise & good. The acquisition of New Orleans would of itself have been a great thing, as it would have ensured to our western brethren the means of exporting their produce: but that of Louisiana is inappreciable, because, giving us the sole dominion of the Mississippi, it excludes those bickerings with foreign powers, which we know of a certainty would have put us at war with France immediately: and it secures to us the course of a peaceable nation.

The *unquestioned* bounds of Louisiana are the Iberville &

Mississippi on the east, the Mexicana, or the Highlands east of it, on the west; then from the head of the Mexicana gaining the highlands which include the waters of the Mississippi, and following those highlands round the head springs of the western waters of the Mississippi to its source where we join the English or perhaps to the Lake of the Woods. This may be considered as a triangle, one leg of which is the length of the Missouri, the other of the Mississippi, and the hypothenuse running from the source of the Missouri to the mouth of the Miss ssippi. I should be averse to exchanging any part of this for the Floridas, because it would let Spain into the Mississippi on the principle of natural right; we have always urged & are now urging to her, that a nation inhabiting the upper part of a stream has a right of innocent passage down that stream to the ocean: and because the Floridas will fall to us peaceably the first war Spain is engaged in. We have some pretensions to extend the western territory of Louisiana to the Rio Norte or Bravo; and still stronger the eastern boundary to the Rio Perdido between the rivers Mobile & Pensacola. These last are so strong that France had not relinquished them & our negotiator expressly declared we should claim them; by properly availing ourselves of these with offers of a price, and our peace, we shall get the Floridas in good time. But in the meantime we shall enter on the exercise of the right of passing down all the rivers which rising in our territory, run thro' the Floridas. Spain will not oppose it by force. But there is a difficulty in this acquisition which presents a handle to the malcontents among us, though th-y have not yet discovered it. Our confederation is certainly confined to the limits established by the revolution. The general government has no powers but such as the constitution has given it; and it has not given it a power of holding foreign territory, & still less of incorporating it into the Union. An amendment of the Constitution seems necessary for this. In the meantime we must ratify & pay our money, as we have treated, for a thing beyond the constitution, and rely on the nation to sanction an act done for its great good, without its previous authority. With respect to the disposal of the country, we must take the island of New Orleans and west side of the river as high up as Point Coupee, containing nearly the whole inhabitants, say about 50,000, and erect it into a state, or annex it to the Mississippi territory: and shut up all the rest from settlement for a long time to

come, endeavoring to exchange some of the country there unoccupied by Indians for the lands held by the Indians on this side the Mississippi, who will be glad to cede us their country here for an equivalent there: and we may sell out our lands here & pay the whole debt contracted before it comes due. The impost which will be paid by the inhabitants ceded will pay half the interest of the price we give: so that we really add only half the price to our debt. I have indulged myself in these details because the subject being new, it is advantageous to interchange ideas on it and to get our notions all corrected before we are obliged to act on them. In this idea I receive & shall receive with pleasure anything which may occur to you. Accept my affectionate salutations & assurances of my constant & great esteem & respect.

From Jefferson's Third Annual Message to Congress.

October 17, 1803.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States: —

In calling you together, fellow-citizens, at an earlier day than was contemplated by the act of the last session of Congress, I have not been insensible to the personal inconveniences neccessarily resulting from an unexpected change in your arrangements. But matters of great public concernment have rendered this call necessary, and the interest you feel in these will supersede in your minds all private considerations.

Congress witnessed, at their last session, the extraordinary agitation produced in the public mind by the suspension of our right of deposit at the port of New Orleans, no assignment of another place having been made according to treaty. They were sensible that the continuance of that privation would be more injurious to our nation than any consequences which could flow from any mode of redress, but reposing just confidence in the good faith of the government whose officer had committed the wrong, friendly and reasonable representations were resorted to, and the right of deposit was restored.

Previous, however, to this period, we had not been unaware of the danger to which our peace would be perpetually exposed while so important a key to the commerce of the western

country remained under foreign power. Difficulties, too, were presenting themselves as to the navigation of other streams, which, arising within our territories, passed through those adjacent. Propositions had, therefore, been authorized for obtaining, on fair conditions, the sovereignty of New Orleans, and of other possessions in that quarter interesting to our quiet, to such extent as was deemed practicable; and the provisional appropriation of two millions of dollars, to be applied and accounted for by the president of the United States, intended as part of the price, was considered as conveying the sanction of Congress to the acquisition proposed. The enlightened government of France saw, with just discernment, the importance to both nations of such liberal arrangements as might best and permanently promote the peace, friendship, and interests of both; and the property and sovereignty of all Louisiana, which had been restored to them, have on certain conditions been transferred to the United States by instruments bearing date the 30th of April last. When these shall have received the constitutional sanction of the senate, they will without delay be communicated to the representatives also, for the exercise of their functions, as to those conditions which are within the powers vested by the constitution in Congress. While the property and sovereignty of the Mississippi and its waters secure an independent outlet for the produce of the western States, and an uncontrolled navigation through their whole course, free from collision with other powers and the dangers to our peace from that source, the fertility of the country, its climate and extent, promise in due season important aids to our treasury, an ample provision for our posterity, and a wide-spread field for the blessings of freedom and equal laws.

With the wisdom of Congress it will rest to take those ulterior measures which may be necessary for the immediate occupation and temporary government of the country; for its incorporation into our Union; for rendering the change of government a blessing to our newly-adopted brethren; for securing to them the rights of conscience and of property; for confirming to the Indian inhabitants their occupancy and self-government, establishing friendly and commercial relations with them, and for ascertaining the geography of the country acquired. Such materials for your information, relative to its affairs in general, as the short space of time has permitted me

to collect, will be laid before you when the subject shall be in a state for your consideration.

Jefferson to Gallatin.

Nov. 9, 1803.

The memoranda you enclosed me from Mr. Clarke deserve great attention. Such articles of them as depend on the executive shall be arranged for the next post. The following articles belong to the legislature.

The administration of justice to be prompt. Perhaps the judges should be obliged to hold their courts weekly, at least for some time to come.

The ships of resident owners to be naturalized, and in general the laws of the U. S., respecting navigation, importation, exportation &c., to be extended to the ports of the ceded territory.

The hospital to be provided for.

Slaves not to be imported, except from such of the U. S. as prohibit importation.

Without looking at the old territorial ordinance, I had imagined it best to found a government for the territory or territories of *lower* Louisiana on that basis. But on examining it, I find it will not do at all; that it would turn all their laws topsy turvy. Still I believe it best to appoint a governor & three judges, with legislative powers; only providing that the judges shall form the laws, & the governor have a negative only, subject further to the negative of a national legislature. The existing laws of the country being now in force, the new legislature will of course introduce the trial by jury in *criminal* cases, first; the habeas corpus, the freedom of the press, freedom of religion &c., as soon as can be, and in general draw their laws and organization to the mould of ours by degrees as they find practicable without exciting too much discontent. In proportion as we find the people there riper for receiving these first principles of freedom, congress may from session to session confirm their enjoyment of them.

As you have so many more opportunities than I have of free confidence with individual members, perhaps you may be able to give them these hints to make what use of them they please. Affectionate salutations.

P.S. My idea that upper Louisiana should be continued

under its present form of government, only making it subordinate to the national government, and independent of lower Louisiana. No other government can protect it from intruders.

JEFFERSON TO LIVINGSTON.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4, 1803.

. . . Your treaty has obtained nearly a general approbation. The federalists spoke & voted against it, but they are now so reduced in their numbers as to be nothing. The question on its ratification in the Senate was decided by 24 against 7, which was 10 more than enough. The vote in the H. of R. for making provision for its execution was carried by 89 against 23, which was a majority of 66, and the necessary bills are going through the Houses by greater majorities. Mr. Pichon, according to instructions from his government, proposed to have added to the ratification a protestation against any failure in time or other circumstances of execution, on our part. He was told, that in that case we should annex a counter protestation, which would leave the thing exactly where it was. That this transaction had been conducted, from the commencement of the negotiation to this stage of it, with a frankness & sincerity honorable to both nations, and comfortable to the heart of an honest man to review; that to annex to this last chapter of the transaction such an evidence of mutual distrust, was to change its aspect dishonorably for us both, and contrary to truth as to us; for that we had not the smallest doubt that France would punctually execute its part; & I assured Mr. Pichon that I had more confidence in the word of the First Consul than in all the parchment we could sign. He saw that we had ratified the treaty; that both branches had passed, by great majorities, one of the bills for execution, & would soon pass the other two; that no circumstance remained that could leave a doubt of our punctual performance; & like an able & an honest minister, (which he is in the highest degree,) he undertook to do what he knew his employers would do themselves, were they here spectators of all the existing circumstances, and exchanged the ratifications purely and simply: so that this instrument goes to the world as an evidence of the candor & confidence of the nations in each other, which will have the best effects. This was the more justifiable, as Mr. Pichon knew that Spain had entered with us a protestation against our ratification of the

treaty, grounded 1st, on the assertion that the First Consul had not executed the conditions of the treaties of cession; & 2ly, that he had broken a solemn promise not to alienate the country to any nation. We answered, that these were private questions between France & Spain, which they must settle together; that we derived our title from the First Consul, & did not doubt his guarantee of it; and we, four days ago, sent off orders to the Governor of the Mississippi territory & General Wilkinson to move down with the troops at hand to New Orleans, to receive the possession from Mr. Laussat. If he is heartily disposed to carry the order of the Consul into execution, he can probably command a voluntary force at New Orleans, and will have the aid of ours also, if he desires it, to take the possession, & deliver it to us. If he is not so disposed, *we* shall take the possession, & it will rest with the government of France, by adopting the act as their own, & obtaining the confirmation of Spain, to supply the non-execution of their stipulation to deliver, & to entitle themselves to the compleat execution of our part of the agreements. In the meantime, the Legislature is passing the bills, and we are preparing everything to be done on our part towards execution; and we shall not avail ourselves of the three months' delay after possession of the province, allowed by the treaty for the delivery of the stock, but shall deliver it the moment that possession is known here, which will be on the 18th day after it has taken place. . . .

Jefferson to Joseph Priestley.

Washington, January 29, 1804.

. . . I very early saw that Louisiana was indeed a speck in our horizon which was to burst in a tornado; and the public are unapprised how near this catastrophe was. Nothing but a frank & friendly development of causes & effects on our part, and good sense enough in Bonaparte to see that the train was unavoidable, and would change the face of the world, saved us from that storm. I did not expect he would yield till a war took place between France and England, and my hope was to palliate and endure, if Messrs. Ross, Morris, &c. did not force a premature rupture, until that event. I believed the event not very distant, but acknolege it came on sooner than I had expected. Whether, however, the good sense of Bonaparte might not see the course predicted to be necessary & unavoid-

able, even before a war should be imminent, was a chance which we thought it our duty to try; but the immediate prospect of rupture brought the case to immediate decision. The *dénoument* has been happy; and I confess I look to this duplication of area for the extending a government so free and economical as ours, as a great achievement to the mass of happiness which is to ensue. Whether we remain in one confederacy, or form into Atlantic and Mississippi confederacies, I believe not very important to the happiness of either part. Those of the western confederacy will be as much our children & descendants as those of the eastern, and I feel myself as much identified with that country, in future time, as with this; and did I now foresee a separation at some future day, yet I should feel the duty & the desire to promote the western interests as zealously as the eastern, doing all the good for both portions of our future family which should fall within my power. . . .

Jefferson to Madison.

July 14, 04.

The enclosed reclamations of Girod & Chote against the claims of Bapstropp to a monopoly of the Indian commerce supposed to be under the protection of the 3d article of the Louisiana Convention, as well as some other claims to abusive grants, will probably force us to meet that question. The article has been worded with remarkable caution on the part of our negociators. It is that the inhabitants shall be admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of our Constn., to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens, and, *in the mean time, en* attendant, shall be maintained in their liberty, property & religion. That is that they shall continue under the protection of the treaty, until the principles of our constitution can be extended to them, when the protection of the treaty is to cease, and that of our own principles to take its place. But as this could not be done at once, it has been provided to be as soon as our rules will admit. Accordingly Congress has begun by extending about 20. particular laws by their titles, to Louisiana. Among these is the act concerning intercourse with the Indians, which establishes a system of commerce with them admitting no monopoly. That class of rights therefore are now taken from under the treaty & placed under the principles of our laws. I imagine it will be necessary to express an opinion

to Gov^r. Claiborne on this subject, after you shall have made up one. Affect^te salutations.

Jefferson to Madison.

Monticello, Aug. 7, '04.

. . . In order however to lessen the causes of appeal to the Convention, I sincerely wish that Congress at the next session may give to the Orleans territory a legislature to be chosen by the people, as this will be advancing them quite as fast as the rules of our government will admit; and the evils which may arise from the irregularities which such a legislature may run into, will not be so serious as leaving them the pretext of calling in a foreign umpire between them & us. . . .

From Jefferson's Second Inaugural Address.

March 4, 1805.

. . . I know that the acquisition of Louisiana has been disapproved by some, from a candid apprehension that the enlargement of our territory would endanger its union. But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions; and in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children, than by strangers of another family? With which shall we be most likely to live in harmony and friendly intercourse? . . .

The purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 constituted the first great chapter in the history of our national expansion. This purchase doubled the area of the United States, adding over 900,000 square miles. It comprised almost the entire region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, north of Texas,—the territory out of which have since been formed the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, North and South Dakota, with a great part of the States of Minnesota and Colorado, and also the Indian Territory, including Oklahoma. "The original domain of the Republic was equal to 102 States as large as Massachusetts. This addition was equal to 147, or 45 more than the original."

By a secret convention in 1762, confirmed by the Treaty of Paris in 1763, France had given this vast territory to Spain; and the control which Spain thus had of the mouth of the Mississippi became, as years went on, a matter of more and more serious concern to our Western people, for whom the Mississippi and its tributaries were the great avenues of travel and of trade. Our sagacious statesmen saw early what serious consequences might be involved in the situation. Franklin said to Jay in 1784: "I would rather agree with the Spaniards to buy at a great price the whole of their right on the Mississippi than sell a drop of its waters. A neighbor might as well ask me to sell my street door." Jefferson devoted his earnest thought to the subject years before 1803. As Secretary of State in 1790, when there seemed to be some danger of Great Britain seizing New Orleans, he expressed to Washington his opinion that, rather than see Louisiana and Florida added to the British Empire, we should take part in the general war which then seemed impending; and at the same time he warned the French to let the territory alone. See also his vigorous letter to Carmichael, our representative at the court of Madrid, in August, 1790. Jefferson's thought was constantly upon our

fortunes at the mouth of the Mississippi; and he succeeded in negotiating the treaty which for the dozen years before the Louisiana Purchase secured for us peaceful relations with Spain. It was in direct contravention of the treaty stipulations that Spain, in October, 1802, cut short our privilege of deposit at New Orleans.

In 1801 Spain, by a secret treaty, ceded the territory back to France. Napoleon planned a great expedition and colony for Louisiana, and had ambitious thoughts of the restoration in America of the French power which fell before England at Quebec. The intimations of the cession from Spain to France created much disturbance and alarm in America. "Kentucky was in a flame. The President was deeply stirred. The Spaniards had retained Louisiana on sufferance: the United States could have it at any time from *them*. But the French would be likely to hold their ancient possessions with a tighter clutch, and not content themselves with two or three trading-posts in a fertile territory large enough for an empire. Jefferson, from the hour when the intelligence reached him, had only this thought: The French must not have New Orleans. No one but ourselves must own our own street door." He addressed urgent instructions and suggestions to Mr. Livingston, our minister at Paris, embodying considerations which he knew would find their way to Napoleon. To his French friend, M. Dupont de Nemours, he also presented the American argument in a shrewd and sagacious letter, which he knew would have its weight in official circles. The United States could not let the French control the mouth of the Mississippi, and a conflict about it might finally necessitate an alliance of some sort between ourselves and Great Britain. In his annual message to Congress in December, 1802, he said, "The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations which will doubtless have just weight in any deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject."

Early in 1803 Jefferson sent Mr. Monroe, as a special ambassador, to join Mr. Livingston in Paris, charged with the fullest instructions, and authorized to give two million dollars, if he could do no better, for the island of New Orleans alone. The desire was to secure also — ten million dollars, if necessary, being authorized for all — such portion of the French territory as lay east of the Mississippi. The acquisition of the immense tract west of the Mississippi was not at the time contemplated. Monroe went, however, carrying with him the feeling of the excited nation and Jefferson's own full views, and was doubtless sure that the boldest action which contingencies might dictate would have sanction and approval. "Monroe well knew," says Morse in his Life of Jefferson, "that he had only fulfilled Jefferson's real wishes." "The entire credit — or discredit, if such there were — of the achievement," he adds, "belonged exclusively to Jefferson." Jefferson himself would have insisted that the credit was shared by those who so ably and tactfully represented him. Madison, then Secretary of State, upon receiving the report of the cession from Livingston and Monroe, wrote immediately (see his letter, July 29, 1803) to express to them Jefferson's "entire approbation" of their course; and Randall, in his Life of Jefferson (iii. 61–63), shows by various references how accordant it was with thoughts long in Jefferson's mind.

But it was a sudden and unexpected move of Napoleon which really determined the matter. Monroe arrived in Paris to find France on the eve of war with England, and Napoleon in negotiations with Livingston for the transfer to the United States of the whole of Louisiana. Napoleon knew that the British fleet could easily keep French forces away from the Mississippi; and, rather than have Great Britain seize Louisiana, he would sell it to the United States, getting what money he could out of it for use in the impending war. "I know the full value of Louisiana," he said, "and I have been desirous of repairing the fault of the French negotiators who abandoned it in 1763. But, if it escapes from me, it shall one day cost dearer to those who oblige me to strip myself of it than to those to whom I wish to deliver it. The English have successively taken from France Canada, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the richest portions of Asia. They shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. . . . I already consider the colony as entirely lost; and it appears to me that, in the hands of this growing power, it will be more useful to the policy and even to the commerce of France than if I should attempt to keep it." "I have given to England," he said afterward, "a maritime rival that will, sooner or later, humble her pride." The terms of the sale — "probably the largest transaction in real estate which the world has ever known" — were agreed upon after considerable bickering, the sum paid by the United States being fifteen million dollars. The treaty contained a positive provision that "the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." M. Marbois, the French minister, relates that, as soon as the three negotiators had signed the treaties, they all rose, and shook hands; and Mr. Livingston gave utterance to the joy and satisfaction of them all, saying: —

"We have lived long, but this is the noblest work of our whole lives. The treaty which we have just signed has not been obtained by art nor dictated by force, and is equally advantageous to the two contracting parties. It will change vast solitudes into flourishing districts. From this day the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank. The United States will re-establish the maritime rights of all the world, which are now usurped by a single nation. The instruments which we have just signed will cause no tears

to be shed: they prepare ages of happiness for innumerable generations of human creatures. The Mississippi and the Missouri will see them succeed one another and multiply, truly worthy of the regard and care of Providence, in the bosom of equality, under just laws, freed from the errors of superstition and bad government."

This is almost the only prophetic word touching the acquired territory which has come down to us from the time; and even Livingston was writing to Madison at the same moment that perhaps only New Orleans and the country east of it need be kept, in which case the western territory might be sold to some European power, to get back our purchase money. Jefferson for two years thought it not impossible that as a result of this enlargement of our territory a new nation might be born beyond the Mississippi. But in his second inaugural (March 4, 1805) he exclaimed: "But who can limit the extent to which the federative principle may operate effectively? The larger our association, the less will it be shaken by local passions; and, in any view, is it not better that the opposite bank of the Mississippi should be settled by our own brethren and children than by strangers of another family?"

The great West and its exploration had long been subjects of commanding interest with Jefferson. Old South Leaflet No. 127 is devoted to illustrations of his many services for the North-west. In Paris, in 1786, he met John Ledyard, the adventurous Connecticut traveller; and he writes in his diary (May 17, 1786): "I suggested to him the enterprise of exploring the western part of our continent, by passing through St. Petersburg to Kamschatka, and procuring a passage thence in some of the Russian vessels to Nootka Sound, whence he might make his way across the continent to America; and I undertook to have the permission of the Empress of Russia solicited. He eagerly embraced the proposition." See also in relation to Ledyard, whose effort failed, Jefferson's letters to Ezra Stiles, Sept. 1, 1786; Charles Thomson, Sept. 20, 1787; and William Carmichael, March 4, 1789. In 1793 Jefferson was the leading promoter of a movement, to be undertaken under the auspices of the American Philosophical Society, for the exploration of the far North-west to the Pacific by André Michaux. The plan miscarried; but Jefferson's instructions to Michaux (January, 1793) are interesting as the expression of an idea later realized in the expedition of Lewis and Clark. That expedition is memorable. It was determined on by Jefferson just as he sent Monroe to Paris to push the Louisiana negotiations. See his message to Congress, Jan. 18, 1803; and his instructions to Lewis, June 20. On July 15, on the eve of Lewis's departure, Jefferson writes to him, "Last night we received the treaty from Paris ceding Louisiana." Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis is printed in Old South Leaflet No. 44. Jefferson's varied services for the exploration and opening of the West are graphically summarized in Curtis's "The True Thomas Jefferson," p. 370. The account of Louisiana which Jefferson had prepared for Congress in 1803 from the best available sources, to clear up the general ignorance concerning the territory, is published in Old South Leaflet 105. See his queries concerning Louisiana in letters to Ephraim Kirby and William Dunbar, July, 1803.

The best general account of the purchase of Louisiana and of the debates and legislation incident to it is that by Henry Adams in his History of the United States during the Administration of Thomas Jefferson, vol. ii. See also Cooley's "Acquisition of Louisiana," Hosmer's "The Louisiana Purchase," and Barbé Marbois's History of Louisiana. See article on Annexations in Lalor's Cyclopedia, the chapter on "The Six Growths of the United States" in William Barrows's "The United States of Yesterday and To-day," and the paper on "The Louisiana Purchase," by Rev. C. F. Robertson, in the American Historical Association's Papers, I. The subject has prominent place in all the biographies of Jefferson. There is an excellent brief account in Gilman's Life of Monroe, in the American Statesmen Series; and the bibliography of the subject, by Professor J. F. Jameson, in the appendix to that volume, is very complete. See also the references in the valuable chapter on "Territorial Acquisitions and Divisions," by Justin Winsor and Professor Edward Channing, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. vii. The place, however, to which the thorough and first-hand student will go is the American State Papers, Foreign Relations, II. Pages 506–66 of this volume should be carefully read, as here are all the official communications which passed between Washington and Paris. The two conventions signed in connection with the treaty of cession appear here; and the student will give special attention to the memoirs prepared by Livingston for Napoleon, Madison's general instructions to Livingston and Monroe, March 2, 1803, Livingston's letters to Madison, April 13 and 17, 1803, giving account of the purchase, and Livingston and Monroe's letter to Madison, May 13, 1803.

Old South Leaflets

No. 129.

Monroe's Messages on Florida.

From Monroe's Second Annual Message to Congress, November 16, 1818.

Our relations with Spain remain nearly in the state in which they were at the close of the last session. The convention of 1802, providing for the adjustment of a certain portion of the claims of our citizens for injuries sustained by spoliation, and so long suspended by the Spanish Government, has at length been ratified by it, but no arrangement has yet been made for the payment of another portion of like claims, not less extensive or well founded, or for other classes of claims, or for the settlement of boundaries. These subjects have again been brought under consideration in both countries, but no agreement has been entered into respecting them. In the meantime events have occurred which clearly prove the ill effect of the policy which that Government has so long pursued on the friendly relations of the two countries, which it is presumed is at least of as much importance to Spain as to the United States to maintain. A state of things has existed in the Floridas the tendency of which has been obvious to all who have paid the slightest attention to the progress of affairs in that quarter. Throughout the whole of those Provinces to which the Spanish title extends the Government of Spain has scarcely been felt. Its authority has been confined almost exclusively to the walls of Pensacola and St. Augustine, within which only small garrisons have been maintained. Adventurers from every country, fugitives from justice, and absconding slaves have found an asylum there. Several tribes of Indians, strong in the number of their warriors, remarkable for their ferocity, and whose settlements extend to our limits, inhabit those Provinces. These

different hordes of people, connected together, disregarding on the one side the authority of Spain, and protected on the other by an imaginary line which separates Florida from the United States, have violated our laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves, have practiced various frauds on our revenue, a d committed every kind of outrage on our peaceable citizens which their proximity to us enabled them to perpetrate. The invasion of Amelia Island last year by a small band of adventurers, not exceeding 150 in number, who wrested it from the inconsiderable Spanish force stationed there, and held it several months, during which a single feeble effort only was made to recover it, which failed, clearly proves how completely extinct the Spanish authority had become, as the conduct of those adventurers while in possession of the island as distinctly shows the pernicious purposes for which their combination had been formed.

This country had, in fact, become the theater of every species of lawless adventure. With little population of its own, the Spanish authority almost extinct, and the colonial governments in a state of revolution, having no pretension to it, and sufficiently employed in their own concerns, it was in a great measure derelict, and the object of cupidity to every adventurer. A system of buccaneering was rapidly organizing over it which menaced in its consequences the lawful commerce of every nation, and particularly of the United States, while it presented a temptation to every people, on whose seduction its success principally depended. In regard to the United States, the pernicious effect of this unlawful combination was not confined to the ocean; the Indian tribes have constituted the effective force in Florida. With these tribes these adventurers had formed at an early period a connection with a view to avail themselves of that force to promote their own projects of accumulation and aggrandizement. It is to the interference of some of these adventurers, in misrepresenting the claims and titles of the Indians to land and in practising on their savage propensities, that the Seminole war is principally to be traced. Men who thus connect themselves with savage communities and stimulate them to war, which is always attended on their part with acts of barbarity the most shocking, deserve to be viewed in a worse light than the savages. They would certainly have no claim to an immunity from the punishment which, according to the rules of warfare practiced by the savages, might justly be inflicted on the savages themselves.

If the embarrassments of Spain prevented her from making an indemnity to our citizens for so long a time from her treasury for their losses by spoliation and otherwise, it was always in her power to have provided it by the cession of this territory. Of this her Government has been repeatedly apprised, and the cession was the more to have been anticipated as Spain must have known that in ceding it she would in effect cede what had become of little value to her, and would likewise relieve herself from the important obligation secured by the treaty of 1795, and all other compromitments respecting it. If the United States, from consideration of these embarrassments, declined pressing their claims in a spirit of hostility, the motive ought at least to have been duly appreciated by the Government of Spain. It is well known to her Government that other powers have made to the United States an indemnity for like losses sustained by their citizens at the same epoch.

There is nevertheless a limit beyond which this spirit of amity and forbearance can in no instance be justified. If it was proper to rely on amicable negotiation for an indemnity for losses, it would not have been so to have permitted the inability of Spain to fulfill her engagements and to sustain her authority in the Floridas to be perverted by foreign adventurers and savages to purposes so destructive to the lives of our fellow-citizens and the highest interests of the United States. The right of self-defense never ceases. It is among the most sacred, and alike necessary to nations and to individuals, and whether the attack be made by Spain herself or by those who abuse her power, its obligation is not the less strong. The invaders of Amelia Island had assumed a popular and respected title under which they might approach and wound us. As their object was distinctly seen, and the duty imposed on the Executive by an existing law was profoundly felt, that mask was not permitted to protect them. It was thought incumbent on the United States to suppress the establishment, and it was accordingly done. The combination in Florida for the unlawful purposes stated, the acts perpetrated by that combination, and, above all, the incitement of the Indians to massacre our fellow-citizens of every age and of both sexes, merited a like treatment and received it. In pursuing these savages to an imaginary line in the woods it would have been the height of folly to have suffered that line to protect them. Had that been done the war could never cease. Even if the territory had been exclu-

sively that of Spain and her power complete over it, we had a right by the law of nations to follow the enemy on it and to subdue him there. But the territory belonged, in a certain sense at least, to the savage enemy who inhabited it; the power of Spain had ceased to exist over it, and protection was sought under her title by those who had committed on our citizens hostilities which she was bound by treaty to have prevented, but had not the power to prevent. To have stopped at that line would have given new encouragement to these savages and new vigor to the whole combination existing there in the prosecution of all its pernicious purposes.

In suppressing the establishment at Amelia Island no unfriendliness was manifested toward Spain, because the post was taken from a force which had wrested it from her. The measure, it is true, was not adopted in concert with the Spanish Government or those in authority under it, because in transactions connected with the war in which Spain and the colonies are engaged it was thought proper in doing justice to the United States to maintain a strict impartiality toward both the belligerent parties without consulting or acting in concert with either. It gives me pleasure to state that the Governments of Buenos Ayres and Venezuela, whose names were assumed, have explicitly disclaimed all participation in those measures, and even the knowledge of them until communicated by this Government, and have also expressed their satisfaction that a course of proceedings had been suppressed which if justly imputable to them would dishonor their cause.

In authorizing Major-General Jackson to enter Florida in pursuit of the Seminoles care was taken not to encroach on the rights of Spain. I regret to have to add that in executing this order facts were disclosed respecting the conduct of the officers of Spain in authority there in encouraging the war, furnishing munitions of war and other supplies to carry it on, and in other acts not less marked which evinced their participation in the hostile purposes of that combination and justified the confidence with which it inspired the savages that by those officers they would be protected. A conduct so incompatible with the friendly relations existing between the two countries, particularly with the positive obligation of the fifth article of the treaty of 1795, by which Spain was bound to restrain, even by force, those savages from acts of hostility against the United States, could not fail to excite surprise. The commanding general was

convinced that he should fail in his object, that he should in effect accomplish nothing, if he did not deprive those savages of the resource on which they had calculated and of the protection on which they had relied in making the war. As all the documents relating to this occurrence will be laid before Congress, it is not necessary to enter into further detail respecting it.

Although the reasons which induced Major-General Jackson to take these posts were duly appreciated, there was nevertheless no hesitation in deciding on the course which it became the Government to pursue. As there was reason to believe that the commanders of these posts had violated their instructions, there was no disposition to impute to their Government a conduct so unprovoked and hostile. An order was in consequence issued to the general in command there to deliver the posts — Pensacola unconditionally to any person duly authorized to receive it, and St. Marks, which is in the heart of the Indian country, on the arrival of a competent force to defend it against those savages and their associates.

In entering Florida to suppress this combination no idea was entertained of hostility to Spain, and however justifiable the commanding general was, in consequence of the misconduct of the Spanish officers, in entering St. Marks and Pensacola to terminate it by proving to the savages and their associates that they should not be protected even there, yet the amicable relations existing between the United States and Spain could not be altered by that act alone. By ordering the restitution of the posts those relations were preserved. To a change of them the power of the Executive is deemed incompetent; it is vested in Congress only.

By this measure, so promptly taken, due respect was shown to the Government of Spain. The misconduct of her officers has not been imputed to her. She was enabled to review with candor her relations with the United States and her own situation, particularly in respect to the territory in question, with the dangers inseparable from it, and regarding the losses we have sustained for which indemnity has been so long withheld, and the injuries we have suffered through that territory, and her means of redress, she was likewise enabled to take with honor the course best calculated to do justice to the United States and to promote her own welfare.

Copies of the instructions to the commanding general, of his

correspondence with the Secretary of War, explaining his motives and justifying his conduct, with a copy of the proceedings of the courts-martial in the trial of Arbuthnot and Ambristie, and of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the minister plenipotentiary of Spain near this Government, and of the minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Madrid with the Government of Spain, will be laid before Congress.

The civil war which has so long prevailed between Spain and the Provinces in South America still continues, without any prospect of its speedy termination. The information respecting the condition of those countries which has been collected by the commissioners recently returned from thence will be laid before Congress in copies of their reports, with such other information as has been received from other agents of the United States.

It appears from these communications that the Government at Buenos Ayres declared itself independent in July, 1816, having previously exercised the power of an independent government, though in the name of the King of Spain, from the year 1810; that the Banda Oriental, Entre Rios, and Paraguay, with the city of Santa Fee, all of which are also independent, are unconnected with the present Government of Buenos Ayres: that Chili has declared itself independent and is closely connected with Buenos Ayres; that Venezuela has also declared itself independent, and now maintains the conflict with various success; and that the remaining parts of South America, except Monte Video and such other portions of the eastern bank of the La Plata as are held by Portugal, are still in the possession of Spain or in a certain degree under her influence.

By a circular note addressed by the ministers of Spain to the allied powers, with whom they are respectively accredited, it appears that the allies have undertaken to mediate between Spain and the South American Provinces, and that the manner and extent of their interposition would be settled by a congress which was to have met at Aix-la-Chapelle in September last. From the general policy and course of proceeding observed by the allied powers in regard to this contest it is inferred that they will confine their interposition to the expression of their sentiments, abstaining from the application of force. I state this impression that force will not be applied with the greater satisfaction because it is a course more consistent with justice

and likewise authorizes a hope that the calamities of the war will be confined to the parties only, and will be of shorter duration.

From the view taken of this subject, founded on all the information that we have been able to obtain, there is good cause to be satisfied with the course heretofore pursued by the United States in regard to this contest, and to conclude that it is proper to adhere to it, especially in the present state of affairs.

From Monroe's Third Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1819.

Having informed Congress, on the 27th of February last, that a treaty of amity, settlement, and limits had been concluded in this city between the United States and Spain, and ratified by the competent authorities of the former, full confidence was entertained that it would have been ratified by His Catholic Majesty with equal promptitude and a like earnest desire to terminate on the conditions of that treaty the differences which had so long existed between the two countries. Every view which the subject admitted of was thought to have justified this conclusion. Great losses had been sustained by citizens of the United States from Spanish cruisers more than twenty years before, which had not been redressed. These losses had been acknowledged and provided for by a treaty as far back as the year 1802, which, although concluded at Madrid, was not then ratified by the Government of Spain nor since, until the last year, when it was suspended by the late treaty, a more satisfactory provision to both parties, as was presumed, having been made for them. Other differences had arisen in this long interval, affecting their highest interests, which were likewise provided for by this last treaty. The treaty itself was formed on great consideration and a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, the subject-matter of every article having been for years under discussion and repeated references having been made by the minister of Spain to his Government on the points respecting which the greatest difference of opinion prevailed. It was formed by a minister duly authorized for the purpose, who had represented his Government in the United States and had been employed in this long-protracted negotiation several years, and who, it is not denied, kept strictly within the letter of his instructions. The faith of Spain was therefore pledged,

under circumstances of peculiar force and solemnity, for its ratification. On the part of the United States this treaty was evidently acceded to in a spirit of conciliation and concession. The indemnity for injuries and losses so long before sustained, and now again acknowledged and provided for, was to be paid by them without becoming a charge on the treasury of Spain. For territory ceded by Spain other territory of great value, to which our claim was believed to be well founded, was ceded by the United States, and in a quarter more interesting to her. This cession was nevertheless received as the means of indemnifying our citizens in a considerable sum, the presumed amount of their losses. Other considerations of great weight urged the cession of this territory by Spain. It was surrounded by the Territories of the United States on every side except on that of the ocean. Spain had lost her authority over it, and, falling into the hands of adventurers connected with the savages, it was made the means of unceasing annoyance and injury to our Union in many of its most essential interests. By this cession, then, Spain ceded a territory in reality of no value to her and obtained concessions of the highest importance by the settlement of long-standing differences with the United States affecting their respective claims and limits, and likewise relieved herself from the obligation of a treaty relating to it which she had failed to fulfill, and also from the responsibility incident to the most flagrant and pernicious abuses of her rights where she could not support her authority.

It being known that the treaty was formed under these circumstances, not a doubt was entertained that His Catholic Majesty would have ratified it without delay. I regret to have to state that this reasonable expectation has been disappointed; that the treaty was not ratified within the time stipulated and has not since been ratified. As it is important that the nature and character of this unexpected occurrence should be distinctly understood, I think it my duty to communicate to you all the facts and circumstances in my possession relating to it.

Anxious to prevent all future disagreement with Spain by giving the most prompt effect to the treaty which had been thus concluded, and particularly by the establishment of a government in Florida which should preserve order there, the minister of the United States who had been recently appointed to His Catholic Majesty, and to whom the ratification by his Government had been committed to be exchanged for that of

Spain, was instructed to transmit the latter to the Department of State as soon as obtained, by a public ship subjected to his order for the purpose. Unexpected delay occurring in the ratification by Spain, he requested to be informed of the cause. It was stated in reply that the great importance of the subject, and a desire to obtain explanations on certain points which were not specified, had produced the delay, and that an envoy would be dispatched to the United States to obtain such explanations of this Government. The minister of the United States offered to give full explanation on any point on which it might be desired, which proposal was declined. Having communicated this result to the Department of State in August last, he was instructed, notwithstanding the disappointment and surprise which it produced, to inform the Government of Spain that if the treaty should be ratified and transmitted here at any time before the meeting of Congress it would be received and have the same effect as if it had been ratified in due time. This order was executed, the authorized communication was made to the Government of Spain, and by its answer, which has just been received, we are officially made acquainted for the first time with the causes which have prevented the ratification of the treaty by His Catholic Majesty. It is alleged by the minister of Spain that this Government had attempted to alter one of the principal articles of the treaty by a declaration which the minister of the United States had been ordered to present when he should deliver the ratification by his Government in exchange for that of Spain, and of which he gave notice, explanatory of the sense in which that article was understood. It is further alleged that this Government had recently tolerated or protected an expedition from the United States against the Province of Texas. These two imputed acts are stated as the reasons which have induced His Catholic Majesty to withhold his ratification from the treaty, to obtain explanations respecting which it is repeated that an envoy would be forthwith dispatched to the United States. How far these allegations will justify the conduct of the Government of Spain will appear on a view of the following facts and the evidence which supports them :

It will be seen by the documents transmitted herewith that the declaration mentioned relates to a clause in the eighth article concerning certain grants of land recently made by His Catholic Majesty in Florida, which it was understood had con-

veyed all the lands which till then had been ungranted; it was the intention of the parties to annul these latter grants, and that clause was drawn for that express purpose and for none other. The date of these grants was unknown, but it was understood to be posterior to that inserted in the article; indeed, it must be obvious to all that if that provision in the treaty had not the effect of annulling these grants, it would be altogether nugatory. Immediately after the treaty was concluded and ratified by this Government an intimation was received that these grants were of anterior date to that fixed on by the treaty and that they would not, of course, be affected by it. The mere possibility of such a case, so inconsistent with the intention of the parties and the meaning of the article, induced this Government to demand an explanation on the subject, which was immediately granted, and which corresponds with this statement. With respect to the other act alleged, that this Government had tolerated or protected an expedition against Texas, it is utterly without foundation. Every discountenance has invariably been given to any such attempt from within the limits of the United States, as is fully evinced by the acts of the Government and the proceedings of the courts. There being cause, however, to apprehend, in the course of the last summer, that some adventurers entertained views of the kind suggested, the attention of the constituted authorities in that quarter was immediately drawn to them, and it is known that the project, whatever it might be, has utterly failed.

These facts will, it is presumed, satisfy every impartial mind that the Government of Spain had no justifiable cause for declining to ratify the treaty. A treaty concluded in conformity with instructions is obligatory, in good faith, in all its stipulations, according to the true intent and meaning of the parties. Each party is bound to ratify it. If either could set it aside without the consent of the other, there would be no longer any rules applicable to such transactions between nations. By this proceeding the Government of Spain has rendered to the United States a new and very serious injury. It has been stated that a minister would be sent to ask certain explanations of this Government; but if such were desired, why were they not asked within the time limited for the ratification? Is it contemplated to open a new negotiation respecting any of the articles or conditions of the treaty? If that were done, to

what consequences might it not lead? At what time and in what manner would a new negotiation terminate? By this proceeding Spain has formed a relation between the two countries which will justify any measures on the part of the United States which a strong sense of injury and a proper regard for the rights and interests of the nation may dictate.

In the course to be pursued these objects should be constantly held in view and have their due weight. Our national honor must be maintained, and a new and a distinguished proof be afforded of that regard for justice and moderation which has invariably governed the councils of this free people. It must be obvious to all that if the United States had been desirous of making conquests, or had been even willing to aggrandize themselves in that way, they could have had no inducement to form this treaty. They would have much cause for gratulation at the course which has been pursued by Spain. An ample field for ambition is open before them, but such a career is not consistent with the principles of their Government nor the interests of the nation.

From a full view of all circumstances, it is submitted to the consideration of Congress whether it will not be proper for the United States to carry the conditions of the treaty into effect in the same manner as if it had been ratified by Spain, claiming on their part all its advantages and yielding to Spain those secured to her. By pursuing this course we shall rest on the sacred ground of right, sanctioned in the most solemn manner by Spain herself by a treaty which she was bound to ratify, for refusing to do which she must incur the censure of other nations, even those most friendly to her, while by confining ourselves within that limit we can not fail to obtain their well-merited approbation. We must have peace on a frontier where we have been so long disturbed; our citizens must be indemnified for losses so long since sustained, and for which indemnity has been so unjustly withheld from them. Accomplishing these great objects, we obtain all that is desirable.

But His Catholic Majesty has twice declared his determination to send a minister to the United States to ask explanations on certain points and to give them respecting his delay to ratify the treaty. Shall we act by taking the ceded territory and proceeding to execute the other conditions of the treaty before this minister arrives and is heard? This is a case which forms a strong appeal to the candor, the magnanimity, and the honor of

this people. Much is due to courtesy between nations. By a short delay we shall lose nothing, for, resting on the ground of immutable truth and justice, we can not be diverted from our purpose. It ought to be presumed that the explanations which may be given to the minister of Spain will be satisfactory, and produce the desired result. In any event, the delay for the purpose mentioned, being a further manifestation of the sincere desire to terminate in the most friendly manner all differences with Spain, can not fail to be duly appreciated by His Catholic Majesty as well as by other powers. It is submitted, therefore, whether it will not be proper to make the law proposed for carrying the conditions of the treaty into effect, should it be adopted, contingent; to suspend its operation, upon the responsibility of the Executive, in such manner as to afford an opportunity for such friendly explanations as may be desired during the present session of Congress.

I communicate to Congress a copy of the treaty and of the instructions to the minister of the United States at Madrid respecting it; of his correspondence with the minister of Spain, and of such other documents as may be necessary to give a full view of the subject.

In the course which the Spanish government have on this occasion thought proper to pursue it is satisfactory to know that they have not been countenanced by any other European power. On the contrary, the opinion and wishes both of France and Great Britain have not been withheld either from the United States or from Spain, and have been unequivocal in favor of the ratification. There is also reason to believe that the sentiments of the Imperial Government of Russia have been the same, and that they have also been made known to the cabinet of Madrid.

In the civil war existing between Spain and the Spanish Provinces in this hemisphere the greatest care has been taken to enforce the laws intended to preserve an impartial neutrality. Our ports have continued to be equally open to both parties and on the same conditions, and our citizens have been equally restrained from interfering in favor of either to the prejudice of the other. The progress of the war, however, has operated manifestly in favor of the colonies. Buenos Ayres still maintains unshaken the independence which it declared in 1816, and has enjoyed since 1810. Like success has also lately attended Chili and the Provinces north of the La Plata bordering on it, and likewise Venezuela.

This contest has from its commencement been very interesting to other powers, and to none more so than to the United States. A virtuous people may and will confine themselves within the limit of a strict neutrality; but it is not in their power to behold a conflict so vitally important to their neighbors without the sensibility and sympathy which naturally belong to such a case. It has been the steady purpose of this Government to prevent that feeling leading to excess, and it is very gratifying to have it in my power to state that so strong has been the sense throughout the whole community of what was due to the character and obligations of the nation that very few examples of a contrary kind have occurred.

The distance of the colonies from the parent country and the great extent of their population and resources gave them advantages which it was anticipated at a very early period would be difficult for Spain to surmount. The steadiness, consistency, and success with which they have pursued their object, as evinced more particularly by the undisturbed sovereignty which Buenos Ayres has so long enjoyed, evidently give them a strong claim to the favorable consideration of other nations. These sentiments on the part of the United States have not been withheld from other powers, with whom it is desirable to act in concert. Should it become manifest to the world that the efforts of Spain to subdue these Provinces will be fruitless, it may be presumed that the Spanish Government itself will give up the contest. In producing such a determination it can not be doubted that the opinion of friendly powers who have taken no part in the controversy will have their merited influence.

From Monroe's Special Message to Congress, May 9, 1820.

In regard to the stipulation proposed, as the condition of the ratification of the treaty, that the United States shall abandon the right to recognize the revolutionary colonies in South America, or to form other relations with them when in their judgment it may be just and expedient so to do, it is manifestly so repugnant to the honor and even to the independence of the United States that it has been impossible to discuss it. In making this proposal it is perceived that His Catholic Majesty has entirely misconceived the principles on which this

government has acted in being a party to a negotiation so long protracted for claims so well-founded and reasonable, as he likewise has the sacrifices which the United States have made, comparatively, with Spain in the treaty to which it is proposed to annex so extraordinary and improper a condition.

Instigated by the English emissaries Nichols and Woodbine, the Seminoles, with scattering bands from other tribes, continued to annoy the border settlements in Georgia, and several times attacked transports on the Apalachicola River, in one instance mustering twelve hundred men and continuing the fight for several days. In January, 1818, General Jackson made a tready with the Creeks, and engaged them to join him in attack upon the Seminoles of Florida. In the spring of the same year, with a force of one thousand militia, five hundred regulars, and nearly two thousand Indians, he started on an expedition against the Seminoles, with the purpose of destroying their power and putting an end to their depredations.

Marching rapidly upon the Miccosukee towns of East Florida, he destroyed them, and soon afterwards attacked and destroyed the Fowl towns, the Indians making but a feeble resistance. General Jackson then marched upon St. Mark's, which was strongly fortified and had twenty guns mounted. The fort surrendered without resistance, and Prophet Francis and another Indian chief fell into the hands of the Americans, and were immediately hanged.

At Miccosukee, General Jackson found three hundred scalps of men, women, and children, most of them fresh, and which had evidently been recently exhibited with triumph. From St. Mark's, General Jackson marched to Suwanee, where he dispersed a large number of Indians, and took many prisoners, among them two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who were accused of being the chief agents in supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition and directing their operations against the whites. A court-martial was held to try them, and both being found guilty were sentenced to suffer death, one by hanging, the other to be shot, and the sentence was promptly executed. This action of General Jackson was severely criticised, both at the time, and subsequently in the political contests in which he became engaged. General Jackson afterwards marched against Pensacola, having been in-

formed that the Spanish government, while furnishing arms to the Indians who were hostile to the United States, refused to allow provisions to pass up the Escambia for the American troops. Upon the approach of General Jackson, the Spanish governor retired to Fort Barrancas, which, being menaced by the United States troops, was surrendered after a slight show of resistance.

A treaty of peace, consisting of sixteen articles, was concluded between Spain and the United States on the 22d of February, 1819, ceding the Floridas to the United States. The sixth article of this treaty provided that "the inhabitants of the territories ceded to the United States should be incorporated into the Union of the United States, as soon as might be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States."

The eighth article provided "that all the grants of land made before the 24th of January, 1818, by Spain, should be ratified and confirmed to the same extent that the same grants would be valid if the territories had remained under the dominion of Spain."

The ninth article provided that "the United States would cause satisfaction to be made for the injuries, if any, which by process of law should be established to have been suffered by the Spanish officers and individual Spanish inhabitants by the late operations of the American army in Florida."

These articles of the treaty have given validity to what are now known as Spanish grants and claims for losses, in which so many of the people of Florida were interested.

The treaty was finally ratified on the 19th of February, 1821. The change of flags in East Florida took place at St. Augustine, 10th of July, 1821, under Governor Coppinger on the part of Spain, and Colonel Robert Butler on the part of the United States; in West Florida, at Pensacola, on the 21st of July, 1821, Governor Callava representing the Spanish government, and General Jackson that of the United States.—*From Fairbanks's History of Florida.*

The best general history of Florida is that by George R. Fairbanks, which covers the whole period from the discovery by Ponce de Leon in 1512 to the close of the Florida War in 1842. The brief section giving an account of the military proceedings, in which General Jackson was the leader of our own forces, just preceding the cession of Florida to us by Spain, is printed above. It is with the situation immediately after these proceedings that the

passage in Monroe's message of 1818, which stands first in the present leaflet, deals. This situation and the general subject of the cession by Spain are discussed in Gilman's Life of Monroe, Morse's Life of John Quincy Adams, the lives of Jackson by Sumner and Parton (in the latter with special fulness), as well as in the general histories of the period.

"The Acquisition of Florida" is the subject of a special essay in the appendix to J. L. M. Curry's "Constitutional Government in Spain," which is particularly recommended to the student. See also article on Annexations in Lalor's Cyclopædia. For information concerning the early history of Florida, see John Gilmary Shea's chapter on Ancient Florida, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. ii., with its full bibliographical notes. A section of the famous "Narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas," giving an account of De Soto's explorations, is printed in Old South Leaflet No. 36.

The whole of Monroe's special message of May 9, 1820, a single paragraph of which is printed above, should be read by the careful student, who will also note the brief references in the annual messages of 1817 and 1820, and read the special messages of January 13 and March 26, 1818. Finally, in February, 1821, the ratification of the treaty by the Spanish government was received; and, in his second inaugural address the next month, Monroe said: —

"Great confidence is entertained that the late treaty with Spain, which has been ratified by both the parties, and the ratifications whereof have been exchanged, has placed the relations of the two countries on a basis of permanent friendship. The provision made by it for such of our citizens as have claims on Spain of the character described will, it is presumed, be very satisfactory to them, and the boundary which is established between the territories of the parties westward of the Mississippi, heretofore in dispute, has, it is thought, been settled on conditions just and advantageous to both. But to the acquisition of Florida too much importance can not be attached. It secures to the United States a territory important in itself, and whose importance is much increased by its bearing on many of the highest interests of the Union. It opens to several of the neighboring States a free passage to the ocean, through the province ceded, by several rivers, having their sources high up within their limits. It secures us against all future annoyance from powerful Indian tribes. It gives us several excellent harbors in the Gulf of Mexico for ships of war of the largest size. It covers, by its position in the gulf, the Mississippi and other great waters within our extended limits, and thereby enables the United States to afford complete protection to the vast and very valuable productions of our whole Western country which find a market through those streams."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 130.

The Fall of the Alamo.

CAPTAIN R. M. POTTER.

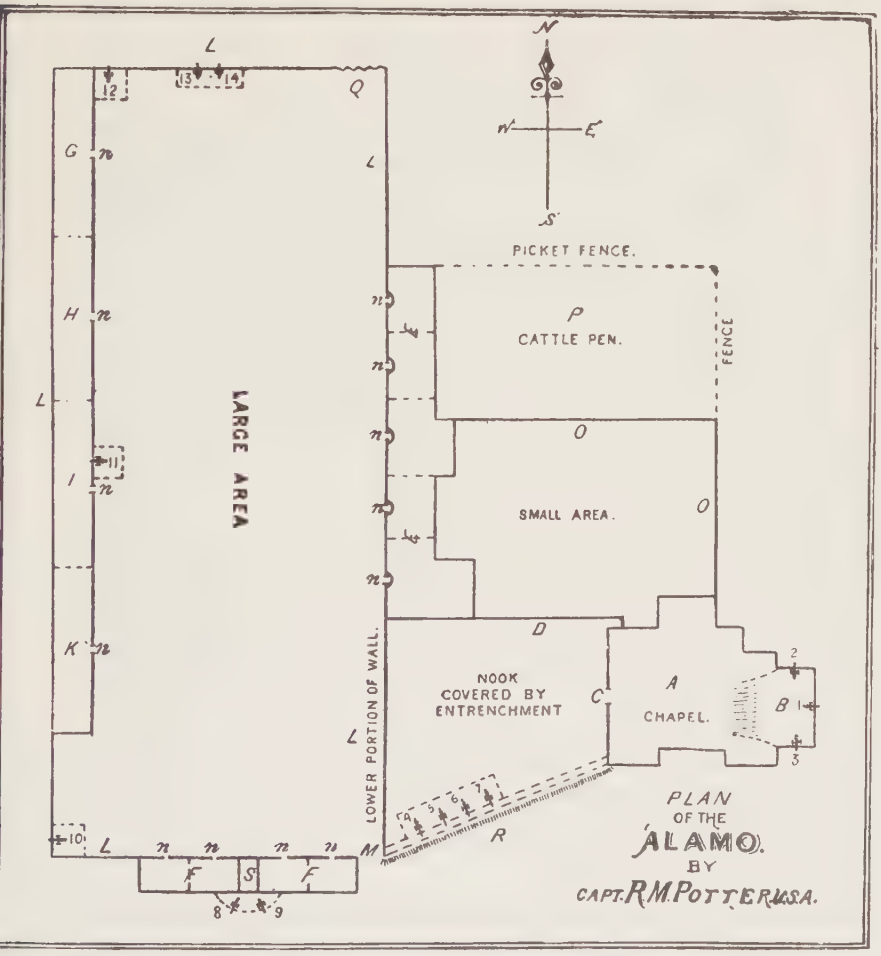
The fall of the Alamo and the massacre of its garrison, which in 1836 opened the campaign of Santa Ana in Texas, caused a profound sensation throughout the United States, and is still remembered with deep feeling by all who take an interest in the history of that section; yet the details of the final assault have never been fully and correctly narrated, and wild exaggerations have taken their place in popular legend. The reason will be obvious when it is remembered that not a single combatant of the last struggle from within the fort survived to tell the tale, while the official reports of the enemy were neither circumstantial nor reliable. When horror is intensified by mystery, the sure product is romance. A trustworthy account of the assault could be compiled only by comparing and combining the verbal narratives of such of the assailants as could be relied on for veracity, and adding to this such lights as might be gathered from military documents of that period, from credible local information, and from any source more to be trusted than rumor. As I was a resident at Matamoros when the event occurred, and for several months after the invading army retreated thither, and afterwards resided near the scene of action, I had opportunities for obtaining the kind of information referred to better perhaps than have been possessed by any person now living outside of Mexico. I was often urged to publish what I had gathered on the subject, as thereby an interesting passage of history might be preserved. I consequently gave to the San Antonio *Herald* in 1860 an imperfect outline of what is contained in this article, and the communication was soon after printed in pamphlet form. Subsequently to its appearance, however, I obtained many additional and interesting details, mostly from Colonel Juan N. Seguin of San Antonio, who had

been an officer of the garrison up to within six days of the assault. His death, of which I have since heard, no doubt took away the last of those who were soldiers of the Alamo when it was first invested. I now offer these sheets as a revision and enlargement of my article of 1860.

Before beginning the narrative, however, I must describe the Alamo and its surroundings as they existed in the spring of 1836. San Antonio, then a town of about 7,000 inhabitants, had a Mexican population, a minority of which was well affected to the cause of Texas, while the rest were inclined to make the easiest terms they could with whichever side might be for the time being dominant. The San Antonio River, which, properly speaking, is a large rivulet, divided the town from the Alamo, the former on the west side and the latter on the east. The Alamo village, a small suburb of San Antonio, was south of the fort, or Mission, as it was originally called, which bore the same name. The latter was an old fabric, built during the first settlement of the vicinity by the Spaniards; and having been originally designed as a place of safety for the colonists and their property in case of Indian hostility, with room sufficient for that purpose, it had neither the strength, compactness, nor dominant points which ought to belong to a regular fortification. The front of the Alamo Chapel bears date of 1757, but the other works must have been built earlier. As the whole area contained between two and three acres, a thousand men would have barely sufficed to man its defenses; and before a regular siege train they would soon have crumbled. Yoakum, in his history of Texas, is not only astray in his details of the assault, but mistaken about the measurement of the place. Had the works covered no more ground than he represents, the result of the assault might have been different.

From recollection of the locality, as I viewed it in 1841, I could in 1860 trace the extent of the outer walls, which had been demolished about thirteen years before the latter period. The dimensions here given are taken from actual measurement then made; and the accompanying diagram gives correct outlines, though without aiming at close exactitude of scale. The figure *A* in the diagram represents the chapel of the fort, 75 feet long, 62 wide, and 22½ high, with walls of solid masonry, four feet thick. It was originally of but one story, and if it then had any windows below, they were probably

walled up when the place was prepared for defense. *B* locates a platform in the east end of the chapel. *C* designates its door; and *D* marks a wall, 50 feet long and about 12 high, connecting the chapel with the long barrack, *E E*. The latter



was a stone house of two stories, 186 feet long, 18 wide, and 18 high. *F F* is a low, one-story stone barrack, 114 feet long and 17 wide, having in the centre a *porte-cochère*, *S*, which passed through it under the roof. The walls of these two houses were about thirty inches thick, and they had flat terrace roofs of beams and plank, covered with a thick coat

of cement. *G H I K* were flat-roofed, stone-walled rooms built against the inside of the west barrier. *L L L L L* denote barrier walls, enclosing an area, 154 yards long and 54 wide, with the long barrack on the east and the low barrack on the south of it. These walls were 2¾ feet thick, and from 9 to 12 high, except the strip which fronted the chapel, that being only four feet in height. This low piece of wall was covered by an oblique intrenchment, marked *R*, and yet to be described, which ran from the southwest angle of the chapel to the east end of the low barrack. *M* marks the place of a palisade gate at the west end of the intrenchment. The small letters (*n*) locate the doors of the several rooms which opened upon the large area. Most of those doors had within a semicircular parapet for the use of marksmen, composed of a double curtain of hides, upheld by stakes and filled in with rammed earth. Some of the rooms were also loopholed. *O O* mark barrier walls, from 5 to 6 feet high and 2¾ thick, which enclosed a smaller area north of the chapel and east of the long barrack. *P* designates a cattle yard east of the barrack and south of the small area; it was enclosed by a picket fence. *Q* shows the locality of a battered breach in the north wall.

The above-described fort, if it merited that name, was, when the siege commenced, in the condition for defense in which it had been left by the Mexican general, Cos, when he capitulated in the fall of 1835. The chapel, except the west end and north projection, had been unroofed, the east end being occupied by the platform of earth *B*, 12 feet high, with a slope for ascension to the west. On its level were mounted three pieces of cannon. One (1), a 12-pounder, pointed east through an embrasure roughly notched in the wall; another (2) was aimed north through a similar notch; and another (3) fired over the wall to the south. High scaffolds of wood enabled marksmen to use the top of the roofless wall as a parapet. The intrenchment (*R*) consisted of a ditch and breastwork, the latter of earth packed between two rows of palisades, the outer row being higher than the earthwork. Behind it and near the gate was a battery of four guns (4 5 6 7), all 4-pounders, pointing south. The *porte-cochère* through the low barrack was covered on the outside by a lunette of stockades and earth, mounted with two guns (8 9). In the southwest angle of the large area was an 18-pounder (10), in the centre of the west wall a twelve-pound carronade (11), and in the northwest corner of the same

area an 8-pounder (12), and east of this, within the north wall, two more guns of the same calibre (13 14). All the guns of this area were mounted on high platforms of stockades and earth, and fired over the walls. The several barriers were covered on the outside with a ditch, except where such guard was afforded by the irrigating canal, which flowed on the east and west sides of the fort and served to fill the fosse with water.

Thus the works were mounted with fourteen guns, which agrees with Yoakum's account of their number, though Santa Ana in his report exaggerates it to twenty-one. The number, however, has little bearing on the merits of the final defense, with which cannon had very little to do. These guns were in the hands of men unskilled in their use, and owing to the construction of the works most of them had little width of range. Of the buildings above described, the chapel and the two barracks are probably still standing. They were repaired and newly roofed during the Mexican war for the use of the United States Quartermaster's department.

In the winter of 1835–6 Colonel Neill, of Texas, was in command of San Antonio, with two companies of volunteers, among whom was a remnant of New Orleans Greys, who had taken an efficient part in the siege and capture of the town about a year before. At this time the Provisional Government of Texas, which, though in revolt, had not yet declared a final separation from Mexico, had broken into a conflicting duality. The Governor and Council repudiated each other, and each claimed the obedience which was generally not given to either. Invasion was impending, and there seemed to be little more than anarchy to meet it. During this state of affairs Lieutenant-Colonel Wm. B. Travis, who had commanded the scouting service of the late campaign, and had since been commissioned with the aforesaid rank as an officer of regular cavalry, was assigned by the Governor to relieve Colonel Neill of the command of his post. The volunteers, who cared little for either of the two governments, wished to choose their own leader, and were willing to accept Travis only as second in command. They were, therefore, clamorous that Neill should issue an order for the election of a Colonel. To get over the matter without interfering with Travis' right, he prepared an order for the election of a Lieutenant-Colonel, and was about to depart, when his men, finding out what he had done, mobbed him, and threatened his life unless he should comply with their wishes.

He felt constrained to yield, and on the amended order James Bowie was unanimously elected a full Colonel. He had been for several years a resident of Texas, and had taken a prominent part in the late campaign against Cos. His election occurred early in February, 1836, about two weeks before the enemy came in sight; and Travis, who had just arrived or came soon after, found Bowie in command of the garrison, and claiming by virtue of the aforesaid election the right to command him and the re-enforcement he brought. They both had their headquarters at the Alamo, where their men were quartered, and there must have been a tacit understanding on both sides that conflict of authority should as far as possible be avoided. This, however, could not have continued many days but for the common bond of approaching peril.

Travis brought with him a company of regular recruits, enlisted for the half regiment of cavalry which the Provisional Government had intended to raise. J. N. Seguin, a native of San Antonio who had been commissioned as the senior Captain of Travis' corps, joined him at the Alamo and brought into the garrison the skeleton of his company, consisting of nine Mexican recruits, natives, some of the town aforesaid and others of the interior of Mexico. The aforesaid company and squad of enlisted men and the two companies of volunteers under Bowie formed the garrison of the Alamo, which then numbered from a hundred and fifty-six to a hundred and sixty. Of these the volunteers comprised considerably more than half, and over two-thirds of the whole were men who had but recently arrived in the country. Seguin and his nine recruits were all that represented the Mexican population of Texas. Of that nine, seven fell in the assault, the Captain and two of his men having been sent out on duty before that crisis. David Crocket, of Tennessee, who had a few years before represented a squatter constituency in Congress, where his oratory was distinguished for hard sense and rough grammar, had joined the garrison a few weeks before, as had also J. B. Bonham, Esq., of South Carolina, who had lately come to volunteer in the cause of Texas, and was considered one of the most chivalrous and estimable of its supporters. I pair them, a rough gem and a polished jewel, because their names are among the best known of those who fell; but I am not aware that either of them had any command.

The main army of operation against Texas moved from

Laredo upon San Antonio in four successive detachments. This was rendered necessary by the scarcity of pasture and water on certain portions of the route. The lower division, commanded by Brigadier-General Urrea, moved from Matamoros on Goliad by a route near the coast, and a short time after the fall of the Alamo achieved the capture and massacre of Fannius' command.

The advance from Laredo, consisting of the dragoon regiment of Delores and three battalions of infantry, commanded by Santa Ana in person, arrived at San Antonio on the afternoon of February 22. No regular scouting service seems to have been kept up from the post of Bowie and Travis, owing probably to division and weakness of authority, for, though the enemy was expected, his immediate approach was not known to many of the inhabitants till the advance of his dragoons was seen descending the slope west of the San Pedro. A guard was kept in town with a sentinel on the top of the church, yet the surprise of the population was so nearly complete that one or more American residents engaged in trade fled to the Alamo, leaving their stores open. The garrison, however, received more timely notice, and the guard retired in good order to the fort. The confusion at the Alamo, which for the time being was great, did not impede a prompt show of resistance. In the evening, soon after the enemy entered the town, a shot from the 18-pounder of the fort was answered by a shell from the invaders; and this was followed by a parley, of which different accounts have been given. According to Santa Ana's official report, after the shell was thrown, a white flag w s sent out by the garrison with an offer to evacuate the fort if allowed to retire unmolested and in arms, to which reply was made that no terms would be admitted short of an unconditional surrender. Seguin, however, gave me a more reliable version of the affair. He related that after the firing a parley was sounded and a white flag raised by the invaders. Travis was not inclined to respond to it; but Bowie, without consulting him, and much to his displeasure, sent a flag of truce to demand what the enemy wanted. Their General, with his usual duplicity, denied having sounded a parley or raised a flag, and informed the messenger that the garrison could be recognized only as rebels, and be allowed no other terms than a surrender at discretion. When informed of this, Travis harangued his men and administered to them an oath that they would resist to the last.

The officers obtained a supply of corn, and added to their stock of beef after the enemy entered the town. On the same day a well, which a fatigue party had been digging within the walls, struck a fine vein of water. This was fortunate; for the irrigating canal, which flowed past the foot of the wall, was shortly after cut off by the enemy. The investment had not yet commenced, nor was the firing, I think, renewed that evening, and the few citizens who had taken refuge in the fort succeeded in leaving it during the night, if not earlier.

On the night of the 22d of February the enemy planted two batteries on the west side of the river, one bearing west and the other southwest from the Alamo, with a range which no houses then obstructed. They were the next day silenced by the fire of the 18-pounder of the fort, but were restored to activity on the following night. On the 24th another body of Mexican troops, a regiment of cavalry and three battalions of infantry arrived; and then the fort was invested and a regular siege commenced, which, counting from that day till the morning of the 6th of March, occupied eleven days. By the 27th seven more besieging batteries were planted, most of them on the east side of the river, and bearing on the northwest, southwest, and south of the fort; but there were none on the east. As that was the only direction in which the garrison would be likely to attempt retreat, Santa Ana wished to leave a temptation to such flitting, while he prepared to intercept it by forming his cavalry camp on what is now called the Powder House Hill, east of the Alamo.

During the first few days occasional sallies were made by the garrison to obstruct the enemy's movements and burn houses which might cover them. The operations of the siege, which, omitting the final assault, are probably given correctly in Yoakum's History of Texas, consisted of an active but rather ineffective cannonade and bombardment, with occasional skirmishing by day and frequent harassing alarms at night, designed to wear out the garrison with want of sleep. No assault was attempted, though it has been so asserted, till the final storming took place. The enemy had no siege train, but only light field pieces and howitzers; yet a breach was opened in the northern barrier, *Q*, near the northeast angle, and the chapel was the only building that withstood the cannonade firmly, as the balls often went clean through the walls of the others. Yet, when I saw them unrepaired five years later, they seemed less battered than might have been expected.

The stern resistance which had sprung up in the demoralized band within, and the comparative unity and order which must have come with it, were ushered in by a scene which promised no such outcome. The first sight of the enemy created as much confusion with as little panic at the Alamo as might be expected among men who had known as little of discipline as they did of fear. Mr. Lewis, of San Antonio, informed me that he took refuge for a few hours in the fort when the invaders appeared, and the disorder of the post beggared description. Bowie with a detachment was engaged in breaking open deserted houses in the neighborhood and gathering corn, while another squad was driving cattle into the enclosure east of the long barrack. Some of the volunteers, who had sold their rifles to obtain the means of dissipation, were clamoring for guns of any kind; and the rest, though in arms, appeared to be mostly without orders or a capacity for obedience. No "army in Flanders" ever swore harder. He saw but one officer, who seemed to be at his proper post and perfectly collected. This was an Irish Captain named Ward, who, though generally an inveterate drunkard, was now sober, and stood quietly by the guns of the south battery, ready to use them. Yet amid the disorder of that hour no one seemed to think of flight; the first damaging shock, caused by the sight of the enemy, must have been cured by the first shell that he threw; and the threat conveyed by Santa Ana's message seems to have inspired a greater amount of discipline than those men had before been thought capable of possessing. The sobered toper who stood coolly by his guns was the first pustule which foretold a speedy inoculation of the whole mass with that qualification.

The conflict of authority between Bowie and Travis, owing probably to the caution in which neither was deficient, had luckily produced no serious collision; and it was perhaps as fortunate that, at about the second day of the siege, the rivalry was cut short by a prostrating illness of the former, when Bowie was stricken by an attack of pneumonia, which would probably have proved fatal, had not its blow been anticipated by the sword. This left Travis in undisputed command.

The investment was not too rigid to admit of the successful exit of couriers by night, and one or two had been sent out, since the enemy appeared, with letters to Colonel Fannin at Goliad, asking for aid. On the 29th of February it was re-

solved to send an officer, who, in addition to bearing despatches, might make his own influence and information available to accomplish the object of his mission. Captain Seguin was recommended by most of the officers; for, as he was of Spanish race and language, and well acquainted with the surrounding country, it was thought that he would be more likely than any one of his rank to succeed in passing the enemy's lines. Travis wished to retain him in the garrison; but at a council of war, held on the night of the 29th, he yielded to the wishes of the majority. That night Seguin and his orderly, Antonio Cruz Oroche, prepared for the sally. Another of his Mexican recruits, named Alexandro de la Garza, had already been sent as a courier to the Provisional Government. Having no horse or equipments for himself, the Captain requested and obtained those of Bowie, who was already so ill that he hardly recognized the borrower. To him and the rest Seguin bade what proved to be a last adieu, and sallying from the postern on the northern side, took the high road to the east. As might be expected, the rank and file had begun to look with jealousy on any departure from within, though of but one or two; and when Seguin produced the order which was to pass him and his orderly out, the sentinel at the postern began a rude comment; but a few words from the Captain, intimating that his errand was one which might bring safety, at once soothed the rough soldier, who bade him God-speed.

The road which the two horsemen took passed near the cavalry camp of the enemy, and where it crossed their lines was stationed a guard of dragoons, who were then resting, dismounted. Seguin and his man rode leisurely up towards them, responding in Spanish to the hail of their sentinel that they were countrymen. They were doubtless taken for Mexican rancheros of that neighborhood, and seemed to be riding up to report; but, when near enough for a bold start, they dashed past the guard at full speed. The hurried fire of the troopers was ineffective, and before they were in the saddle the fugitives, who were both well mounted, were far ahead. The latter then took to the bush and made good their escape. The next day Seguin met an officer from Fannin's post, who informed him that his mission would be wholly unavailing, and advised him to join the camp then forming at Gonzales, which he did.

On the following night, the 1st of March, a company of thirty-two men from Gonzales made its way through the

enemy's lines, and entered the Alamo never again to leave it. This must have raised the force to 188 men or thereabout, as none of the original number of 156 had fallen.

On the night of the 3d of March, Travis sent out another courier with a letter of that date to the government, which reached its destination. In that last despatch he says: "With a hundred and forty-five men I have held this place ten days against a force variously estimated from 1,500 to 6,000, and I shall continue to hold it till I get relief from my countrymen, or I will perish in the attempt. We have had a shower of bombs and cannon-balls continually falling among us the whole time, yet none of us have fallen. We have been miraculously preserved." As this was but two days and three nights before the final assault, it is quite possible that not a single defender was stricken down till the fort was stormed. At the first glance it may seem almost farcical that there should be no more result from so long a fire, which was never sluggish; but if so, this was a stage on which farce was soon to end in tragedy, and those two elements seem strangely mingled through the whole contest. But the fact above referred to was not really farcical, however singular, and it serves merely to illustrate the mysterious doctrine of chance. It must have tended to uphold the determination of men in a situation where the favor of luck is so apt to be accepted as the shielding of Providence. Travis, when he said, "We have been miraculously preserved," no doubt expressed a sincere feeling, in which his companions shared; for such fancies are apt to take a strong contagious hold of men who stand day after day unharmed within a step of death. It is a time when the fierce, profane, and dissolute often begin for the first time to look upward. It is worthy of note that, although the readiness of couriers to go out indicates a consciousness that the chance of life was at least as good without as within, we know not of a single case of night flitting. Brute bravery or reckless despair would hardly have produced this without some exceptions. The incident of the sentinel at the postern probably showed what were prevailing traits,—scorn of desertion with readiness for hope. In many a rough bosom that hope had probably a new and half-comprehended faith under it. Though the hope was disappointed, I trust that the faith was not all in vain.

In stating the force of the garrison during the previous ten days, Travis did not include the little re-enforcement which had

come in only two days before; yet, as he mentions but 145, while the garrison is known to have numbered 156 when the enemy appeared, he must have rated eleven as ineffective or absent. A part of them may have been counted out as departed couriers, and the rest had perhaps sunk under the fatigue of duty. Had there been any wounded, he would probably have referred to them.

On the 4th of March Santa Ana called a council of war, and fixed on the morning of the 6th for the final assault. The besieging force now around the Alamo, comprising all the Mexican troops which had yet arrived, consisted of the two dragoon regiments of Dolores and Tampico, which formed a brigade, commanded by General Andrade, two companies or batteries of artillery under Colonel Ampudia, and six battalions of infantry, namely, Los Zapadores (engineer troops), Jimenes, Guerrero, Matamoros, Toluca, and Tres Villas. These six battalions of foot were to form the storming forces. The order for the attack, which I have read, but have no copy of, was full and precise in its details, and was signed by General Amador, as Chief of Staff. The infantry were directed at a certain hour between midnight and dawn to form at convenient distances from the fort in four columns of attack and a reserve. These dispositions were not made by battalions, for the light companies of all were incorporated with the Zapadores to form the reserve, and other transpositions were made. A certain number of scaling ladders, axes, and fascines were to be borne by particular columns. A commanding officer, with a second to replace him in case of accident, was named, and a point of attack designated for each column. The cavalry were to be stationed at suitable points around the fort to cut off fugitives. From what I have learned from men engaged in the assault, it seems that these dispositions were modified before it was carried out so as to combine the five bodies of infantry, including the reserve, into only three columns of attack, thus leaving no actual reserve but the cavalry. The immediate direction of the assault seems to have been intrusted to General Castrillon, a Spaniard by birth and a brilliant soldier. Santa Ana took his station, with a part of his staff and all the bands of music, at a battery about five hundred yards south of the Alamo and near the old bridge, from which post a signal was to be given by a bugle-note for the columns to move simultaneously at double-quick time against

the fort. One, consisting of Los Zapadores, Toluca, and the light companies, and commanded by Castrillon, was to rush through the breach on the north; another, consisting of the battalion of Jimenes and other troops, and commanded by General Cos, was to storm the chapel; and a third, whose leader I do not recollect, was to scale the west barrier. Cos, who had evacuated San Antonio a year before under capitulation, was assigned to the most difficult point of attack, probably to give him an opportunity to retrieve his standing. By the timing of the signal it was calculated that the columns would reach the foot of the wall just as it should become sufficiently light for good operation.

When the hour came, the south guns of the Alamo were answering the batteries which fronted them; but the music was silent till the blast of a bugle was followed by the rushing tramp of soldiers. The guns of the fort opened upon the moving masses, and Santa Ana's bands struck up the assassin note of *deguello*, or no quarter. But a few and not very effective discharges of cannon from the works could be made before the enemy were under them, and it was probably not till then that the worn and wearied garrison was fully mustered. Castrillon's column arrived first at the foot of the wall, but was not the first to enter. The guns of the north, where Travis commanded in person, probably raked the breach, and this or the fire of the riflemen brought the column to a disordered halt, and Colonel Duque, who commanded the battalion of Toluca, fell dangerously wounded; but, while this was occurring, the column from the west crossed the barrier on that side by escalade at a point north of the centre, and, as this checked resistance at the north, Castrillon shortly after passed the breach. It was probably while the enemy was thus pouring into the large area that Travis fell at his post, for his body, with a single shot in the forehead, was found beside the gun at the northwest angle. The outer walls and batteries, all except one gun, of which I will speak, were now abandoned by the defenders. In the mean time Cos had again proved unlucky. His column was repulsed from the chapel, and his troops fell back in disorder behind the old stone stable and huts that stood south of the southwest angle. There they were soon rallied and led into the large area by General Amador. I am not certain as to his point of entrance, but he probably followed the escalade of the column from the west.

This all passed within a few minutes after the bugle sounded. The garrison, when driven from the thinly manned outer defences, whose early loss was inevitable, took refuge in the buildings before described, but mainly in the long barrack; and it was not till then, when they became more concentrated and covered within, that the main struggle began. They were more concentrated as to space, not as to unity of command; for there was no communicating between buildings, nor, in all cases, between rooms. There was little need of command. however, to men who had no choice left but to fall where they stood before the weight of numbers. There was now no retreating from point to point, and each group of defenders had to fight and die in the den where it was brought to bay. From the doors, windows, and loopholes of the several rooms around the area the crack of the rifle and the hiss of the bullet came fierce and fast; as fast the enemy fell and recoiled in his first efforts to charge. The gun beside which Travis fell was now turned against the buildings, as were also some others, and shot after shot was sent crashing through the doors and barricades of the several rooms. Each ball was followed by a storm of musketry and a charge; and thus room after room was carried at the point of the bayonet, when all within them died fighting to the last. The struggle was made up of a number of separate and desperate combats, often hand to hand, between squads of the garrison and bodies of the enemy. The bloodiest spot about the fort was the long barrack and the ground in front of it, where the enemy fell in heaps.

Before the action reached this stage, the turning of Travis' gun by the assailants was briefly imitated by a group of the defenders. "A small piece on a high platform," as it was described to me by General Bradburn, was wheeled by those who manned it against the large area after the enemy entered it. Some of the Mexican officers thought it did more execution than any gun which fired outward; but after two effective discharges it was silenced, when the last of its cannoneers fell under a shower of bullets. I cannot locate this gun with certainty, but it was probably the twelve-pound carronade which fired over the centre of the west wall from a high commanding position. The smallness assigned to it perhaps referred only to its length. According to Mr. Ruiz, then the Alcalde of San Antonio, who, after the action, was required to point out the slain leaders to

Santa Ana, the body of Crocket was found in the west battery just referred to; and we may infer that he either commanded that point or was stationed there as a sharpshooter. The common fate overtook Bowie in his bed in one of the rooms of the low barrack, when he probably had but a few days of life left in him; yet he had enough remaining, it is said, to shoot down with his pistols more than one of his assailants ere he was butchered on his couch. If he had sufficient strength and consciousness left to do it, we may safely assume that it was done.

The chapel, which was the last point taken, was carried by a *coup de main* after the fire of the other buildings was silenced. Once the enemy in possession of the large area, the guns of the south could be turned to fire into the door of the church, only from fifty to a hundred yards off, and that was probably the route of attack. The inmates of this last stronghold, like the rest, fought to the last, and continued to fire down from the upper works after the enemy occupied the floor. A Mexican officer told of seeing one of his soldiers shot in the crown of the head during this mêlée. Towards the close of the struggle Lieutenant Dickenson, with his child in his arms, or, as some accounts say, tied to his back, leaped from the east embrasure of the chapel, and both were shot in the act. Of those he left behind him, the bayonet soon gleaned what the bullet had left; and in the upper part of that edifice the last defender must have fallen. The morning breeze which received his parting breath probably still fanned his flag above that fabric, for I doubt not he fell ere it was pulled down by the victors.

The Alamo had fallen; but the impression it left on the invader was the forerunner of San Jacinto. It is a fact not often remembered that Travis and his band fell under the Mexican Federal flag of 1824, instead of the Lone Star of Texas, although Independence, unknown to them, had been declared by the new Convention four days before at Washington, on the Brazos. They died for a Republic of whose existence they never knew. The action, according to Santa Ana's report, lasted thirty minutes. It was certainly short, and possibly no longer time passed between the moment the enemy entered the breach and that when resistance died out. The assault was a task which had to be carried out quickly or fail. Some of the incidents which have to be related separately occurred simultaneously, and all occupied very little time. The

account of the assault which Yoakum and others have adopted as authentic is evidently one which popular tradition has based on conjecture. By a rather natural inference it assumes that the enclosing walls, as in the case of regular forts, were the principal works, and that in storming these the main conflict took place. The truth was, these extensive barriers formed in reality nothing more than the outworks, speedily lost, while the buildings within constituted the citadel and the scene of sternest resistance. Yoakum's assertion that Santa Ana, during the height of the conflict, was under the works, urging on the escalade in person, is exceedingly fabulous. Castrillon, not Santa Ana, was the soul of the assault. The latter remained at his south battery, viewing the operations from the corner of a house which covered him, till he supposed the place was nearly mastered, when he moved up towards the Alamo, escorted by his aids and bands of music, but turned back on being greeted by a few shots from the upper part of the chapel. He, however, entered the area towards the close of the scene, and directed some of the last details of the butchery. It cannot be denied that Santa Ana in the course of his career showed occasional fits of dashing courage, but he did not select this field for an exhibition of that quality. About the time the area was entered, a few men, cut off from inward retreat, leaped from the barriers, and attempted flight, but were all sabred or speared by the cavalry except one, who succeeded in hiding himself under a small bridge of the irrigating ditch. There he was discovered and reported a few hours after by some laundresses engaged in washing near the spot. He was executed. Half an hour or more after the action was over a few men were found concealed in one of the rooms under some mattresses. General Houston, in his letter of the 11th, says as many as seven; but I have generally heard them spoken of as only four or five. The officer to whom the discovery was first reported entreated Santa Ana to spare their lives; but he was sternly rebuked, and the men ordered to be shot, which was done. Owing to the hurried manner in which the mandate was obeyed, and the confusion prevailing at the moment, a Mexican soldier was accidentally killed with them. A negro belonging to Travis, the wife of Lieutenant Dickenson, who at the time was *enceinte*, and a few Mexican women with their children were the only inmates of the fort whose lives were spared. The massacre involved no women and but one

child. Lieutenant Dickenson commanded the gun at the east embrasure of the chapel. His family was probably in one of the small vaulted rooms of the north projection, which will account for his being able to take his child to the rear of the building when it was being stormed. An irrigating canal ran below the embrasure, and his aim may have been to break the shock of his leap by landing in the mud of that waterless ditch, and then try to escape, or he may have thought that so striking an act would plead for his life; but the shower of bullets which greeted him told how vain was the hope. The authenticity of this highly dramatic incident has been questioned, but it was asserted from the first, and was related to me by an eye-witness engaged in the assault.*

It was asserted on the authority of one of the women that, while the church was being stormed, Major Evans, the Master of Ordnance, rushed with a torch or burning match towards the magazine of the fort to fire it, when he was shot down before his object was accomplished. It may seem unlikely that any of the women would be in a position to witness such an incident, but they may have been put into the magazine as a place most sheltered from the enemy's shots. The powder was probably stored in the little vaulted room on the north of the chapel which I have just referred to. †

There were two officers of the name just mentioned in the garrison of the Alamo, Major Robert Evans, Master of Ordnance, an Irishman, and Captain J. B. Evans, of Texas, a nephew of General Jacob Brown, who formerly commanded the United States army.

I must now endeavor to approximate as nearly as can be done by inference, for I have no direct data, to the number of troops engaged in the assault and the amount of their loss,—

*I had for several years in Texas as a servant one of the Mexican soldiers captured at San Jacinto, Sergeant Becero, of the battalion of Matamoros. He was in the assault, and witnessed Dickenson's leap. He also saw the body of Bowie on his bed, where he had been killed, and witnessed the execution of the few men who were found in concealment after the action was over. He did not know the names of Bowie or Dickenson, and related the circumstances, not in reply to inquiries, but in a natural way as recollections in narrating his experience. Many absurd stories about the admissions made by Mexicans touching the force of the assailants and the amount of their loss at the Alamo are based on sycophantic statements, drawn by leading questions from prisoners of the lower class.

†In 1841 the husband of one of the Mexican women who were with the garrison during the siege and assaults pointed out to me the vaulted room referred to, and observed, "During the fight and massacre five or six women stood in that room all in a huddle." He was an intelligent man, but so given to embellishing whatever he related that I did not then rely much on his information; but I have since called it to mind in connection with what is above said. This man did not refer to Evans' attempt, nor did he say that the cell referred to was used for storing powder, but, according to my recollection, it was the most fitting place for a magazine which I saw about the Alamo.

matters which have been the subject of absurd perversion on both sides. The old popular tale of Texas that the Alamo was stormed by ten thousand men, of whom a thousand or more were killed, shows how rapidly legend may grow up even in this age, and the belief which has been given to it is worthy of an era when miracles were considered frequent. The entire force with which Santa Ana invaded Texas in 1836, and which after his defeat he rated at 6,000 men, probably amounted to 7,500 or 8,500, as it consisted of seventeen corps; viz., three regiments of horse and fourteen battalions of foot. It is proper here to observe that the Mexicans apply the term regiment only to cavalry corps, a Colonel's command of infantry being always called a battalion. The nominal complement of a regiment or battalion is 1,500; but I never heard of one that was full, and seldom saw one during my long residence in Mexico that contained as much as a third of that number. I doubt if it is considered convenient ever to swell one to over 500 men: for the host of officers who have sufficient influence to obtain commands can be supplied only by keeping up the number of corps at the expense of their fulness. I saw all the corps composing the said army when it retreated from Texas to Matamoros after the campaign of 1836, and from the size of those which had not been in action, as well as from the remaining bulk of those which had suffered, after allowing for probable loss, I am convinced that their average strength when they entered Texas was short of 500 men each, and that the smaller of the two amounts I have assigned to the aggregate is most likely to be true.

This estimate applies especially to the six battalions of infantry which formed the assaulting force of the Alamo. They may possibly have numbered 3,000 men; but from the best information and inference I have been able to gather, I believe that their aggregate did not exceed and may have fallen short of 2,500. Santa Ana's invariable practice was to exaggerate his force before an action, by way of threat, and to underrate it after, whether to excuse defeat or magnify victory; and in accordance with this trickery, in his report of the taking of the Alamo, he sets down his storming force at 1,400, his loss of 60 killed and 300 wounded, and the number of the garrison all told and all killed at 600. Where the slaughter was wrought by good fire-arms in good hands at close quarters there would hardly be such disparity between the number of killed and

wounded. The probability is that he struck off an even thousand from the round numbers of the assaulters and a hundred or two from the number of his killed, while he made out as big a butchery of rebels as Mexican credulity would swallow. If we correct his falsification on this assumption, he had in the assault 2,400, and lost in killed and wounded 460 or 560. Anselmo Borgara, a Mexican, who first reported the fall of the Alamo to General Houston, at Gonzales, having left San Antonio the evening after it occurred, stated that the assaulting force amounted to 2,300 men, of whom 521 were killed and as many wounded. He had probably found means of ascertaining with approximate correctness the number of infantry at San Antonio; but his report of the loss has evidently acquired its bulk by the process of doubling. Neither Mexican troops nor any others are apt to take forts with a loss of more than two-fifths of their number. He had probably heard of 521 as the total of killed and wounded, and then converted the whole into the former and supposed an equal amount of the latter. The odd numbers attached to the hundreds, and the limits which probability would assign to a large loss, favor the belief that he had heard the result of an actual count of the whole deficit. This analysis of falsehood may not be a very sure way of finding out truth, but it is not without value when it has some corroboration. The Mexican officers captured at San Jacinto, including Santa Ana's secretary, as I was told by Colonel Seguin, were generally of the opinion that the loss at the Alamo in killed and wounded was about 500. Some rated it lower, and others higher; and one, but only one, went as high as 700. The opinions of such enlisted men as I have conversed with were about the same as those of the officers, ranging from four to six hundred. Nothing is more apt to make an exaggerated impression on the casual view than a field of slaughter, and I think that the higher of the above estimates may be errors of that kind. General Bradburn, who was at the scene of action soon after it occurred, believed that the eventual loss to the service (killed and disabled for life) would be 300. This I consider equivalent to 500 killed and wounded, and it is my opinion that the Mexican loss at the Alamo differed little from that number.

Now, if 500 men were bullet stricken by 180 in half an hour or little more, it was a rapidity of bloodshed which needs no exaggeration; but it may require strong proofs to save it from

the imputation of fiction, for defenders of better forts than the Alamo seldom slay many times more than their own number, unless they possess extraordinary means or opportunities for destruction. The slaughter was not in this case the carnage of unresisted pursuit, like that of San Jacinto, nor the sweeping havoc of cannon under favorable circumstances, like that of Sandusky. The main element of defence was the individual valor and skill of men who had few advantages of fortification, ordnance, discipline, or command. All their deficiencies, which were glaring, serve only to enhance the merit of individuality, in which no veterans could have excelled them. It required no ordinary bravery, even in greatly superior numbers, to overcome a resistance so determined. The Mexican troops displayed more of it in this assault than they have done on almost any other occasion; but it must be remembered that better troops than those of Santa Ana always fail under loss as heavy as romance often assigns to the assailants of the Alamo.

If we owe to departed heroes the duty of preserving their deeds from oblivion, we ought to feel as strongly that of defending their memory against the calumnious effect of false eulogy, which in time might cause their real achievements to be doubted.*

Santa Ana, when he marched on Texas, counted on finding a fortified position at or near San Antonio, but supposed it would be at the Mission of Concepcion, an old church, two miles below the town. That strong building, with the aid of obedience and labor, might have been converted into a tenable

*A brief account of the fall of the Alamo, related in legendary style by Francisco Ruiz, who lived at San Antonio when the event occurred, was published in the Texas Almanac of 1860. The narrator shows total ignorance of the details of the assault, which he blends with a cannonade between batteries that went before it, and, if the printer has not blundered for him, imagines that the storming of the fort began at 3 P.M. on the 6th. This is so contrary to the recollection of old residents, that it began at dawn, and was soon over, that I think "P.M." must have been printed in place of A.M. He asserts that, after a long attack and repeated repulses, it ended with the scaling of the outer wall, which formed the final success. He has no knowledge of the speedy loss of the outward barriers, or of the main conflict inside. He rates the besieging forces at 4,000, which would be correct if the eight corps, including two of cavalry, numbered 500 each. He sets down Santa Ana's loss at 1,600, and in a way to imply that this was the number of killed Now, estimating the force at 4,000, and leaving out 1,000 cavalry for outside service, the storming masses would consist of 3,000 infantry. If 1,600 were killed, the wounded would cover the remainder, and the total of assailants as well as of defenders must have gone down. If he means that the loss was 1,600 killed and wounded, it was heavy enough to render success impossible, and to cripple the army too much for the prompt and active campaigning on which it immediately entered. The battalion of Toluca, he says, numbered 800, of whom only 130 men were left alive. If 670 were killed, the small remainder must have been disabled. The whole corps went to the graveyard and hospital; yet eight weeks after a part of it was killed and taken at San Jacinto, and a small remnant retreated to Matamoros. So absurd a narrative would not be worth referring to, had it not been quoted in a San Antonio newspaper of 1860 as a testimony of an eye-witness conflicting with my former publication.

fort, not too large to be manned by the garrison of the Alamo. An assault made there by even a larger force than that which captured the other fort might have met with a bloody repulse, which would have led to the rescue of the garrison and changed the character of the campaign, which in that event would probably have been terminated west of the Guadalupe. But such a transfer of garrison and armament was impossible in the state of discipline and command which the foregoing narrative shows to have existed.

A military lesson, though not a new one, may be derived from the fall of the Alamo. Among the essential qualities of a soldier we must consider not only the discipline and subordination that blends him with the mass in which the word of command moves him, but also the individual self-reliance and efficiency which may restore the battle even after the mass is broken. From the lack of the former quality the men of the Alamo were lost: by their possession of the latter they became in the last struggle as formidable as veterans, and died gloriously; and in a better position they would have been saved by it. Though the latter quality depends more on nature than the former, it admits of development, and the perfection of training neglects neither.

Neither Travis nor Bowie had much of the experience or instruction of the soldier, and they were the reverse of each other in certain antecedents and outward traits. The latter in his youth had been noted for daring in bloody personal feuds, and his name has attached to it a characteristic memento in the designation of a homicidal knife, whose pattern he originated. Travis, though ambitious and not backward in revolutionary movements, had been in civil life habitually cautious in avoiding broils and personal collisions, so much so that the rougher class of his contemporaries took for signs of timidity what I believe merely indicated a cool temper and guarded deportment. That he was deficient in courage is contradicted, not only by the closing scenes of his life and his heroic death, but by the testimony of one who had the best opportunity of judging. Colonel Seguin, who was frequently with him under fire, not only on the works, but in the early sallies of the siege, was convinced that Travis possessed a high degree of constitutional bravery.

The garrison of the Alamo, in personal character, was made up of diverse elements, whose relative proportions cannot now

be ascertained. The ruffian, filibuster type, men whose death alone redeemed their life, of course comprised no small part of it, but with them stood also those who, like the band from Gonzales, were fighting for near homes, where their kindred dwelt; and among the new-comers was perhaps an equal number of honorable men, who, like Bonham and Crocket, had an honest faith and generous zeal in the cause they espoused. There were probably few among the lowest of that garrison who lacked the redeeming trait of bravery, and among men of that character common danger is sure to bring out the better qualities in all who share it. When no enemy was in sight, the bad element showed its numerical strength; but when peril came over all, the good asserted its power, and the evil in a measure assimilated to it. It requires no stretch of charity, then, to believe that many a rough wight whose highest aspirations had heretofore been for plunder felt a thrill akin to that of the patriot when he died for a land which he could not yet claim as his own.

Of the details contained in my former brief publication and in this article, I obtained many from General Bradburn, who arrived at San Antonio, I think, two days after the action, and gathered many of its particulars from officers who were in it, one of whom went over the ground with him.* A few incidents I had through a friend from General Amador. Others I received from three intelligent sergeants, one of whom, Sergeant Becero, I have already mentioned. They were men of fair education, and, I think, truthful witnesses. From men of their class I could generally get more candid statements as to loss and relative strength than from commissioned officers. I also gathered some minor particulars from local tradition of a rel able kind, preserved among the residents of San Antonio. When some of the details earliest learned were acquired, I had not seen the locality; and hence I afterwards had to locate some of the occurrences by inference, which I have done as carefully as possible. After my publication of 1860, as already mentioned, I obtained some additional information from Colonel

* General Bradburn was a Virginian, who had been in the service of Mexico since the time of Mina's expedition, in which he held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and took a distinguished part. In 1836, when he was on the retired list of the Mexican army, he was ordered, much against his wishes, to join Santa Ana in his campaign against Texas. He reported to Santa Ana soon after the fall of the Alamo, and at his own request was assigned to an unimportant post (Copano landing) where he would not be likely to come into contact with the forces of Texas. Bradburn had a few years before commanded in Texas, and had come unpleasantly into contact with a revolutionary element which did not then culminate in revolution.

Seguin * and Mr. Lewis, of San Antonio. The former had had better facilities than any one else in the service of Texas for obtaining and comparing the statements of Mexican officers captured at San Jacinto. These new lights enabled me to correct some errors and many omissions in regard to the fort, its armament and garrison, as well as the siege and assault.

The stranger will naturally inquire where lie the heroes of the Alamo, and Texas can reply only by a silent blush. A few hours after the action the bodies of the slaughtered garrison were gathered by the victors, laid in three heaps, mingled with fuel, and burned, though their own dead were interred. On the 25th of February, 1837, the bones and ashes of the defenders were, by order of General Houston, collected, as well as could then be done, for burial by Colonel Seguin, then in command at San Antonio. The bones were placed in a large coffin, which, together with the gathered ashes, was interred with military honors. The place of burial was a peach orchard, then outside of the Alamo village and a few hundred yards from the fort. When I was last there, in 1861, it was still a large enclosed open lot, though surrounded by the suburb which had there grown up; but the rude landmarks which had once pointed out the place of sepulture had long since disappeared. Diligent search might then have found it, but it is now densely built over, and its identity is irrecoverably lost. This is too sad for comment.

A small but finely executed monument, made from the stones of the Alamo in 1841 by an artist named Nangle, was subsequently purchased by the State of Texas, and now stands in the vestibule of the Capitol at Austin; but neither at the Alamo itself, nor at the forgotten grave of its defenders, does any legend or device, like the stone of Thermopylæ, remind the passer by of those who died in obedience to the call of their adopted country.

* Colonel Seguin served gallantly as a Captain under General Houston at San Jacinto, and subsequently commanded a regiment. His zealous adherence to the cause of Texas throughout the campaign of 1836, and for some years after, is undoubted; and his subsequent defection from that cause may be palliated by the popular harshness, endangering life, to which he became subject, and which in a manner drove him to a step of which he evidently repented. I have no reason to doubt the candor and correctness of anything which he related in matters whereon I have cited his authority. He had no motive to misrepresent anything which was not personal to himself, nor did he seem to color unduly what was. A man may be a correct narrator in spite of political errors.

On the 2d of March, 1836, the delegates of the people of Texas in general convention at Washington on the Brazos declared their independence of Mexico. Their Declaration of Independence may be read in the appendix to Kennedy's History of Texas, vol. ii., and elsewhere. On the same day General Samuel Houston, the Texan commander-in-chief, issued a proclamation announcing that war was waging on the frontier, and Bexar besieged by 2,000 of the enemy, while the garrison was only 150 strong. "The citizens of Texas must rally to the aid of our army, or it will perish. Independence is declared: it must be maintained. Immediate action, united with valor, alone can achieve the great work." But the immediate action was too late. Already Santa Anna and his forces were closing in around the fated little band in the Alamo at San Antonio; and between midnight and dawn on the morning of March 6 came the terrible assault described in the leaflet, from which not one of the 180 Texans escaped alive, although before the last man died 500 of their assailants had fallen. No fiercer or more heroic fight was ever seen in America or in the world. The Texan force was under the command of William Barrett Travis, whose last letter, to the president of the convention at Washington, dated March 3, is given in Kennedy, vol. ii., p. 184. Its last words were: "The bearer of this will give your honorable body a statement more in detail, should he escape through the enemies' lines. *God and Texas! Victory or Death!*" Extracts from Almonte's Journal, on the Mexican side, are also given in Kennedy. Certain details of the massacre were supplied by Mrs. Dickenson, the wife of one of the massacred men, who along with a negro servant was spared.

The account of the battle in Yoakum's History of Texas should be consulted. In the large new History of Texas by Wooten a special chapter on the "Siege and Fall of the Alamo" is contributed by Seth Shepard, and this is of great value. Judge Shepard pronounces Captain Potter's account, printed in the present leaflet, "the most accurate account that has yet appeared." Captain Potter was, at the time of the siege, a resident of Matamoros. He knew many of the leading Mexican officers personally, and his critical investigations were of such a nature that his paper has the value of an original document. It was first printed in the *Magazine of American History*, January, 1878, and is reprinted here by the permission of the publishers, Messrs. A. S. Barnes & Co.

On the capitol grounds at Austin, Tex., stands a monument to the heroes of the Alamo, erected in 1891, with the inscription: "Thermopylæ had her messenger of defeat: the Alamo had none."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 131.

The Discovery of the Columbia River.

EDWARD G. PORTER.*

I. The First Voyage of the Columbia.

Few ships, if any, in our merchant marine, since the organization of the Republic, have acquired such distinction as the "Columbia."

By two noteworthy achievements a hundred years ago she attracted the attention of the commercial world, and rendered a service to the United States unparalleled in our history. She was the first American vessel to carry the stars and stripes around the globe; and, by her discovery of "the great river of the West," to which her name was given, she furnished us with the title to our possession of that magnificent domain, which to-day is represented by the flourishing young States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

The famous ship was well known and much talked about at the time; but her records have mostly disappeared, and there is very little knowledge at present concerning her.

The committee for the centennial observance, at Astoria, of the "Columbia's" exploit having applied to the writer for information upon the subject, in which they are naturally so much interested, he gladly responds by giving an outline of the facts, gathered mainly from private sources and illustrated by original drawings made at the time on board the ship and hitherto not known to the public.

* This paper was first printed in the *New England Magazine*, June, 1892, the Oregon centennial year, under the title of "The Ship 'Columbia' and the Discovery of Oregon," illustrated by original drawings made at the time on board the ship. Many of the facts were gathered by Mr. Porter from private sources, giving his account, the most careful and valuable which exists, a high original value.— *Editor*.

The publication in 1784 of Captain Cook's journal of his third voyage awakened a wid -spread interest in the possibility of an important trade on the northwest coast. In Boston there were a few gentlemen who took up the matter seriously, and determined to embark in the enterprise on their own account. The leading spirit among them was Joseph Barrell, a merchant of distinction, whose financial ability, cultivated tastes, and wide acquaintance with affairs gave him a position of acknowledged influence in business and social circles.

Associated with him in close companionship was Charles Bulfinch, a recent graduate of Harvard, who had just returned from pursuing special studies in Europe. His father, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, lived on Bowdoin Square, and often entertained at his house the friends who were inclined to favor the new project. They read together Cook's report of an abundant supply of valuable furs offered by the natives in exchange for beads, knives, and other trifles. These sea-otter skins, he said were sold by the Russians to the Chinese at from £16 to £20 each. "Here is a rich harvest," said Mr. Barrell, "to be reaped by those who go in first."

Accordingly, in the year 1787, they made all the necessary arrangements for fitting out an expedition. The other partners were Samuel Brown, a prosperous merchant; John Derby, a shipmaster of Salem; Captain Crowell Hatch, a resident of Cambridge; and John Marden Pintard, of the well-known New York house of Lewis Pintard & Co.

These six gentlemen subscribed over $50,000, dividing the stock into fourteen shares, and purchased the ship "Columbia," or, as it was after this often called, the "Columbia Rediviva." She was built in 1773 by James Briggs at Hobart's Landing, on the once busy little stream known as North River, the natural boundary between Scituate and Marshfield. One who sees it to-day peacefully meandering through quiet meadows and around fertile slopes would hardly believe that over a thousand sea-going vessels have been built upon its banks.

The "Columbia" was a full-rigged ship, 83 feet long, and measured 212 tons. She had two decks, a figure-head, and a square stern, and was mounted with ten guns. A consort was provided for her in the "Washington" or "Lady Washington" as she was afterwards called, a sloop of 90 tons, designed especially to collect furs by cruising among the

islands and inlets of the coast in the expected trade with the Indians. These vessels seem ridiculously small to us of the present day, but they were stanchly built and manned by skilful navigators.

As master of the "Columbia," the owners selected Captain John Kendrick, an experienced officer of about forty-five years of age, who had done considerable privateering in the Revolution, and had since been in charge of several vessels in the merchant service. His home was at Wareham, where he had built a substantial house and reared a family of six children. The venerable homestead may still be seen, shaded by trees which the captain planted. For the command of the sloop a man was chosen who had been already in the service of two of the owners, Messrs. Brown and Hatch, as master of their ship "Pacific" in the South Carolina trade. This was Captain Robert Gray, an able seaman, who had also been an officer in the Revolutionary navy, and who was a personal friend of Captain Kendrick. Gray was a native of Tiverton, R.I., and a descendant of one of the early settlers at Plymouth. After his marriage, in 1794, his home was in Boston, on Salem Street, where he had a family of five children. His great-grandson, Mr. Clifford Gray Twombly, of Newton, has inherited one of the silver cups inscribed with the initials "R. G." which the captain carried with him around the world. His sea-chest is also in good condition, and is now presented by his grand-daughter, Miss Mary E. Bancroft, of Boston, to the Oregon Pioneer and Historical Society for preservation among its relics.

Sea Letters were issued by the federal and state governments for the use of the expedition, and a medal was struck to commemorate its departure. Hundreds of these medals — in bronze and pewter — were put on board for distribution among the people whom the voyagers might meet, together with a much larger number of the new cents and half-cents which the State of Massachusetts had coined that year. Several of these medals and coins have since been found on the track of the vessels, among Indians, Spaniards, and Hawaiians. A few in silver and bronze are preserved in the families of some of the owners.

Neither pains nor expense were spared to give these vessels a complete outfit. The cargo consisted chiefly of the necessary stores and a good supply of hardware — useful tools and uten-

sils — to be exchanged for furs on the coast. There were also numerous trinkets to please the fancy of the natives, such as buttons, toys, beads, and necklaces, jew's-harps, combs, earrings, looking-glasses, snuff, and snuff-boxes.

The writer has full lists of the officers and crew. Kendrick's first mate was Simeon Woodruff, who had been one of Cook's officers in his last voyage to the Pacific. The second mate was Joseph Ingraham, who was destined, later on, to be a conspicuous figure in the trade which he helped to inaugurate. The third officer was Robert Haswell, the son of a lieutenant in the British navy, who for some years had lived at Nantasket (now Hull).

Haswell was an accomplished young officer and kept a careful record of the expedition, from which much of our most accurate information is derived. He was also a clever artist and made some of the sketches of the vessels, which are here reproduced for the first time. Next to him was John B. Cordis, of Charlestown. Richard S. Howe was the clerk; Dr. Roberts, the surgeon; and J. Nutting, the astronomer — or schoolmaster, as he was sometimes called. Mr. Treat shipped as furrier, and Davis Coolidge as first mate on the sloop.

On the 30th of September, 1787, the two vessels started on their long voyage. Many friends accompanied them down the harbor, and bade them farewell.

The owners had given each commander minute instructions as to the route and the manner of conducting their business. They were to avoid the Spaniards, if possible, and always treat the Indians with respect, giving them a fair compensation in trade. The skins, when collected, were to be taken to Canton and exchanged for teas, which were to form the bulk of the cargo back to Boston.

They had a good run to the Cape Verde Islands, where they remained nearly two months for some unexplained cause. The delay occasioned much discontent among the officers, and Woodruff and Roberts left the ship. At the Falkland Islands there was no wood to be had, but plenty of geese and ducks, snipe and plover. They lingered here too long, and Kendrick was inclined to wait for another season before attempting the passage around Cape Horn, but he was induced to proceed; and on the 28th of February, 1788, they resumed their voyage, Haswell having been transferred to the sloop as second mate. They soon ran into heavy seas; and for nearly a month they

encountered severe westerly gales, during which the "Columbia" was thrown upon her beam ends, and the little "Washington" was so completely swept by the waves that all the beds and clothing on board were completely drenched, with no opportunity to dry them.

Early on the morning of April 1 the vessels lost sight of each other in latitude 57° 57′ south and longitude 92° 40′ west. It was intensely cold, and a hurricane was raging. The crews were utterly exhausted, and hardly a man was able to go aloft.

At last, on the 14th, the skies brightened, and they had their first welcome to the Pacific; but they could no longer see anything of each other, and so each vessel proceeded independently the rest of the way. The sloop lay to off the island of Masafuero, but the surf was so heavy that they could not land. At Ambrose Island they sent a boat ashore, and found plenty of fish and seals, but no fresh water, so they were obliged to put themselves on a short allowance. Almost every day they saw dolphins, whales, sea-lions, and grampuses. In June they caught the northeast trade-wind; and on the 2d of August, to their inexpressible joy, they saw the coast of New Albion in latitude 41°, near Cape Mendocino. A canoe came off with ten natives, making signs of friendship. They were mostly clad in deerskins. Captain Gray gave them some presents.

And now for a time our mariners enjoyed a little, well-earned rest, and feasted their eyes upon the green hills and forests as they cruised leisurely along the coast. The large Indian population was revealed by the camp-fires at night and by the columns of smoke by day. Many of them came paddling after the sloop, waving skins and showing the greatest eagerness to get aboard. Others were evidently frightened, and fled to the woods.

In latitude 44° 20′ they found a harbor which they took to be "the entrance of a very large river, where great commercial advantages might be reaped." This was probably the Alseya River in Oregon, which is not as large as they thought. The natives here were warlike, and shook long spears at them, with hideous shouts and an air of defiance. Near Cape Lookout they "made a tolerably commodious harbor," and anchored half a mile off. Canoes brought out to them delicious berries and crabs, ready-boiled, which the poor seamen gladly bought for buttons, as they were already suffering from scurvy.

The next day seven of these men were sent ashore in the boat with Coolidge and Haswell to get some grass and shrubs for their stock. The captain's boy, Marcos, a black fellow who had shipped at St. Iago, accompanied them; and, while he was carrying grass down to the boat, a native seized his cutlass, which he had carelessly stuck in the sand, and ran off with it toward the village. Marcos gave chase, shouting at the top of his voice. The officers at once saw the peril, and hastened to his assistance. But it was too late. Marcos had the thief by the neck; but the savages crowded around, and soon drenched their knives in the blood of the unfortunate youth. He relaxed his hold, stumbled, rose again, and staggered toward his friends, but received a flight of arrows in his back, and fell in mortal agony. The officers were now assailed on all sides, and made for the boat as fast as possible, shooting the most daring of the ringleaders with their pistols, and ordering the men in the boat to fire and cover their retreat. One of the sailors who stood near by to help them was totally disabled by a barbed arrow, which caused great loss of blood. They managed, however, to get into the boat and push off, followed by a swarm of canoes. A brisk fire was kept up till they neared the sloop, which discharged several swivel shot, and soon scattered the enemy. It was a narrow escape. Captain Gray had but three men left aboard; and, if the natives had captured the boat's crew, as they came so near doing, they could easily have made a prize of the sloop. Murderers' Harbor was the appropriate name given to the place. Haswell thought it must be "the entrance of the river of the West," though it was by no means, he said, "a safe place for any but a very small vessel to enter." This was probably near Tillamook Bay. Some of the maps of that time had vague suggestions of a supposed great river, whose mouth they placed almost anywhere between the Straits of Fuca and California. When Gray was actually near the river which he afterward discovered, he had so good a breeze that he "passed a considerable length of coast" without standing in: otherwise the Centennial of Oregon might have been celebrated in 1888 instead of 1892. How slight a cause may affect the whole history of a nation!

Farther north they saw "exceeding high mountains, covered with snow" (August 21), evidently Mount Olympus. A few days later the painstaking mate writes, "I am of opinion that the Straits of Juan de Fuca exist, though Captain Cook posi-

tively asserts it does not." Passing up the west shore of the island now bearing Vancouver's name, they found a good, sheltered anchorage, which they named Hancock's Harbor for the governor under whose patronage they had sailed. This was in Clayoquot Sound, where, on their next voyage, they spent a winter.

At last, on the 16th of August, 1788, the sloop reached its destined haven in Nootka Sound. Two English snows from Macao, under Portuguese colors, were lying there,— the "Felice" and the "Iphigenia,"— commanded by Captains Meares and Douglas, who came out in a boat and offered their assistance to the little stranger. The acquaintance proved to be friendly, although there were evidences later on of a disguised jealousy between them.

Three days later the English launched a small schooner which they named "Northwest America," the first vessel ever built on the coast. It was a gala-day, fittingly celebrated by salutes and festivities, in which the Americans cordially joined. The "Washington" was now hauled up on the ways for graving, and preparations began to be made for collecting furs.

One day, just a week after their arrival, they saw a sail in the offing, which, by their glasses, they soon recognized as the long-lost "Columbia." Great was their eagerness to know what had befallen her. As she drew nearer, it became evident that her crew were suffering from scurvy, for her topsails were reefed and her topgallant masts were down on deck, although it was pleasant weather. Captain Gray immediately took the long boat and went out to meet her, and shortly before sunset she anchored within forty yards of the sloop. She had lost two men by scurvy, and many of the crew were in an advanced stage of that dreaded disease. After parting off Cape Horn, they encountered terrific gales, and suffered so much damage that they had to put in at Juan Fernandez for help. They were politely received by the governor, Don Blas Gonzales, who supplied them with everything they needed. The kind governor had to pay dearly for this; for, when his superior, the captain-general of Chile, heard of it, poor Gonzales was degraded from office; and the viceroy of Peru sanctioned the penalty. Jefferson afterward interceded for him at Madrid, but he was never reinstated. Who would have believed that a service of simple humanity to a vessel in distress would cause such a hubbub? By her cruel censure of an act of mercy

toward the first American ship that ever visited her Pacific dominions, Spain seems to have been seized with a kind of prophetic terror, as if anticipating the day when she would have to surrender to the stars and stripes a large share of her supremacy in the West.

After tarrying at Juan Fernandez seventeen days, the "Columbia" continued her voyage without further incident to Nootka. Captain Kendrick now resumed the command of the expedition. In a few days occurred the anniversary of their departure from Boston, and they all observed it heartily. The officers of all the vessels were invited to dine on board the "Columbia"; and the evening was spent in festive cheer,—a welcome change to those homesick exiles on that dreary shore.

It was decided to spend the winter in Friendly Cove, Nootka Sound; and a house was built large enough for the entire crew. They shot an abundance of game, prepared charcoal for their smiths, and worked their iron into chisels which were in good demand among the natives. To their surprise one morning they found that the Indians had landed and carried off fifteen water-casks and five small cannon which Captain Douglas had given them. This was a heavy loss; and, as the miscreants could not be found, the coopers had to go to work and make a new set of casks.

In March, 1789, the "Washington" was painted and sent on a short cruise, while the "Columbia" was removed a few miles up the Sound to a place which they named Kendrick's Cove, where a house was built with a forge and battery. In May the sloop started out again for furs, and met the Spanish corvette "Princesa," whose commander, Martinez, showed great kindness to Gray, giving him supplies of brandy, wine, hams, and sugar; but he said he should make a prize of Douglas if he found him.

At one place a large fleet of canoes came off in great parade, and offered their sea-otter skins for one chisel each. Our men readily bought the lot,—two hundred in number,—worth from six to eight thousand dollars. This was the best bargain they ever made, as they could seldom get a good skin for less than six or ten chisels. An average price was one skin for a blanket; four, for a pistol; and six, for a musket. Gray then stood southward and went into Hope Bay, and later into a place called by the natives Chickleset, where there was every appearance of a good harbor. He then visited the

islands of the north, and gave names to Cape Ingraham, Pintard Sound, Hatch's Island, Derby Sound, Barrell's Inlet, and Washington's Islands (now known as Queen Charlotte's), whose mountain tops were covered with snow, even in summer. It is a pity that most of the names given by our explorers in that region have been changed, so that it is not easy to identify all the places mentioned by them.

Returning to Nootka, they found the Spaniards claiming sovereignty over all that region, detaining the English vessels and sending the "Argonaut" with her officers and crew as prisoners to San Blas. The schooner "Northwest America," which Meares had built, was seized and sent on a cruise under command of Coolidge, and her crew and stores were put on the "Columbia" to be taken to China. Serious complications between England and Spain grew out of these high-handed proceedings, resulting in the "Nootka Convention," as it was called,— the famous treaty of October, 1790, by which war was averted and a new basis of agreement established between the two powers.

Another important change now took place. Captain Kendrick concluded to put the ship's property on board the sloop, and go on a cruise in her himself, with a crew of twenty men, while Gray should take the "Columbia," reinforced by the crew of the prize schooner, to the Sandwich Islands, and get provisions for the voyage to China, and there dispose of the skins. Ingraham and Haswell decided to go with Gray, while Cordis remained with Kendrick. And so the two vessels parted company.

The "Columbia" left Clayoquot July 30, 1789, and spent three weeks at the Hawaiian Islands, laying in a store of fruits, yams, potatoes, and hogs. They were kindly received there; and a young chief, Attoo (sometimes called the crown prince), was consigned to Captain Gray's care for the journey to Boston, under the promise that he should have an early opportunity to return. They had a good run to China, and reached Whampoa Roads on the 16th of November. Their agents at Canton were the newly established Boston firm of Shaw & Randall, who also attended to consular duties. It was an unfavorable season for trade, and their thousand sea-otter skins had to be sold at a sacrifice. The ship was repaired at great expense and made ready for a cargo of teas.

The following bill of lading should have a place here: —

Shipped by the Grace of God, in good order and condition, by Shaw and Randall, in and upon the good Ship called the "Columbia," whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage Robert Gray, and now Riding at Anchor at Wampoa, and by God's Grace bound for Boston in America — to say, 220 chests bohea Tea, 170 Half chests do, 144 quarter chests do —— —— to be delivered —— —— unto Samuel Parkman Esquire, or to his assigns —— —— and so God send the good Ship to her desired Port in Safety — Amen. Dated in Canton Feb. 3, 1790.

(signed) ROBERT GRAY.

Kendrick reached Macao January 26, with his sails and rigging nearly gone; and, being advised not to go up to Canton, he went over to "Dirty Butter Bay," — a lonely anchorage near the "outer waters,"— and there waited for an opportunity to dispose of his five hundred skins, and perhaps also to sell the sloop.

The "Columbia" passed down the river, February 12, on her homeward voyage; but a gale of wind prevented her seeing her old consort.

Between Canton and Boston the "Columbia" took the usual route by the Cape of Good Hope, calling only at St. Helena and Ascension Islands. She reached her destination on the 10th of August, 1790, having sailed, by her log, about 50,000 miles. Her arrival was greeted with salvos of artillery and repeated cheers from a great concourse of citizens. Governor Hancock gave an entertainment in honor of the officers and owners. A procession was formed; and Captain Gray walked arm in arm with the Hawaiian chief, the first of his race ever seen in Boston. He was a fine-looking youth, and wore a helmet of gay feathers, which glittered in the sunlight, and an exquisite cloak of the same yellow and scarlet plumage. The governor entertained the company with fitting hospitality, and many were the congratulations extended on all sides to the men who had planned and to those who had executed this memorable voyage.

It must be said that, financially, the enterprise was not of much profit to the owners, two of whom sold out their interest to the others; but, nevertheless, it was an achievement to be proud of, and it prepared the way for a very large and remunerative trade in subsequent years. Indeed, so hopeful were the remaining owners regarding it that they immediately projected a second voyage.

II. The Second Voyage.

No sooner had the "Columbia" discharged her cargo than she was taken to a shipyard and thoroughly overhauled, and furnished with new masts and spars and a complete outfit as expeditiously as possible.

An important sea-letter was granted by the President and another by Governor Hancock, and still others by the foreign consuls resident in Boston. The owners prepared specific instructions for Captain Gray, directing him to proceed with all despatch, to take no unjust advantage of the natives, to build a sloop on the coast during the winter, to visit "Japan and Pekin," if possible, for the sale of his furs. He was not to touch at any Spanish port nor trade with any of the subjects of his Catholic majesty "for a single farthing." He was charged to offer no insult to foreigners, nor to receive any "without showing the becoming spirit of a free, independent American." And he was to be as a father to his crew. He was not to stop till he reached the Falkland Islands, and then only for a short time.

The officers under Captain Gray were assigned in the following order: Robert Haswell, of whom we have heard much already; Joshua Caswell, of Malden; Owen Smith; Abraham Waters, who had served as seaman on the previous voyage; and John Boit. The clerk was John Hoskins who had been in the counting-house of Joseph Barrell, and who afterward became a partner of his son. George Davidson, of Charlestown, shipped as painter; and that he was an artist as well is evident from the interesting drawings which he made on the voyage, and which, through the kindness of his descendants and those of Captain Gray, are given with this narrative, though of necessity somewhat reduced in size. The Hawaiian, Jack Attoo, went back as cabin-boy. The sturdy carpenter of the ship was Samuel Yendell, of the old North End of Boston. He had served in the frigate "Tartar" when a mere boy, and he helped to build the famous "Constitution." He lived to be the last survivor of the "Columbia's" crew, dying at the ripe age of ninety-two years in 1861. He was always known as an upright, temperate, and industrious man. The present governor of Massachusetts, William Eustis Russell, is his great-grandson, and evidently inherits the faculty of building the ship — of State.

The "Columbia" left Boston on the 28th of September, 1790, calling only at the Falkland Islands, and arrived at Clayoquot June 4, 1791,— a quicker passage by nearly four months than the previous one. Obedient to his instructions, the captain soon went on a cruise up the coast, passing along the east side of Washington's Islands (Queen Charlotte's) and exploring the numerous channels and harbors of that picturesque but lonely region.

On the 12th of August he had the great misfortune to lose three of his men — Caswell, Barnes, and Folger — who were cruelly massacred by the savages at a short distance from the ship in the jolly-boat. He succeeded in recovering the boat and the body of Caswell, which he took over to Port Tempest and buried with fitting solemnity. It was a sad day for the "Columbia's" crew. They named the spot Massacre Cove, and the headland near by Murderers' Cape.

Another instance of the treacherous character of the natives occurred while Captain Kendrick was trading with the "Washington" in this same region. Knowing their pilfering habits, he took care to keep all portable articles out of sight when they were around; and he had a rule that more than two of them should never be allowed on board at once. He kept a large chest of arms on deck, near the companion-way, and wore a brace of pistols and a long knife conspicuously in his belt; and then he would fire a gun to let the Indians know that he was ready to trade. On this occasion they did not seem disposed to come any nearer; and so he went into the cabin, to talk with his clerk. While there, he suddenly heard a native laugh on deck. He sprang up, and found a whole row of them crouching all around the sides of the vessel. Turning to the arms-chest, he saw the key was gone, and at once demanded it of the nearest Indian, who said in reply, "The key is mine, and the ship is mine, too!" Kendrick, without further ceremony, seized the fellow and pitched him overboard. A moment more, and the whole set had disappeared. They all jumped into the water without waiting for the captain's assistance.

It was near this shore, also, while cruising in the "Washington," that Kendrick's son Solomon was killed by the natives. The father demanded redress of the chief, who denied all knowledge of the deed. Meanwhile Kendrick's men found the son's scalp with its curly sandy hair, and there was no

mistake about its identity. The chief relented, and gave up the murderer to Kendrick, who, in his indignation, was prompted to shoot him on the spot. But pausing a moment, the captain wisely concluded that the future safety of white men would be better promoted by a different course. He, therefore, handed over the culprit to be punished by the chief in the presence of a large assembly of his tribe. There was a well-known song, commemorating this event, quite popular with sailors. It was afterward printed, and bore the title "The Bold Nor'westman." It gave very pathetically the story of the murder and of the father's grief. The first lines were,—

"Come, all ye noble seamen,
Who plough the raging main."

After the burial of Caswell the "Columbia" sailed around to the north side of Washington's Islands, and found a fine navigable stream, which they called Hancock's River. The native name was Masset, which it still bears. Here they were glad to meet the Boston brig "Hancock," Captain Crowell, with later news from home.

Returning to Clayoquot, they found Kendrick in the harbor, and gave him three cheers. He told them that after the tedious sale of his skins at Macao he began to make the sloop into a brig. This took so much time that he lost the season on the coast, and stayed at Lark's Bay till the spring of '91, when he sailed in company with Douglas and touched at Japan, and was the first man to unfurl the American flag in that land. He sought to open a trade, but was ordered off, as might have been expected, had he known the rigidly exclusive policy of the Japan of that time. Kendrick had called at Nootka, where, he said, the Spaniards treated him kindly, and sent him daily supplies of "greens and salads." He had come down to Clayoquot to haul up the "Lady Washington," now a brigantine, to grave at a place which he had fortified and named Fort Washington.

During this sojourn, Kendrick purchased of the principal chiefs several large tracts of land, for which he paid mostly in arms and ammunition. The lands were taken possession of with much ceremony, the United States flag hoisted, and a bottle sunk in the ground. Kendrick sailed for China, September 29, taking with him the deeds, which were duly registered, it was said, at the consulate in Canton. Duplicate copies were prepared, one of which was sent to Jefferson and

filed in the State Department at Washington. The originals were signed by the chiefs (as documents are signed by people who can only make their "mark"), and witnessed by several of the officers and crew of the vessel. These deeds ran somewhat as follows: —

In consideration of six muskets, a boat's sail, a quantity of powder, and an American flag (they being articles which we at present stand in need of, and are of great value) we do bargain, grant, and sell unto John Kendrick of Boston, a certain harbor in said Ahasset, in which the brig "Washington" lay at anchor on the 5th of August, 1791, Latitude 49° 50′ . . . with all the lands, mines, minerals, rivers, bays, harbors, sounds, creeks, and all islands . . . with all the produce of land and sea being a territorial distance of eighteen miles square . . . to have and to hold, etc.

The names of some of the signing chiefs were Maquinna, Wicananish, Narry Yonk, and Tarrasone.

It was Captain Gray's intention to go into winter quarters at Naspatee, in Bulfinch Sound, and he hastened that way; but, being thwarted by contrary winds, they put in at Clayoquot, and, finding excellent timber for the construction of the proposed sloop, he decided to remain there. The ship was made as snug as possible in a well-sheltered harbor, which they called Adventure Cove. The sails were unbent, the topgallant, topmasts, and yards were unrigged and stowed below. A space was cleared on shore, and a log house built, the crew all working with a will. One party went out cutting plank, another to shoot deer and geese. The carpenters soon put up a very substantial building to accommodate a force of ten men, containing a chimney, forge, workshop, storeroom, and sleeping-bunks. It served, also, the purpose of a fort, having two cannon mounted outside and one inside through a porthole. All around there were loopholes for small arms.

This they called Fort Defence, and here they lived like civilized and Christian men. The log reports: "On Sunday all hands at rest from their labors. Performed divine service."

The keel of the sloop was soon laid, and the work went bravely forward. The sketch of this scene shows Captain Gray conferring with Mr. Yendell about the plan of the sloop.

The days grew short and cold, the sun being much obscured by the tall forest trees all around them. Some of the men were taken ill with colds and rheumatic pains, and had to be

removed aboard ship. The natives of the adjoining tribe became quite familiar. The chiefs and their wives visited the fort and the ship almost every day, coming across the bay in their canoes. The common Indians were not allowed to land, a sentinel being always on guard, night and day. Captain Gray was disposed to be very kind to the natives. He often visited their villages, carrying drugs, rice, bread, and molasses for their sick people. Going one day with his clerk, Hoskins, they persuaded a woman to have her face washed, when it appeared that she had quite a fair complexion of red and white, and "one of the most delightful countenances," says Hoskins, "that my eyes ever beheld. She was indeed a perfect beauty!" She got into her canoe, and soon after returned with her face as dirty as ever. She had been laughed at by her companions for having it washed. It was a common practice among some of the tribes for both sexes to slit the under lip and wear in it a plug of bone or wood, fitted with holes from which they hung beads.

On the 18th of February, several chiefs came over as usual, among them Tototeescosettle. Alas for poor human nature! he was detected stealing the boatswain's jacket. Soon after he had gone, Attoo, the Hawaiian lad, informed the captain of a deep-laid plot to capture the ship. The natives, he said, had promised to make him a great chief if he would wet the ship's fire-arms and give them a lot of musket-balls. They were planning to come through the woods and board the ship from the high bank near by, and kill every man on board except Attoo. Gray's excitement can be easily imagined. All his heavy guns were on shore; but he ordered the swivels loaded at once, and the ship to be removed away from the bank. Haswell put the fort in a good state of defence, reloaded all the cannon, and had the small arms put in order. The ship's people were ordered aboard. At dead of night the war-whoop was heard in the forest. The savages had stealthily assembled by hundreds; but, finding their plan frustrated, they reluctantly went away. On the 23d of February the sloop was launched, and taken alongside the "Columbia." She was named the "Adventure," and reckoned at 44 tons. Upon receiving her cargo and stores, she was sent northward on a cruise under Haswell. She was the second vessel ever built on the coast, and proved to be a good seaboat, and could even outsail the "Columbia."

Gray soon after took his ship on a cruise which was destined to be the most important of all,—one that will be remembered as long as the United States exist. On the 29th of April, 1792, he fell in with Vancouver, who had been sent out from England with three vessels of the Royal Navy as commissioner to execute the provisions of the Nootka Treaty, and to explore the coast. Vancouver said he had made no discoveries as yet, and inquired if Gray had made any. The Yankee captain replied that he had; that in latitude 46° 10 he had recently been off the mouth of a river which for nine days he tried to enter, but the outset was so strong as to prevent. He was going to try it again, however. Vancouver said this must have been the opening passed by him two days before, which he thought might be "a small river," inaccessible on account of the breakers extending across it, the land behind not indicating it to be of any great extent. "Not considering this opening worthy of more attention," wrote Vancouver in his journal, "I continued our pursuit to the northwest." What a turn in the tide of events was that! Had the British navigator really seen the river, it would certainly have had another name and another history.

Gray continued his "pursuit" to the southeast, whither the star of his destiny was directing him. On the 7th of May he saw an entrance in latitude 46° 58′ "which had a very good appearance of a harbor"; and, observing from the masthead a passage between the sand bars, he bore away and ran in. This he called Bulfinch Harbor, though it was very soon after called, as a deserved compliment to him, Gray's Harbor,—the name which it still bears. Here he was attacked by the natives, and obliged in self-defence to fire upon them with serious results. Davidson's drawing gives a weird view of the scene.

On the evening of May 10 Gray resumed his course to the south; and at daybreak, on the 11th, he saw "the entrance of his desired port" a long way off. As he drew near about eight o'clock, he bore away with all sails set, and ran in between the breakers. To his great delight he found himself in a large river of fresh water, up which he steered ten miles. There were Indian villages at intervals along the banks, and many canoes came out to inspect the strange visitor.

The ship came to anchor at one o'clock in ten fathoms of water, half a mile from the northern shore and two miles and a half from the southern, the river being three or four miles

wide all the way along. Here they remained three days busily trading and taking in water.

On the 14th he stood up the river some fifteen miles farther, "and doubted not it was navigable upwards of a hundred." He found the channel on that side, however, so very narrow and crooked that the ship grounded on the sandy bottom; but they backed off without difficulty. The jolly-boat was sent out to sound the channel, but, finding it still shallow, Gray decided to return; and on the 15th he dropped down with the tide, going ashore with his clerk "to take a short view of the country."

On the 16th he anchored off the village of Chenook, whose population turned out in great numbers. The next day the ship was painted, and all hands were busily at work. On the 19th they landed near the mouth of the river, and formally named it, after the ship, the COLUMBIA, raising the American flag and planting coins under a large pine-tree, thus taking possession in the name of the United States. The conspicuous headland was named Cape Hancock, and the low sandspit opposite, Point Adams.

The writer is well aware that the word "discovery" may be taken in different senses. When it is claimed that Captain Gray *discovered* this river, the meaning is that he was the first white man to cross its bar and sail up its broad expanse, and give it a name. Undoubtedly, Carver — to whom the word "Oregon" is traced — may have heard of the river in 1767 from the Indians in the Rocky Mountains; and Heceta, in 1775, was near enough to its mouth to believe in its existence; and Meares, in 1788, named Cape Disappointment and Deception Bay. But none of these can be properly said to have *discovered* the river. Certainly, Meares, whose claim England maintained so long, showed by the very names he gave to the cape and the "bay" that he was, after all, deceived about it; and he gives no suggestion of the river on his map. D Aguilar was credited with finding a great river as far back as 1603; but, according to his latitude, it was not this river; and, even if it was, there is no evidence that he entered it.

The honor of discovery must practically rest with Gray. His was the first ship to cleave its waters; his, the first chart ever made of its shores; his, the first landing ever effected there by a civilized man; and the name he gave it has been universally accepted. The flag which he there threw to the breeze was the first ensign of any nation that ever waved over those unexplored

banks. And the ceremony of occupation, under such circumstances, was something more than a holiday pastime. It was a serious act, performed in sober earnest, and reported to the world as soon as possible.

And when we remember that as a result of this came the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804–5, and the settlement at Astoria in 1811,— to say nothing of our diplomatic acquisition of the old Spanish rights,— then we may safely say that the title of the United States to the Columbia River and its tributaries becomes incontestable. Such was the outcome of the "Oregon Question" in 1846.

On leaving the river, May 20, the "Columbia" sailed up to Naspatee, where she was obliged to use her guns to check a hostile demonstration of the savages. And soon after, in going up Pintard's Sound, she was again formidably attacked by war canoes, and obliged to open fire upon them with serious results.

In a cruise soon after, the ship struck on a rock and was so badly injured that she returned to Naspatee and underwent some repairs and then sailed for Nootka, and on July 23 reported her condition to the governor, Don Quadra, who generously offered every assistance, allowed them his storehouses for their cargo, gave up the second-best house in the settlement for the use of Captain Gray and his clerk, and insisted upon having their company at his own sumptuous table at every meal. Such politeness was, of course, very agreeable to the weary voyagers, and was held in such grateful remembrance in subsequent years that Captain Gray named his first-born child, Robert Don Quadra Gray, for the governor as well as himself. It was during this visit that Gray and Ingraham wrote their joint letter to the governor, which was often quoted in the course of the Anglo-Spanish negotiations. In September Gray sold the little sloop "Adventure" to Quadra for seventy-five sea-otter skins of the best quality, and transferred her officers and crew to the "Columbia."

As he sailed away, he saluted the Spanish flag with thirteen guns, and shaped his course for China. As the season was late and the winds unfavorable, he abandoned the project of visiting Japan, which the owners had recommended. Great was the joy of the crew when they found themselves homeward bound. They had an easy run to the Sandwich Islands, where they took in a supply of provisions and fruit, sailing again No-

vember 3, and reaching Macao Roads December 7, in a somewhat leaky condition. The skins were sent up to Canton, and the ship was repaired near Whampoa, and duly freighted with tea, sugar, chinaware, and curios.

On the 3d of February the "Columbia" set sail for Boston. While at anchor, near Bocca Tigris, her cable was cut by the Chinese, and she drifted slowly ashore, almost unobserved by the officer of the watch. This proved to be the last of her tribulations, as it was also one of the least. In the Straits of Sunda they met a British fleet escorting Lord Macartney, the ambassador, to Pekin, for whom Captain Gray took despatches as far as St. Helena.

At last, after all her wanderings, the good ship reached Boston, July 29, 1793, and received another hearty welcome. Although the expectations of the owners were not realized, one of them wrote "she has made a saving voyage and some profit." But in the popular mind the discovery of the great river was sufficient "profit" for any vessel; and this alone will immortalize the owners as well as the ship and her captain, far more, indeed, than furs or teas or gold could have done.

It remains only to add that in a few years the ship was worn out and taken to pieces, and soon her chief officers all passed away. Kendrick never returned to America. After opening a trade in sandal-wood, he was accidentally killed at the Hawaiian Islands, and the "Lady Washington" was soon after lost in the Straits of Malacca. His Nootka lands never brought anything to the captain or his descendants or to the owners of the ship. In fact, the title was never confirmed. Gray commanded several vessels after this, but died in 1806 at Charleston, S.C. Ingraham became an officer in our navy, but went down with the ill-fated brig "Pickering" in 1800. The same year Davidson was lost on the "Rover" in the Pacific. Haswell sailed for the last time in 1801, and was also lost on the return voyage.

Their names, however, will always be associated with the ship they served so well; and, as long as the broad "river of the West" flows on in its course, so long will the "Columbia" be gratefully remembered by the people of America. This [1892] is the year of Oregon's first Centennial, and the enthusiasm it has awakened clearly shows that the highest honor on that coast will hereafter be given to the heroic discoverers who prepared the way for the pioneers and settlers, and thus added a fine group of States to our federal Union.

*Extract from the second Volume of the Log-book of the Ship Columbia, of Boston, commanded by Robert Gray, containing the Account of her Entrance into the Columbia River, in May, 1792.**

May 7th, 1792, A.M.— Being within six miles of the land, saw an entrance in the same, which had a very good appearance of a harbor; lowered away the jolly-boat, and went in search of an anchoring-place, the ship standing to and fro, with a very strong weather current. At one P.M., the boat returned, having found no place where the ship could anchor with safety; made sail on the ship; stood in for the shore. We soon saw, from our mast-head, a passage in between the sand-bars. At half-past three, bore away, and ran in north-east by east, having from four to eight fathoms, sandy bottom; and, as we drew in nearer between the bars, had from ten to thirteen fathoms, having a very strong tide of ebb to stem. Many canoes came alongside. At five P.M., came to in five fathoms water, sandy bottom with a safe harbor, well sheltered from the sea by long sand-bars and spits. Our latitude observed this day was 46 degrees 58 minutes north.

May 10th.— Fresh breezes and pleasant weather; many natives alongside; at noon, all the canoes left us. At one P.M., began to unmoor, took up the best bower-anchor, and hove short on the small bower-anchor. At half-past four (being high water), hove up the anchor, and came to sail and a beating down the harbor.

May 11th.— At half-past seven, we were out clear of the bars, and directed our course to the southward, along shore. At eight P.M., the entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore north, distance four miles; the southern extremity of the land bore south-south-east half east, and the northern north-north-west; sent up the main-top-gallant-yard, and set all sail. At four A.M., saw the entrance of our desired port bearing east-south-east, distance six leagues; in steering sails, and hauled our wind in shore. At eight A.M., being a little to windward of the entrance of the Harbor, bore away, and run in east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water. When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered. Many canoes came alongside. At one P.M., came to with the small bower, in ten fathoms, black and white sand. The entrance between the bars bore west-south-west, distant ten miles; the north side of the river a half mile distant from the ship; the south side of the same two and a half miles' distance; a village on the north side of the river west by north, distant three quarters of a mile. Vast numbers of natives

*This extract was made in 1816, by Charles Bulfinch, of Boston, one of the owners of the Columbia, from the second volume of the log-book, which was then in the possession of Captain Gray's heirs, but has since disappeared. It has been frequently published, accompanied by the affidavit of Mr. Bulfinch to its exactness. It is reprinted here from Greenhow's History of Oregon.

came alongside; people employed in pumping the salt water out of our water casks, in order to fill with fresh, while the ship floated in. So ends.

May 12*th.*— Many natives alongside; noon, fresh wind; let go the best bower-anchor, and veered out on both cables; sent down the main-top-gallant-yard; filled up all the water-casks in the hold. The latter part, heavy gales, and rainy, dirty weather.

May 13*th.*— Fresh winds and rainy weather; many natives alongside; hove up the best bower-anchor; seamen and tradesmen at their various departments.

May 14*th.*— Fresh gales and cloudy; many natives alongside; at noon, weighed and came to sail, standing up the river north-east by east; we found the channel very narrow. At four P.M., we had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles, when the channel was so very narrow that it was almost impossible to keep in it, having from three to eighteen fathoms water, sandy bottom. At half-past four, the ship took ground, but she did not stay long before she came off, without any assistance. We backed her off, stern foremost, into three fathoms, and let go the small bower, and moored ship with kedge and hawser. The jolly-boat was sent to sound the channel out, but found it not navigable any farther up; so, of course, we must have taken the wrong channel. So ends, with rainy weather; many natives alongside.

May 15*th.*— Light airs and pleasant weather; many natives from different tribes came alongside. At ten A.M., unmoored and dropped down with the tide to a better anchoring-place; smiths and other tradesmen constantly employed. In the afternoon, Captain Gray and Mr. Hoskins, in the jolly-boat, went on shore to take a short view of the country.

May 16*th.*— Light airs and cloudy. At four A.M., hove up the anchor and towed down about three miles, with the last of the ebb-tide; came into six fathoms, sandy bottom, the jolly-boat sounding the channel. At ten A.M., a fresh breeze came up river. With the first of the ebb-tide we got under way, and beat down river. At one (from its being very squally) we came to, about two miles from the village (*Chinouk*), which bore west-south-west; many natives alongside; fresh gales and squally.

May 17*th.*— Fresh winds and squally; many canoes alongside; calkers calking the pinnace; seamen paying the ship's sides with tar; painter painting ship; smiths and carpenters at their departments.

May 18*th.*— Pleasant weather. At four in the morning, began to heave ahead; at half-past, came to sail, standing down river with the ebb-tide; at seven (being slack water and the wind fluttering,) we came to in five fathoms, sandy bottom; the entrance between the bars bore south-west by west, distant three miles. The north point

of the harbor bore north-west, distant two miles; the south bore south-east, distant three and a half miles. At nine, a breeze sprung up from the eastward; took up the anchor and came to sail, but the wind soon came fluttering again; came to with the kedge and hawser; veered out fifty fathoms. Noon, pleasant. Latitude observed, 46 degrees 17 minutes north. At one came to sail with the first of the ebb-tide, and drifted down broadside, with light airs and strong tide; at three-quarters past, a fresh wind came from the northward; wore ship, and stood into the river again. At four, came to in six fathoms; good holding-ground about six or seven miles up; many canoes alongside.

May 19th.— Fresh wind and clear weather. Early a number of canoes came alongside; seamen and tradesmen employed in their various departments. Captain Gray gave this river the name of *Columbia's River*, and the north side of the entrance *Cape Hancock;* the south, *Adams's Point.*

May 20th. — Gentle breezes and pleasant weather. At one P.M. (being full sea), took up the anchor, and made sail, standing down river. At two, the wind left us, we being on the bar with a very strong tide, which set on the breakers; it was now not possible to get out without a breeze to shoot her across the tide; so we were obliged to bring up in three and a half fathoms, the tide running five knots. At three-quarters past two, a fresh wind came in from seaward; we immediately came to sail, and beat over the bar, having from five to seven fathoms water in the channel. At five P.M., we were out, clear of all the bars, and in twenty fathoms water. A breeze came from the southward; we bore away to the northward; set all sail to the best advantage. At eight, Cape Hancock bore south-east, distant three leagues; the north extremity of the land in sight bore north by west. At nine, in steering and top-gallant sails. Midnight, light airs.

May 21st.— At six A.M., the nearest land in sight bore east-south-east, distant eight leagues. At seven, set top-gallant-sails and light stay-sails. At eleven, set steering-sails fore and aft. Noon, pleasant, agreeable weather. The entrance of Bulfinch's Harbor bore south-east by east half east, distant five leagues.

Captain Robert Gray's Sea Letter.

"*To all Emperors, Kings, Sovereign princes, State and Regents and to their respective officers, civil and military and to all others whom it may concern.*

"I, George Washington, President of the United States of America do make known that Robert Gray, Captain of a ship called the Columbia, of the burden of about 230 tons, is a citizen of the United States and that the said ship which he commands belongs

to the citizens of the United States · and as I wish that the said Robert Gray may prosper in his lawful affairs, I do request all the before mentioned, and of each of them separately, when the said Robert Gray shall arrive with his vessel and cargo, that they will be pleased to receive him with kindness and treat him in a becoming manner &c. and thereby I shall consider myself obliged.

"September 16, 1790 — New York City
[Seal U. S.]

"GEO. WASHINGTON,
President.

"THOMAS JEFFERSON,
"*Secy. of State.*"

"When in 1826 the rights of the United States in regard to Oregon were formulated and made the subject of consideration by plenipotentiaries on the parts of Great Britain and the United States, the claims of the latter were urged on three grounds, the most important or first being from their own proper right, which was founded on Gray's discovery of the Columbia River. If Vancouver had discovered the Columbia prior to Gray, it is impossible to say what complications and results would have arisen in connection with the extension and development of the United States. It is therefore a source of endless gratification that Captain Robert Gray, by his courage, enterprise and seamanship, in discovering and entering the Columbia, ultimately secured to the United States this fertile territory, almost twice as extensive in area as Great Britain. With its six hundred and sixty thousand of inhabitants [1893], its great cities, its enormous accumulations of wealth, the young empire added to the United States through Robert Gray is fast shaping into substance the golden visions of the enthusiastic Kendrick."— *General A. W. Greely.*

Rev. Edward G. Porter, for so many years the warm friend of the Old South Work, an indefatigable worker in many fields of American history, and especially in whatever related to the history of Boston, gave us in the paper here reprinted the best connected account of the important event which so closely links Boston and New England, the extreme northeast of the country, with its extreme northwest. It was with the expeditions of Kendrick and Gray that "the 'Bostons' came into rivalry with the 'King George men' as explorers and traders" on the Oregon coast. Much information concerning these expeditions, with full references to original authorities, may be found in Bancroft's History of the Pacific States, vol. xxii. 185–264. Bancroft had in his hands and frequently quotes manuscript narratives of the two voyages by Haswell, "given me by Captain Haswell's daughter, Mrs. John J. Clarke, of Roxbury, Mass." The first diary (65 pages) covers 1788–89; the second, 1791–92. Of the latter Bancroft says: "It is a document of great interest and value, and includes a number of charts. The original contains also views of several places, the author having

much skill with the pencil." Several of Haswell's drawings were reproduced in connection with Mr. Porter's paper when it originally appeared.

The letter of Gray and Ingraham to the Spanish commandant, written at Nootka Sound, Aug. 3, 1792, referred to in the leaflet, is printed in the appendix to Greenhow's History of Oregon and California, which contains much besides of value in the general connection. W. H. Gray's History of Oregon begins with an account of Captain Gray's discovery. There are various histories of Oregon by Dunn, Thornton, Hines, Twiss, Wilkes, and others. The most interesting is that by William Barrows, in the American Commonwealths Series. The chapter on "The Claims of the United States to Oregon" deals specifically with the subject of the leaflet. The list of authorities given by Barrows is very full; and in this connection reference should be made to W. E. Foster's "Bibliography of Oregon," in the *Magazine of American History*, vii. 461. The first chapter of Bulfinch's "Oregon and Eldorado" is a description of Gray's voyage: the second chapter is upon Lewis and Clark's expedition. There is a capital chapter on Gray, in General A. W. Greely's "Explorers and Travellers," also followed by one on Lewis and Clark. Irving's "Astoria" is well known. T. J. Farnham's History of Oregon Territory (1844) is "a demonstration of the title of the United States to the same." Captain Gray's discovery naturally plays an important part in this, as also in W. A. Mowry's pamphlet on "Our Title to Oregon." Mr. Mowry has taken prominent part in the controversy as to the extent of Marcus Whitman's services in "saving Oregon," in which Nixon, Marshall, Bourne, and others have participated. Full references relating to the Oregon boundary disputes may be found in Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 132.

Report on the War with Mexico

PREPARED BY CHARLES SUMNER.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House Bill No. 187, April, 1847.

In an age when peace prevails over a larger surface of the globe than has ever before confessed its benign presence, our country finds itself involved in war. The general harmony is broken by our discord with a neighbor and sister republic. Enormous appropriations of money are diverted from purposes of usefulness and beneficence. Life, which a refined Christian civilization daily regards with new reverence, is squandered in bloody death on the field of battle. Many, after sinking under the privations and hardships of the camp, and the pernicious influences of an unaccustomed climate, have laid their uncoffined bones far away from their homes. Families are made desolate. Wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters are now mourning husbands, sons, fathers, and brothers whose faces they shall never again behold, whose dying agonies were relieved by no voice of kindness, no solace of prayer. The spirit of war, so adverse to the interests of republicanism and the spirit of the gospel, now predominates in the councils of our country, summoning all its energies to the contest.

It becomes important, then, to inquire into the nature of the contest and the duties of citizens in regard to it. Is this unseasonable discord — this sacrifice of treasure and life, this laceration of sacred ties, this invocation of the demon of war — necessary and unavoidable? Is it in a just cause? Is it in a cause which can challenge the benediction of good men and patriots, and the countenance and succor of Heaven? If it be

not, how can the mighty evil be redressed, and its continuance and recurrence be prevented?

Origin and Cause of the War.

To answer these inquiries, it will be proper, in the first place, to consider the origin and cause of the war. History and official documents have already placed these in a clear light. They are to be found in two important acts of our government, both of which were in flagrant violation of the Constitution of the United States. The first is the annexation of the foreign State of Texas, and its incorporation into our Union, by joint resolutions of Congress. This may be called the remote cause. The immediate cause was the order from the President, bearing date January 13, 1846, to General Taylor, to break up his camp at Corpus Christi, the extreme western point of the territory actually possessed by Texas, and march upon the Rio Grande. This, which was in itself an act of war, took place during the session of Congress, but without its knowledge or direction. Let us endeavor to comprehend the character and consequences of these acts.

The Annexation of Texas.

The history of the annexation of Texas cannot be fully understood without reverting to the early settlement of that province by citizens of the United States. Mexico, on achieving her independence of the Spanish crown, by a general ordinance, worthy of imitation by all Christian nations, had decreed the abolition of human slavery within her dominions, embracing the Province of Texas. She had declared expressly "that no person thereafter should be born a slave, or introduced as such, into the Mexican States; that all slaves then held should receive stipulated wages, and be subject to no punishment but on trial and judgment by the magistrate." At this period, citizens of the United States had already begun to remove into Texas, hardly separated, as it was, by the River Sabine from the slaveholding State of Louisiana. The idea was early promulgated that this extensive province ought to become a part of the United States. Its annexation was distinctly agitated in the Southern and Western States in 1829; and it was urged on the ground of the strength and extension it would give to

the "Slave Power," and the fresh market it would open for the sale of slaves.

The suggestion of this idea had an important effect. A current of emigration soon followed from the United States. Slaveholders crossed the Sabine, with their slaves, in defiance of the Mexican ordinance of freedom. Restless spirits, discontented at home, or feeling the restraint of the narrow confines of our country, joined them; while their number was swollen by the rude and lawless of all parts of the land, who carried to Texas the love of license which had rendered a region of justice no longer a pleasant home to them. To such spirits, rebellion was natural.

It soon broke forth. At this period the whole population, including women and children, did not amount to twenty thousand; and, among these, most of the older and wealthier inhabitants still favored peace. A Declaration of Independence, a farcical imitation of that of our fathers, was put forth, not by persons acting in a Congress or in a representative character, but by about *ninety individuals*,— all, except two, from the United States,— acting for themselves, and recommending a similar course to their fellow-citizens. In a just cause the spectacle of this handful of adventurers, boldly challenging the power of Mexico, would excite our sympathy, perhaps our admiration. But successful rapacity, which seized broad and fertile lands, while it opened new markets for slaves, excites no sentiment but that of abhorrence.

The work of rebellion sped. Citizens of the United States joined its fortunes, not singly, but in numbers, even in armed squadrons. Our newspapers excited the *lust* of *territorial* robbery in the public mind. Expeditions were openly equipped within our own borders. Advertisements for volunteers summoned the adventurous, as to patriotic labors. Military companies, with officers and standards, directed their steps to the revolted province. During all this period the United States were at peace with Mexico. A proclamation from our government, forbidding these hostile preparations within our borders, is undeniable evidence of their existence, while truth compels us to record its impotence in upholding the sacred duties of neutrality between Mexico and the insurgents. The Texan flag waved over an army of American citizens. Of the six or eight hundred who won the battle of San Jacinto, scattering the Mexican forces and capturing their general, not more than

fifty were citizens of Texas, having grievances of their own to redress on that field.

This victory was followed by the recognition of the independence of Texas by the United States; while the new State took its place among the nations of the earth.* Its Mexican rulers were succeeded, not by people nurtured on the soil, but by citizens of our country. As, in the story of Baron Munchausen, the bear devoured the horse between the very shafts of the carriage, until he found himself in its place, drawing the vehicle, so did the greedy adventurers from our country, with an unprecedented rapacity, eat themselves into the possession of this rich province of Mexico.

Certainly our sister republic might feel aggrieved by this conduct. It might justly charge our citizens with disgraceful robbery, while, in seeking the extension of slavery, they repudiated the great truths of American freedom. Meanwhile Texas slept on her arms, constantly expecting new efforts from Mexico to regain her former power. The two combatants regarded each other as enemies. Mexico still asserted her right to the territory wrested from her, and refused to acknowledge its independence. Texas turned for favor and succor to England. The government of the United States, fearing it might pass under the influence of this power, made overtures for its annexation to our country. This was finally accomplished by joint resolutions of Congress, in defiance of the Constitution, and in gross insensibility to the sacred obligations of amity with Mexico, imposed alike by treaty and by justice, "both strong against the deed." The Mexican minister regarded it as an act offensive to his country, and, demanding his passport, returned home.

Objects of Annexation.

To appreciate fully the character of this act, it will be proper to consider briefly the objects contemplated by it, or, in other words, the reasons which induced it. These are placed beyond question by authentic public documents, and by the confessions of a leading statesman in open debate. It is not to be disguised that there were some considerations, of less importance, which operated on certain minds; but the grand impelling motive was the desire to extend the institution of slavery,

*"Nothing is more true or more extensively known," said Mr. Van Buren, in 1844, "than that Texas *was wrested from Mexico*, and her independence established, through the instrumentality of citizens of the United States."

and to strengthen the political combination and power which are founded upon it. At the time it took place, England was supposed to be exerting her influence to induce Texas to abolish slavery. This excited the alarm of the government of the United States. Mr. Secretary Upshur, by a letter dated August 8, 1843, addressed to Mr. Murphy, our chargé at Texas, says, "The establishment, in the very midst of our *slaveholding States*, of an independent government, forbidding the existence of slavery, and by a people born, for the most part, among us, reared up in our habits and speaking our language, cannot fail to produce the most unhappy effects upon both parties."—"*Few calamities could befall this country more to be deplored* than the establishment of a predominant British influence, *and the abolition of domestic slavery, in Texas.*" By his letter to Mr. Murphy, dated January 16, 1844, he says: "If Texas should refuse to come into our Union, measures will instantly be taken to fill her territory with emigrants from Europe. . . . The first measure of the new emigrants, as soon as they shall have sufficient strength, will be *to destroy that grand domestic institution* upon which so much of the prosperity of our frontier country depends. I will add that, *if Texas should not be attached to the United States, she cannot maintain that institution ten years, and probably not half that time.*"

Similar views were expressed, with his accustomed frankness, by Mr. Calhoun, when Secretary of State. Without quoting these at length, as they appear in his different communications to Mr. Green and Mr. Pakenham, it will be sufficient to present the following passage from his letter to the latter, bearing date April 27, 1844: "The treaty of annexation was made necessary, *in order to preserve domestic institutions*, placed under the guaranty of their respective constitutions, and deemed essential to their safety and prosperity." And recently, on the floor of the Senate at Washington, he has avowed the same motive, adding that he thought there was danger that the institution of slavery might be abolished in Texas, and that he had seized the golden moment for the purpose of giving it perpetuity.

Consequences of Annexation.

Such was the character of this act, and the object proposed by it. A republic, whose animating principle is freedom, here

appears as the pander of slavery. But the act of annexation did not pass in silence. It was earnestly and eloquently opposed, in its different stages, on the express ground that it would extend slavery, and entail upon the country a war with Mexico. And these direful consequences are now upon us. The flag of the American Union waves over a new State, whose unfortunate slaves look to it in vain for the protection which is implied in the Declaration of Independence. And war now rages between the United States and Mexico. One of the senators of Texas, Mr. Houston, who owes his seat in the national councils to this *unconstitutional* act, now declares that "the present war with Mexico is but a continuation of the Texan war, and that, when we took Texas, we took the war as by inheritance." Such have been the consequences of that act.

The Western Boundary of Texas.

Texas was annexed; and the question arises, What was the territory which had thus been torn from Mexico and incorporated into our republic? What were its metes and bounds? Look first at the resolutions of annexation. By these, it is provided as follows: "First, Congress doth consent that the territory *properly* included within, and *rightfully* belonging to, the republic of Texas, may be erected into a new State, to be called the State of Texas, with a republican form of government." And again, "The said State to be formed *subject to the adjustment by the government of all questions of boundary that may arise with other governments.*" These terms were acceded to by Texas. The introduction to her constitution, which has been approved by our Congress, expressly declares, that it is formed "in accordance with the joint resolutions annexing Texas the United States." The constitution sets forth no boundary, while it follows the resolutions of annexation in excluding all territory not *properly* included within, and *rightfully* belonging to, the republic of Texas.

The absence of any express designation of the territory, by metes and bounds, as occurs in the treaty of 1783, acknowledging the independence of the United States, is a sufficient proof that they were still undetermined, while the language of the resolutions recognizes "questions of boundary," which notoriously related to the western frontier, or the line between Texas and Mexico.

The question recurs, What territory was properly included within, and rightfully belonging to, Texas? There are some persons who, adverting to the early history of this territory, assert that it was once a part of Louisiana, and that, as such, its western boundary was the Rio Grande. This position has, however, been assailed by an overwhelming array of authorities and illustrations, which leave it little more than a hollow assertion.* But, whatever may be the conclusions with regard to it, it will not be questioned that Texas, first as a Spanish province, and afterwards as one of the States of the Mexican confederacy, was bounded by the River Nueces (Walnut River). This is an important geographical and historical fact, in itself almost conclusive upon the question, in the absence of countervailing proofs.

Prominent leaders of the now dominant party of our country have solemnly declared that the boundary was not further west than the great desert between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. Mr. Benton, a senator of the United States, in his speech of May 16, 1844, denounced the attempt to claim the Rio Grande, sometimes called the Rio del Norte and the Rio Bravo, as the boundary, which is one hundred and fifty miles farther west. He embodied his opinions in the following resolution: —

"*Resolved*, That the incorporation of the left bank of the Rio del Norte into the American Union, by virtue of a treaty with Texas, comprehending, as the said incorporation would do, a part of the Mexican departments of New Mexico, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, *would be an act of direct aggression on Mexico*, for all the consequences of which the United States would stand responsible."

In the House of Representatives the chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs (Mr. C. J. Ingersoll), on the 3d of February, 1845, made his remarkable declaration to the same effect. He said: —

"The stupendous deserts between the Nueces and the Bravo Rivers are the natural boundaries between the Anglo-Saxon and the Mauritanian races. *There* ends the valley of the west. There Mexico begins. Thence, beyond the Bravo, begin the Moorish people, and their Indian associates, to whom Mexico properly belongs; who should not cross that vast desert if they

* See the able and learned speech of Mr. Severance, of Maine, which contains an elaborate examination of the question of boundary.

could, as we, on our side, too, ought to stop there, because interminable conflicts must ensue our going south, or their coming north, of that gigantic boundary. *While peace is cherished, that boundary will be sacred. Not till the spirit of* CONQUEST *rages* will the people on either side molest or mix with each other; and, whenever they do, one or the other race must be conquered, if not extinguished."

These authorities would seem to be conclusive. But other considerations add weight to them. Texas was a child of revolution. Her title to territory cannot depend upon formal designation of boundaries in maps or books, although these are against her present claim, but upon the sword. Her *right* was coextensive with her *might*. Just so far as she had been able to hold possession, and no further, would her title reach. This conclusion flows from admitted principles of public law. It was recognized by Mr. Donaldson, our chargé there, who, by his letter to Mr. Buchanan, of July 11, 1845, after stating the claim of Texas to the Rio Grande as "an open question," says that "we should regard only as *within the limits of our protection* that portion of territory *actually* possessed by Texas, and which she did not consider *subject to negotiation*."

It is clear, from the correspondence laid before Congress by the President, that Texas had never acquired possession to the Rio Grande, nor, with the exception of a few small posts, beyond the Nueces. The inhabitants west of the valley of the Nueces spoke the language of Mexico; they obeyed her laws, and were governed by her officers and magistrates. Our traders and merchants there paid duties at Mexican custom-houses. Everywhere were the signs of Mexican sovereignty; nowhere, of the sovereignty of Texas. Mr. Donaldson, by a letter of June 28, 1845, to General Taylor, says: "Corpus Christi is said to be as healthy as Pensacola; a convenient place for supplies, *and the most western point now occupied by Texas*."

Whatever, then, may have been the *claim* of Texas, she had never practically extended her power beyond the valley of the Nueces. The vast territory, embracing a large part of the Mexican provinces of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, and New Mexico, and comprehended between the Nueces and the long north-western sweep of the Rio Grande, was not in the possession of Texas or of the United States. And the very resolutions of annexation, and other official documents, recognized the

western boundary as an open question, which was to be determined by future negotiation.

Peace still continues between Mexico and the United States.

The act of annexation, pregnant with war, did not at once bring forth its hateful offspring. Mexico was inactive. Peace still hovered over the borders of the two countries, not yet driven away by the rude appeal of arms.

Mr. Peña y Peña, the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, wrote to Mr. Black, our consul, on the 31st of October, 1845, thus: "The government of Mexico has given its orders for the purpose of *suspending for the present any act of hostility against the United States, and limits itself to the defensive*, awaiting the issue of the negotiation *proposed* by the government of the United States, through the consul," etc. This is an authentic expression of the *intentions* of Mexico. But we have other evidence. Mr. Marks, formerly United States consul at Matamoras, in a letter to General Taylor, dated at China, in Mexico, September 23, 1845, and enclosed to the Secretary of State on the 28th October following, says: "I have the honor to inform you that I have had several conferences at Monterey with General Mariano Arista, commander-in-chief of the Mexican forces on the frontier of the Rio Grande, in relation to the differences at present existing between the United States and Mexico, and am pleased to state to you that, from the opinion and views he made known to me, the cabinet of Mexico is disposed to enter into an amicable arrangement with the United States in relation to the boundary, and all other momentous questions. . . .

"General Arista pledged his honor to me that no large body of Mexican troops should cross the left bank of the Rio Grande; that only small parties, not to exceed two hundred men, should be permitted to go as far as the Arrayo Colorado, (twenty leagues from the Rio Grande), and that they would be strictly ordered only to prevent Indian depredations and illicit trade." . . .

The conduct of Mexico, it will appear, continued to be in harmony with these declarations.

General Taylor was stationed, with the American army, at Corpus Christi, three miles beyond the River Nueces. By a

letter to the war department, dated September 6, 1845, he says: "I have the honor to report that a confidential agent despatched to Matamoras, has returned, and reports that no extraordinary preparations are going forward there; that the garrison does not seem to have been increased, and that our consul is of opinion *there will be no war.*" By another letter, dated October 11, he writes: "Recent arrivals from the Rio Grande bring no news of a different aspect from what I repeated in my last. The views expressed in previous communications, *relative to the pacific disposition of the border people on both sides of the river, are continually confirmed.*" January 7, he writes: "A recent scout of volunteers from San Antonio struck the river near Presidio, Rio Grande; and the *commander reports everything quiet in that quarter.*"

Movement of General Taylor from Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande.

This was the state of things when, by an order bearing date 13th January, 1846, during the session of Congress, and without any consultation with that body, General Taylor was directed, by the President of the United States, to occupy the east bank of the Rio Grande, being the extreme western part of the territory claimed by Texas, the boundary of which had been designated as an "open question," to be determined by "negotiation." General Taylor broke up his quarters at Corpus Christi on the 11th March, and, proceeding across this *disputed territory*, established his post, and erected a battery, directly opposite the Mexican city of Matamoras, and, under his directions, the mouth of the Rio Grande was blockaded, so as to cut off supplies from the Mexican army at Matamoras.

War ensues.

These were acts of war, accomplished without bloodshed; but they were nevertheless acts of unquestioned hostility 'gainst Mexico. Blockade! and military occupation of a disputed territory! These were the arbiters of the "open question" of boundary. These were the substitutes for "negotiation." It is not to be supposed that the Mexican army should quietly endure these aggressive measures, and regard with indifference cannon pointed at their position. Recent confes-

sions in the Senate show that the fatal order of January 13th was known at the time to certain senators, who saw its hostile character, but felt unable to interfere to arrest it. They prognosticated war. On the 26th of April a small body of American troops, under the command of Captain Thornton, encountered Mexican troops at a place twenty miles north of General Taylor's camp. *Here was the first collision of arms.* The report of this was hurried to Washington. Rumor, with hundred tongues, exaggerated the danger of the American army under General Taylor, and produced an insensibility to the aggressive character of his movement. All concurred in a desire to rescue him from the perilous position which, with the unquestioning obedience of a soldier, he had fearlessly occupied. It was under the influence of this feeling that the untoward act of May 13th was pressed through Congress, by which it was declared that "war exists by the act of Mexico"; and an appropriation of ten million dollars was made, and authority given to the President to employ the military and naval forces of the United States, and to receive the services of 50,000 volunteers, in order to prosecute it to a successful conclusion. The passage of this act placed the whole country in hostile array against Mexico, and impressed upon every citizen of the United States the relation of enemy of every citizen of Mexico. This disastrous condition still continues. War is still waged; and our armies, after repeated victories achieved on Mexican soil, are still pursuing the path of conquest.

Apologies for the War.

The review which has now been attempted, and which is fully sustained by unquestioned authorities, conducts us to the important question as to the character of the war in which the country is now engaged. It has found partisans, who have adduced various reasons and apologies for it. These all assume acts of wrong on the part of Mexico, justifying the appeal to arms. They may be resolved into three different heads: —

Alleged Invasion of the United States by Mexico.

The *first* alleges that Mexico passed the boundary of the United States, invaded our territory, and shed American blood

upon American soil. This is completely refuted by the facts already adduced, showing that the collision took place upon territory in dispute between the two governments, *and in the actual possession of Mexico.* It was the army of the United States that played the part of invaders.

Debts of Mexico.

The *second* apology pleads the failure of Mexico to pay certain claims of our citizens, founded on alleged outrages during a long succession of years. But these claims, many of which were of a most equivocal character, were liquidated by treaty in 1839, by which Mexico undertook to satisfy them, when allowed by commissioners appointed by the two governments. The commissioners, after a protracted inquiry, allowed claims amounting to the sum of $2,026,139.68. This amount became a debt from Mexico to the United States. The early outrages which have been adduced were all absorbed and satisfied in this sum total. A debtor and creditor account took their place. It was the unquestioned duty of Mexico to pay this sum; and it is much to her credit that, though vexed by civil war, disordered finances, and the aggressive conduct of our country, she has never followed the example set by some of our own States, in repudiating it. Nor did our own government regard her failure to pay as a ground of war, until after the collision on the Rio Grande. It is evident that this apology is an afterthought, which is abhorrent to the spirit of modern civilization. It is not in any degree calculated to relieve this war of the odium with which it is justly regarded.

Refusal to receive Mr. Slidell.

The *third* and only remaining apology is found in the refusal to receive Mr. Slidell. We may well shrink from any detailed inquiry into the circumstances of this act. Is it not unworthy a magnanimous and Christian republic to plead a *failure in a matter of international etiquette* as an excuse for an extensive and bloody war? Such an apology might, in former ages, have found favor with an irritable prince, in whom the punctilio of honor was the substitute for Christian duty; but it should be disowned by a people who profess to regard *substance* rather than *form*, and who recognize the golden rule of doing

unto others as they would be done unto. But the facts show that, while Mexico refused to receive Mr. Slidell, who was sent as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary," she expressed a willingness to receive a commissioner specially appointed to treat of the matters which had interrupted the diplomatic relations of the two countries, particularly of the "open question" of boundary. It seems that on the 16th of December, 1845, Mr. Peña y Peña, the Mexican minister of foreign affairs, answered Mr. Slidell's note, declaring that the delay in his reception had arisen from difficulties occasioned by the nature of his credentials, as compared with the proposition made by the United States, to treat peacefully upon the affairs of Texas. On the 20th December, 1845, Mr. Slidell's mission was annulled by an official note from Mr. Peña y Peña, requiring the production of special powers AD HOC, *for the settlement of the Texas question expressly and exclusively, before he could be recognized as minister plenipotentiary*, as otherwise the honor, dignity, and interests of the Mexican republic would be put in jeopardy. It is doubtful if Mexico, in pursuing this course, departed from the usages of nations. Great Britain once sent to the United States a minister specially authorized to treat of the affair of the Chesapeake. It did not, however, suit the policy of our government to enter into any negotiation with him, unless his instructions extended to other matters. The minister then declared his mission terminated; but no offence was taken on either side, nor, when at a later day war ensued between Great Britain and the United States, was this question of etiquette thrown by either party into the bloody scales.

Real Objects of the War.

The origin and cause of the war have been set forth; and the apologies for it have been shown to be futile. Why, then, is it waged? This leads to the consideration of the real objects of the war. Whatever may have been the question on this head in the early stages of the contest, they are now established beyond reasonable doubt, if not beyond controversy, by the express declarations of prominent advocates of the war, and by important votes of both houses of Congress.

It is a War of Conquest.

It can no longer be doubted that this is a war of conquest. The first confession of this fact which startled the public mind appeared in the letter of the Secretary of War to Colonel Stevenson, dated June 26, 1846, with reference to a regiment of volunteers to be raised in New York. The Secretary says: —

"The President expects, and indeed requires, that great care should be taken to have it composed of suitable persons; I mean, of good habits; as far as practicable, of various pursuits, *and such as would be likely to remain, at the end of the war, either in Oregon, or in any other territory in that region of the globe which may then* be a part of the United States. The act of the 13th of May last authorizes the acceptance of volunteers for twelve months, or during the war with Mexico. The condition of the acceptance in this case must be a tender of service during the war, and it must be explicitly understood that they may be discharged, *without a claim for returning home, wherever they may be serving at the termination of the war, provided it is in the* THEN *territory of the United States*, or may be taken to the nearest or most convenient territory belonging to the United States, and there discharged."

In a letter to Commodore Sloat, dated June 8, the Secretary says, "You will take such measures as will render that vast region [California] *a desirable place of residence for emigrants from our soil.*" In a letter to Colonel Kearny, dated June 3, the conquest of New Mexico is also foreshadowed. He says: "Should you *conquer and take possession of New Mexico and Upper California*, you will establish civil governments therein. You may assure the people of these provinces that it is the wish and *design* of the United States to *provide for them* a free government with the least possible delay, *similar to that which exists in our territories.*" Other passages from the official correspondence might be adduced to the same point.

Prominent supporters of the war, in Congress, have not hesitated to avow conquest as their object. The chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the Senate (Mr. Sevier) has said that "no one thought of getting less than New Mexico and California"; and the chairman of the same committee in the House (Mr. C. J. Ingersoll), after having once defended the war, "not as the means of ambition, or for the sake of conquest," has more recently declared that "everybody knew —

yes, everybody knew — that this was to be a war of invasion, *a war of territorial conquest*, although it was now spoken of in terms of condemnation in that respect. But it cannot be otherwise than a war of conquest. That was the only use that could be made of all the power granted by Congress, and by Congress commanded to be employed."

In disagreeable harmony with these declarations have been the recent votes in the Senate and House of Representatives, by which they have expressly refused to sanction resolutions against the acquisition of foreign territory and the dismemberment of the Mexican republic.

It is a War for the Extension of Slavery.

A war of conquest is bad; but the present war has darker shadows. It is a war for the extension of slavery over a territory which has already been purged, by Mexican authority, from this stain and curse. Fresh markets of human beings are to be established; further opportunities for this hateful traffic are to be opened; the lash of the overseer is to be quickened in new regions; and the wretched slave is to be hurried to unaccustomed fields of toil. It can hardly be believed that now, more than eighteen hundred years since the dawn of the Christian era, a government, professing the law of charity and justice, should be employed in war to extend an institution which exists in defiance of these sacred principles.

It has already been shown that the annexation of Texas was consummated for this purpose. The Mexican war is a continuance, a prolongation, of the same efforts; and the success which crowned the first emboldens the partisans of the latter, who now, as before, profess to extend the area of freedom, while they are establishing a new sphere for slavery.

The authorities already adduced in regard to the objects of annexation illustrate the real objects of the Mexican war. Declarations have also been made, upon the floor of Congress, which throw light upon it. Mr. Sims, of South Carolina, has said that "he had no doubt that every foot of territory we shall permanently occupy, south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, will be slave territory"; and, in reply to his colleague, Mr. Burt, who inquired whether this opinion was "in consequence of the known determination of the Southern people that their institutions shall be carried into that country, if ac-

quired," said, in words that furnish a key to the whole project, "*It is founded on the known determination of the Southern people that their institutions shall be carried there; it is founded in the laws of God, written on the climate and soil of the country: nothing but slave labor can cultivate, profitably, that region of country.*"

The recent rejection, in both houses at Washington, of the Wilmot proviso, by which slavery was to be excluded from all new territorial acquisitions, reveals to the world the fixed determination of a majority of Congress to make the war an instrument for the extension of slavery, and the establishment in new regions of what Mr. Upshur called "the grand domestic institution."

It is a War to strengthen the "Slave Power."

But it is not merely proposed to open new markets for slavery: it is also designed to confirm and fortify the "Slave Power." Here is a distinction which should not fail to be borne in mind. Slavery is odious as an institution, if viewed in the light of morals and Christianity. On this account alone we should refrain from rendering it any voluntary support. But it has been made the basis of a political combination, to which has not inaptly been applied the designation of the "Slave Power." The slaveholders of the country — who are not supposed to exceed 200,000 or at most 300,000 in numbers — by the spirit of union which animates them, by the strong sense of a common interest, and by the audacity of their leaders, have erected themselves into a new "estate," as it were, under the Constitution. Disregarding the sentiments of many of the great framers of that instrument, who notoriously considered slavery as *temporary*, they proclaim it a *permanent* institution; and, with a strange inconsistency, at once press its title to a paramount influence in the general government, while they deny the right of that government to interfere, in any way, with its existence. According to them, it may never be restrained or abolished by the general government, though it may be indefinitely extended. And it is urged that, as new free States are admitted into the Union, other slave States should be admitted, in order to preserve, in the Senate, what is called the "balance of power"; in other words, the equipoise between slavery and freedom, though it might, with more propriety, be termed the preponderance of slavery. The

bare enunciation of this claim discloses its absurdity. Is it not a mockery of the principles of freedom, which moved the hearts and strengthened the hands of our fathers, to suppose that they contemplated any such perverse arrangement of political power?

It cannot be doubted that His Excellency is entirely right when he says, in his message, that "at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States the final extinction of the institution of slavery was looked for at no very distant day," and that "so carefully was the Constitution formed that, when the event took place, not one word or phrase of it would require to be altered, and no expression in it would give notice to posterity that such an institution ever existed"; and, further, that "the Constitution leaves slavery where it found it, a State institution; and though, as a compromise, it did confer political power upon States which had slaves, by reason of their slaves, *it was not intended* that that power should be extended *beyond the States who were parties to the compromise.*"

But the slave power has triumphed over the evident intentions of the framers of the Constitution. It appears that only one new free State has been formed out of territory acquired by treaty, while four new slave States have been established, and the foreign slave State of Texas has been incorporated into the Union by joint resolutions of Congress.

The object of the bold measure of annexation was not only to extend slavery, but to strengthen the "Slave Power." The same object is now proposed by the Mexican war. This is another link in the gigantic chain by which our country and the Constitution are to be bound to the "Slave Power." This has been proclaimed in public journals. The following passage from the *Charleston* (S.C.) *Courier* avows it: "Every battle fought in Mexico, and every dollar spent there, but insures the acquisition of territory which must widen the field of *Southern enterprise and power in future.* And the final result will be to readjust the balance of power in the confederacy, *so as to give us control over the operations of government in all time to come.*"

It is a War against the Free States.

Regarding it as a war to strengthen the "Slave Power," we are conducted to a natural conclusion, that it is virtually, and in its consequences, a war against the free States of the Union.

Conquest and robbery are attempted in order to obtain a political control at home; and distant battles are fought, less with a special view of subjugating Mexico than with the design of overcoming the power of the free States, under the Constitution. The lives of Mexicans are sacrificed in this cause; and a domestic question, which should be reserved for bloodless debate in our own country, is transferred to fields of battle in a foreign land.

Horrors of the War.

Such is the origin of this war, and such are its objects. But there are other points of view in which it has not yet been regarded. In estimating its character, we cannot be blind to the sufferings which it has caused, not only in Mexico, but in our own country. No hostile footstep has pressed any portion of our soil; no smoke of our enemy's camp has been seen within our borders. But sorrow unspeakable has visited many homes. Brave officers have been cut down in the flower of life; the wounded and the dead have been left together on the battle-field. But climate has been more fatal even than the bullet and the sword. Many who left their homes in all the pride of hope and health now sleep the last sleep, in the foreign soil which they had invaded, without having met a foe. Many, also, have shrunk from the service. It appears, from a communication of the adjutant-general of the army of the United States, that, of the 703 officers, and 15,995 non-commissioned officers and privates, making an aggregate of volunteer forces under General Taylor of 16,698 men, there had been discharged, up to the 7th of December, 5,079.

It is sad to know that demoralization of all kinds has crept into the camp; though it could not be expected that such considerable bodies of men, away from the restraints of civil society and stimulated by vicious companionship, could escape this condition. Murder, assassination, and rapine have occurred among our own soldiers, who, like the armed men that sprang from the dragon's teeth, in the classical fable, have more than once striven in deadly quarrel with each other.

The warring elements have also mingled with the bad passions of men, and shipwreck has added to the losses and sufferings of our people,— relieved, however, by the precious sympathies which, in this time of peril, were extended by strangers.

But who can measure the trials of the unfortunate Mexicans?

Battle has raged in their corn-fields, on the banks of their rivers, and in their streets. Not soldiers only,— steeled to the hardships of war,— but women and children, have felt its aggravated horrors. Houses, in whose shelter should live only the domestic virtues, have been converted into castles, and attacked and defended with fatal ferocity. American cannon have been pointed at a bishop's palace; shells filled with death have been sprinkled among the innocent inhabitants of more than one Mexican city; while the brutal lusts and unrestrained lawlessness of soldiers have added to the miseries of battle and siege.

Cost of the War.

Nor should we be indifferent to the enormous expenditures which have already been lavished upon the war, and the accumulating debt which will hold in mortgage the future resources of the country. It is impossible to estimate the exact amount of these. At this moment the cost of the war cannot be less than seventy millions. It may be a hundred millions.

This sum is so vast as to be beyond easy comprehension. It may be estimated, partly, by reference to the cost of other objects of interest. It is far more than all the funds for common schools throughout the United States. It is ample for the endowment of three or more institutions like Harvard College in every State. It would plant churches in all the neglected valleys of the land. It would bind and interlace every part of the country by new railroads. It would make our broad and rude soil blossom like a garden. And if, in an auspicious moment, it were diverted from the work of destruction in Mexico to the noble charity of succoring distressed Ireland, it would carry certain comfort to a whole people, now in the pangs of famine.

Unconstitutionality of the War.

The war should not fail, also, to be regarded in the light of the Constitution. And here we must be brief. The stages by which the country has reached it have been as unconstitutional as its objects. *First*, Texas was annexed, by joint resolutions of Congress, in violation of the Constitution. *Second*, the President, in undertaking to order General Taylor, without the consent of Congress, to march upon territory in

possession of Mexico, assumed a power which belongs to Congress alone. To Congress has been committed the dread thunderbolt of war. "Congress shall have power to declare war," are the words of the Constitution. But the President has usurped its most terrible authority. His order to General Taylor was an unauthorized act of war. *Third*, as a war of conquest, and for the extension of slavery, it is contrary to the principles of our Constitution, which, according to the words of the preamble, was formed "to provide for the *common defence*, promote the general welfare, and secure *the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity*." Such a war as that in which we are now engaged can find no sanction in these words: it is *not* for the *common defence*, nor to *secure the blessings of liberty*. *Fourth*, as a war to strengthen the "Slave Power," it is also unconstitutional. Thus it may be branded as a fourfold infraction of the fundamental law of the land.

Criminality of the War.

And it is also a violation of the fundamental law of Heaven, of that great law of Right which is written by God's own finger on the heart of man. His Excellency said nothing beyond the truth when, in his message, he declared that "an offensive and unnecessary war was the highest crime which man can commit against society." It is so; for all the demons of Hate are then let loose in mad and causeless career. Misrule usurps the place of order, and outrage of all kinds stalks "unwhipt of justice." An unjust and unnecessary war is the dismal offspring of *national insensibility*, steeping the conscience in forgetfulness, and unkennelling the foul brood of murder, rapine, and rape. How, then, must we regard the acts in the present war? Have they any extenuation beyond the sanction of mortals, like ourselves, who have rashly undertaken to direct them? The war is a crime, and all who have partaken in the blood of its well-fought fields have aided in its perpetration. It is a principle of military law that the soldier shall not question the orders of his superior. If this shall exonerate the army from blame, it will be only to press with accumulated weight upon the government, which has set in motion this terrible and irresponsible machine.

The True Honor of the Country.

It is certainly more than doubtful whether any true honor can be achieved, even in the successful prosecution of such a war. The victories of injustice can never be sources of gratulation or pride. The sympathies of good men cannot be surrendered to acts of wrong. The hearts of all Americans beat responsive to the brave but vain efforts of the Poles to save their unhappy country from dismemberment; nor can we dwell with satisfaction upon Russian valor triumphant in a war of spoliation. Perhaps the partialities of patriotism may prevent us from applying to our own conduct the stern judgment which we award to foreign aggression; but we cannot hesitate in recognizing *justice*, whether in individuals or nations, as an essential element in every act worthy of true honor. Nor can perseverance in wrong be a duty, under any circumstances, either with individuals or nations. Its abandonment may sometimes cost a struggle of worldly pride, but it is required by considerations alike of justice and magnanimity. In retreating from positions of error, true honor is to be earned, greater far than any by success in unjust war.

Duty to arrest the War.

Such an opportunity of honor is now open to the country by earnest efforts to arrest the present war. It is unbecoming a Christian people to plunge farther in crime; nor can any just sentiment of patriotism sanction what Christianity disowns. We have been told "to seek an honorable peace by the sword." Our true course should be to stay the havoc of the sword, and to strive not to conquer a foreign people, but the dangerous spirit of conquest which rages in the bosoms of our own citizens. We are the aggressors from the beginning. We have invaded Mexico as much as Great Britain invaded our own country in the war of the Revolution. "I say again," said Lord Chatham, in bringing forward a motion, in 1776, to put a stop to American hostilities, "this country has been the aggressor. You have made descents upon their coasts; you have burnt their towns, plundered their country, made war upon the inhabitants, confiscated their property, proscribed and imprisoned their persons. I do therefore affirm that,

instead of exacting unconditional submission from the colonies, we should grant them unconditional redress."

Withdrawal of the Forces.

We should not fail to insist upon the withdrawal of our forces from Mexico, within the acknowledged limits of the United States, so soon as the same can be done, with due regard to the well-being of the troops. Let them return home, nor longer continue as the agents of injustice. Such a retreat will be an act of truer lustre than any victory in such a war.

Duty to stop the Supplies.

Another duty, of great practical importance, is to withhold all supplies, or voluntary contribution, to the further prosecution of the war. This is particularly incumbent upon Congress, in whom is vested by the Constitution the power to declare war. Every new vote of supplies is a fresh sanction of the war; it is another "declaration." The propriety of withholding supplies has been sometimes questioned under our Constitution. It has been said that, when the country finds itself in war, no matter how, it is the province of Congress to furnish the means for carrying it on. But this assertion confounds the opposite duties in wars of *offence*, and of *defence*. In the latter alternative, Congress would be heartily sustained by the people in any appropriations; but it cannot be just or proper to supply the means of *offence* against a neighbor. The objection also assumes, for the President, powers beyond any ordinary control. If Congress must blindly vote supplies, without judging of the justice or necessity of the war in which they are to be employed, then may the President, when the war-power has once been put in motion, push his aggressions without hindrance. Who can stop his march of conquest, if the bare existence of war be a sufficient excuse for an unquestioning vote of means for its maintenance or its vigorous prosecution?

It is sometimes said that Congress must vote the supplies, and then hold him responsible! Where is the gauge and measure of responsibility for an unjust war? Who can estimate the responsibility for all the accumulated deaths and sorrows of the present contest? Where is the scale by which it can be determined? Hold him responsible! Thus may the dogs

of war be let loose, provided only that their keeper is held to strict account for all their havoc! But the life of the humblest soldier in the camp is precious beyond any human accountability!

The Constitution of our country is not obnoxious to any interpretation so inconsistent with liberty and humanity. Its framers were familiar with the conduct of those stanch Whigs of the British Parliament who refused to sanction the unjust war against the colonies, and sought to withhold supplies for its prosecution. "I would," said Lord Chatham, "sell my shirt off my back to assist in proper measures, properly and wisely conducted; *but I would not part with a single shilling to the present ministers.* Their plans are founded in destruction and disgrace. It is, my lords, a ruinous and destructive war; it is full of danger; it teems with disgrace, and must end in ruin." In these bold words are indicated the true course of parliamentary opposition to an outrageous policy. Mr. Burke declared that he "would be ever ready to support a just war, whether against subjects or alien enemies; *but where justice, or a color of justice, was wanting, he should ever be the first to oppose it.*" And Mr. Fox said "he could not conscientiously agree to grant any money for so destructive, so ignoble a purpose as the carrying on a war commenced unjustly and supported with no other view than to the extirpation of freedom and the violation of every social comfort. *This he conceived to be the strict line of conduct to be observed by a member of Parliament.*" These expressions apply with singular force to the present war and to the duties of Congress.

The record of the debates at the formation of our own national Constitution show that these high examples of constitutional opposition to an unjust war had not been forgotten. While the convention were considering the provision which authorizes the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, "Mr. Madison moved to authorize two-thirds of the Senate to make treaties of *peace, without* the concurrence of the President." "The President," he said, "would necessarily derive so much power and importance from a state of war that he might be tempted, if authorized, to impede a treaty of peace." "Mr. Gorham thought the security unnecessary, *as the* MEANS *of carrying on the war would* NOT BE *in the hands of the* EXECUTIVE, *but of the* LEGISLATURE." (See Elliott's Debates, vol. v. p. 524.) Here is a distinct recognition

by Mr. Gorham, who was a delegate from Massachusetts, of the principle that Congress would have the power to refuse supplies, and thus control the Executive in time of war; and this opinion is supposed to have influenced the convention in rejecting Mr. Madison's amendment as unnecessary.

The propriety of withholding supplies is sanctioned, then, not only by its intrinsic reasonableness as a mode of restraint, but by opinions expressed in the British Parliament, and in the very convention which framed our Constitution.

Congress having the power, the present occasion eminently requires its exercise. At the same time, it cannot be expected that they should refuse to the soldiers, who have already been called into this unwelcome service, the reasonable support which their comfort requires. No new sanction should be given to the war, and no supplies should be afforded for its further prosecution. It were better to construct a bridge of gold for the retreat of our army than to vote a man, or a dollar, for further conquest. A war, which has been denounced as the President's, and which was made in defiance of the Constitution, and for unjust purposes, should be left to him, and to the minions of his will. The true lovers of their country, and defenders of the Constitution, will leave no measure unattempted by which he may be restrained. As, in ancient Rome, under the decree of banishment, the criminal was denied "fire and water," thus cutting him off absolutely from all sources of support, so, according to the genius of our Constitution, should a President, waging an unrighteous contest, be deprived of all means of its prosecution. His murderous plans should be starved. His dishonorable and unchristian war should be left without fuel for its flames.

Further Duty of the Free States.

Such is a concise review of the origin, objects, and character of the present war, and of the duties which are now imposed upon the country. In developing these, we have already been led to consider the influence of slavery and the "Slave Power." We have seen their agency, first in the act of annexing Texas, and now in the war with Mexico, both of which have been conducted with the view of restraining the power of the Free States under the Constitution. This circumstance, no less than the express reference to this committee of so much of His

Excellency's message as relates to slavery, renders it proper to consider, further, what can be done to check and overthrow the evil influences by which the country has been brought into its present condition. It will not be sufficient merely to stay the war with Mexico. That will be only a partial triumph of right. The disturbing cause must be removed. The original evil, so far as possible, must be eradicated.

The House, by their reference of the subjects of slavery and the Mexican war to the same committee, have shown their sense of the connection between the two. They are closely united, as cause and effect. The great crime of the war is to be traced directly to slavery; nor can any view of the former be presented, which can claim credit for ordinary candor without a distinct development of this connection. The war, indeed, derives some of its darkest colors from this motive to its prosecution, which is also visible in the annexation of Texas. Our earnest attention is thus directed to an influence so alien to humanity and freedom, so destructive of the true principles of our Constitution, and so hostile to the interests of the Free States.

And here, again, we notice the distinction between slavery and the "Slave Power." The former is used to denote the institution, and the latter the political influence or organization which is founded upon it. Opposition to the two will be on different grounds. But it cannot be questioned that it is the duty of the Free States to unite in all constitutional efforts for the abolition of the one and the restraint and overthrow of the other.

The Abolition of Slavery.

In pressing the duty of abolishing slavery within the limits of the United States, we are met by the difficulty that it is, except in the District of Columbia and in the territories of the United States, a State institution, drawing its vitality from State laws, and not therefore directly within the constitutional legislation of Congress. There are some passages in the writings of Mr. Jefferson leading to the conclusion that, in his opinion, Congress have the power to pass an "act of emancipation to operate within the States."* But he is supposed to have been carried, by the known ardor of his opinions in this

* See Jefferson's Writings. Letter to Mr. Sparks in 1824.

behalf, beyond the strict line of constitutional propriety.* It cannot be doubted, however, that an amendment of the Constitution may be made, according to the manner prescribed therein, which shall confer upon Congress this extraordinary power. Mr. Sears, in his recent proposition for the emancipation of all slaves by act of Congress, seems to have contemplated such an amendment. But, as this must be ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, there is a great difficulty in its way in the present state of the public mind. The admission of Louisiana and Texas, however, shows that the popular voice is not always careful of forms; and it is not impossible that these precedents may be considered hereafter as a modification of the Constitution in this respect, pointing the way to a triumph of freedom. But the Legislature of Massachusetts has always shown itself steadfast in its adherence to the substance and forms of the Constitution, and, much as it may desire the abolition of slavery within the limits of the United States, it cannot recommend any course inconsistent with these.

But it should not hesitate to recommend all constitutional efforts in this cause. On other occasions the Legislature of Massachusetts has borne its testimony against slavery. It has already assumed the responsibility of proposing an amendment of the Constitution, destroying the representation of slave property in the House of Representatives and the electoral colleges. It has passed resolutions, at different periods, in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, also in the territories, also requesting Congress to exercise their constitutional power in prohibiting the slave trade between the States, and in insisting upon the exclusion of slavery as a condition of the admission of any new State into the Union.

This course has been sustained by the people of the Commonwealth, who have united in large numbers in petitioning Congress in behalf of these several measures. The day has now passed when it will be said that they are not a proper subject for petition or public discussion.

Especially at the present moment, when criminal efforts have been made to extend slavery, it is incumbent upon all good citizens to renew their exertions for its abolition. It is not only a great calamity, destructive of the true interests of labor, and preventing the increase of knowledge, but, viewed in the light

* See National Intelligencer, October, 1846.

of morals, it is a great wrong. Jefferson called it "an enormity." It is a violation of the law of God and nature, not less than of the Christian rule of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. All the considerations against its extensions require, with equal force, the exertion of all constitutional means for its abolition.

This duty is so paramount that it needs no support from the opinions of another generation. But it cannot but strengthen us in our determination to know that the early fathers of the republic did not consider slavery as permanent,—that they looked upon its existence with regret, and that they welcomed efforts for its abolition. Washington in several of his letters expresses his hostility to it; and to M. Brissot, a French traveller, in 1788, the year of the adoption of the federal Constitution, he said "that he rejoiced at what was doing in other States on the subject [of abolition], and that he sincerely desired the extension of it to his own"; and when M. Brissot, a foreigner, it will be observed, suggested to him the expediency of forming an "Anti-Slavery Society" in Virginia, and said that "it was worthy the saviour of America to put himself at its head, and open the door of liberty to three hundred thousand unhappy beings of his own State," Washington replied that he "*desired the foundation of such a society, and that he would second it.*"* The sentiments of Franklin did not differ from those of Washington. He likened American slavery to white slavery in Algiers, and was the president of the earliest "Abolition Society" in Pennylvania, and, only two years after the adoption of the federal Constitution, called upon Congress "to go to the *very verge* of the power vested in them, to discourage every species of traffic in our fellow-men." Jefferson has borne his testimony on a variety of occasions, to some of which allusion has been already made. In one of his letters he foreshadows the approaching contest for the abolition of slavery, calling it "the interesting spectacle of *justice* in *conflict* with *avarice* and *oppression;* a conflict where the sacred side is daily gaining recruits from the influx into office of young men grown and growing up. These have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were, with their mother's milk; and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question." †

So long as slavery continues in any place, accessible to any constitutional opposition of our citizens which is not made,

* Brissot's Travels, Letter 22. † Jefferson's Letters, vol. i, p. 268.

so long as it may be reached by any influence within our Commonwealth which fails to be exerted, just so long are the people of Massachusetts, to a certain extent, responsible for its existence. The wrong is at our own doors. We must do all in our power to remove it. Jefferson has well said that "a great number have not the courage to divest their families of a property *which, however, keeps their consciences unquiet.*" Let not these words, in any sense, be applicable to the people of Massachusetts. The "*conscience*" of the Commonwealth will have good cause to be "unquiet" at the continued recognition of this property in human beings under the national Constitution.

Restraint and Overthrow of the "Slave Power."

The primary and highest motives for the abolition of slavery are of a moral character. Others, of great importance, are derived from its injurious influences on material prosperity. It remains now to speak of still other reasons of a political nature, which furnish occasion for opposition, not only to slavery, but to that powerful organization which is founded upon it, and which is called the "Slave Power."

A careful examination of the history of our country, exposing the tyranny and usurpation of the "Slave Power," has not yet been attempted. Our object will be to call attention to a few undeniable facts. The "Slave Power" has predominated over the federal government from its first establishment. It has always absorbed to itself a large portion of all offices of honor and profit under the Constitution. It has held the Presidency for fifty-six years, while the free States have held it for twelve years only. It has for several years rejected the petitions of the free States, thus virtually denying the right of petition. It has denied, to free colored citizens of the free States, the privileges secured to them by the Constitution of the United States, by imprisoning them, and sometimes selling them into slavery. It has insulted and exiled, from Charleston and New Orleans, the honored representatives of Massachusetts, who have been sent to those places in order to throw the shield of the Constitution and law over her colored citizens. It first imposed upon the country the policy of protecting domestic manufactures, contrary to the interests of the free States, and now, when those interests have changed, at a later day has defeated the same policy, contrary to the interests of the same States. It

required the action of the national government to endeavor to secure compensation for certain slaves who, in the exercise of the natural rights of men, had asserted and achieved their freedom on the Atlantic Ocean, and sought shelter in Bermuda. It instigated and carried on a most expensive war in Florida, mainly to recover certain fugitive slaves. It wrested from Mexico the province of Texas, and finally secured its annexation to the United States. And now it has involved the whole country in a causeless, cruel, and unjust war with Mexico. All these things have been done by the "Slave Power."

Their bare enumeration, without further argument, furnishes a sufficient reason for calling for the restraint and overthrow of this influence. And here we do not encounter any difficulties arising from constitutional doubts. It is true that slavery is recognized by the Constitution, and a certain political importance is attached to it by the manner in which it is represented in the House of Representatives and the electoral colleges. But the "Slave Power," *as such*, is an element and influence unknown to the original framers of that instrument. It is not to be supposed that they who anxiously looked for the abolition of slavery could ever have regarded it as the legitimate foundation of an association which was to control the counsels and conduct of the country, and dictate its most important measures. There are but two elements in its existence: first, slavery; and, second, combination among all interested in the preservation of slavery.

The principles of opposition to the "Slave Power" are the natural correlative or complement of these. They are, first, freedom; and, second, a combination among all interested in the preservation of freedom. If it be right, under the Constitution, for men to combine for slavery, they may surely combine for freedom. The country has suffered much under the "Slave Power." It remains to be seen if it may not be restored by a combination not yet attempted,— the "Freedom Power."

And here, as in other movements for the good of the country, Massachusetts must take the lead. She must be true to the spirit of her fathers in the colonial struggles. She must be true to the sentiments of her Bill of Rights. She must be true to the resolutions which she has put forth against the outrages of the "Slave Power" in imprisoning her colored citizens, and in annexing Texas. She must be true to the moral and religious sentiments of her citizens. In one word, she must be true to

her "CONSCIENCE," and not allow it to be longer "unquiet" by submission to the "Slave Power."

All of which, with the accompanying Resolutions, is respectfully submitted.

RESOLVES

Concerning the Mexican War, and the Institution of Slavery.

Resolved, That the present war with Mexico has its primary origin in the unconstitutional annexation to the United States of the foreign State of Texas, while the same was still at war with Mexico; that it was unconstitutionally commenced by the order of the President, to General Taylor, to take military possession of territory in dispute between the United States and Mexico, *and in the occupation of Mexico;* and that it is now waged ingloriously,— by a powerful nation against a weak neighbor,— unnecessarily and without just cause, at immense cost of treasure and life, for the dismemberment of Mexico, and for the conquest of a portion of her territory, from which slavery has already been excluded, with the triple object of extending slavery, of strengthening the "Slave Power," and of obtaining the control of the Free States, under the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That such a war of conquest, so hateful in its objects, so wanton, unjust, and unconstitutional in its origin and character, must be regarded as a war against freedom, against humanity, against justice, against the Union, against the Constitution, and *against the Free States;* and that a regard for the true interests and the highest honor of the country, not less than the impulses of Christian duty, should arouse all good citizens to join in efforts to arrest this gigantic crime, by withholding supplies, or other voluntary contributions, for its further prosecution, by calling for the withdrawal of our army within the established limits of the United States, and in every just way aiding the country to retreat from the disgraceful position of aggression which it now occupies towards a weak, distracted neighbor and sister republic.

Resolved, That our attention is directed anew to the wrong and "enormity" of slavery, and to the tyranny and usurpation of the "Slave Power," as displayed in the history of our country, particularly in the annexation of Texas, and the pres-

ent war with Mexico; and that we are impressed with the unalterable conviction that a regard for the fair fame of our country, for the principles of morals, and for that righteousness which exalteth a nation, sanctions and requires all constitutional efforts for the abolition of slavery within the limits of the United States, while loyalty to the Constitution, and a just self-defence, make it specially incumbent on the people of the free States to co-operate in strenuous exertions to restrain and overthrow the "Slave Power."

In the spring of 1847 Sumner prepared for a legislative committee an elaborate report, his authorship of which does not seem to have been known at the time, on the Mexican war and the duties and responsibilities of citizens as to the institution of slavery. It reviewed the events connected with the annexation of Texas and the war, set forth in vigorous language the pro-slavery purposes of their authors, denounced the war as waged "against freedom, against humanity, against justice, against the Union, against the Constitution, and against the free States," called for the withholding of supplies and the withdrawal of our troops from Mexico, and briefly urged strenuous and combined efforts for the restraint and overthrow of the slave power. The four resolutions which accompanied the report summarized its conclusions. The majority of the committee, of which Hayden, editor of the *Atlas*, was chairman, had been dilatory in taking any action, and finally agreed upon a report which was thought to be wanting in spirit and directness. Edward L. Keyes, of Dedham, from the minority of the committee, submitted the report and resolutions which Sumner had drawn. There was a contest in the House, attended with considerable excitement and lasting for several days. The resolutions reported by Keyes were, on the motion of C. R. Train, substituted for the majority report by a considerable majority, and were then passed by a vote of more than two to one. With a slight amendment, they then passed the Senate with no serious opposition. Sumner's resolutions thus became the declared opinions of the State. The anti-slavery Whigs, after their defeat at the State convention in September, took great satisfaction in this result, which, as they felt, put Massachusetts again right on the record.— *Life of Sumner, by Edward L. Pierce.*

"My name," wrote Charles Sumner in a certain autobiographical passage, "is connected somewhat with two questions, which may be described succinctly as those of peace and slavery." He began his public life by what he called a "declaration of war against war,"— his great oration in Boston, July 4, 1845, on "The True Grandeur of Nations." In that address there were references to the complications in Texas and Mexico, already serious and threatening, out of which came so soon afterwards the Mexican war. The political

policies and situations preceding and accompanying the Mexican war furnished, therefore, the first distinct battle-ground in his lifelong war with slavery; because it was as a deliberate movement to expand the slavery area and increase the slave power that the anti-slavery men of the North viewed the Mexican war, which they felt to be unprovoked and unnecessary. Sumner's first political speeches and letters were in opposition to the war and its pro-slavery purpose. These will be found in the first volume of his collected works. The report printed in the present leaflet, prepared by Sumner for a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, is not there given, but is here published separately for the first time, copied from the original document. There is no better brief review of the war and its objects from the anti-slavery standpoint. For a complete record of Sumner's course during the Mexican war, see Pierce's Life of Sumner, vol. iii.

The speeches of Clay, Giddings, and others, as well as of Sumner, in opposition to the war, should be read; also, opposing it strongly from a quite different standpoint, the speeches of Calhoun (in his Works, iv., 303, 396, etc.) The biographies and speeches of Webster and Robert C. Winthrop should be consulted; with Winthrop Sumner had some controversy. See Schurz's Life of Clay and Von Holst's Life of Calhoun, in the American Statesmen Series. Von Holst's Constitutional History of the United States, vol. iii., contains a very full and searching discussion of the causes and motives of the war, in accord with Sumner's view. Briefer discussions in Schouler's History of the United States, iv. and v., and Henry Wilson's History of the Slave Power, ii. Perhaps the best statements of the administration position concerning the war are President Polk's own messages to Congress, which were most carefully prepared, and should be carefully read. See also George Ticknor Curtis's Life of James Buchanan, i. 579, etc. William Jay's little book on the Mexican War is the eloquent sermon of a pronounced peace man upon what he regarded as one of the wickedest of all wicked wars. Major R. S. Ripley's "War with Mexico," in two vols., is a military history. The lives of Generals Taylor and Scott give accounts of the campaigns. See also General Grant's Memoirs. Many of the generals of the Civil War had their first military experience in the war with Mexico. The war stirred most of the anti-slavery orators and poets to significant utterances, which form an important part of the literature of the subject. Most important is Lowell's "Biglow Papers," the first series of which relates entirely to this period.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 133.

Seward's Address on Alaska

AT SITKA, AUGUST 12, 1869.

Citizens of Alaska, Fellow-citizens of the United States: You have pressed me to meet you in public assembly once before I leave Alaska. It would be sheer affectation to pretend to doubt your sincerity in making this request, and capriciously ungrateful to refuse it, after having received so many and varied hospitalities from all sorts and conditions of men. It is not an easy task, however, to speak in a manner worthy of your consideration, while I am living constantly on shipboard, as you all know, and am occupied intently in searching out whatever is sublime, or beautiful, or peculiar, or useful. On the other hand, it is altogether natural on your part to say, "You have looked upon Alaska: what do you think of it?" Unhappily, I have seen too little of Alaska to answer the question satisfactorily. The entire coast line of the United States, exclusive of Alaska, is 10,000 miles, while the coast line of Alaska alone, including the islands, is 26,000 miles. The portion of the Territory which lies east of the peninsula, including islands, is 120 miles wide. The western portion, including Aleutian Islands expands to a breadth of 2,200 miles. The entire land area, including islands, is 577,390 statute square miles. We should think a foreigner very presumptuous who should presume to give the world an opinion of the whole of the United States of America, after he had merely looked in from his steamer at Plymouth and Boston Harbor, or had run up the Hudson River to the Highlands, or had ascended the Delaware to Trenton, or the James River to Richmond, or the Mississippi no farther than Memphis. My observation thus far has hardly been more comprehensive.

I entered the Territory of Alaska at the Portland canal, made my way through the narrow passages of the Prince of Wales Archipelago, thence through Peril and Chatham Straits and Lynn Channel, and up the Chilcat River to the base of Fairweather, from which latter place I have returned through Clarence Straits, to sojourn a few days in your beautiful bay, under the shadows of the Baranoff Hills and Mount Edgecombe. Limited, however, as my opportunities have been, I will, without further apology, give you the impressions I have received.

Of course, I speak first of the skies of Alaska. It seems to be assumed in the case of Alaska that a country which extends through fifty-eight degrees of longitude, and embraces portions as well of the arctic as of the temperate zone, unlike all other regions so situated, has not several climates, but only one. The weather of this one broad climate of Alaska is severely criticised in outside circles for being too wet and too cold. Nevertheless, it must be a fastidious person who complains of climates in which, while the eagle delights to soar, the hummingbird does not disdain to flutter. I shall speak only of the particular climate here which I know.

My visit here happens to fall within the month of August. Not only have the skies been sufficiently bright and serene to give me a perfect view, under the sixtieth parallel, of the total eclipse of the sun, and of the evening star at the time of the sun's obscuration, but I have also enjoyed more clear than there have been cloudy days; and in the early mornings and in the late evenings peculiar to the season I have lost myself in admiration of skies adorned with sapphire and gold as richly as those which are reflected by the Mediterranean. Of all the moonlights in the world, commend me to those which light up the archipelago of the North Pacific Ocean. Fogs have sometimes detained me longer on the Hudson and on Long Island Sound than now on the waters of the North Pacific. In saying this, I do not mean to say that rain and fog are unfrequent here. The Russian pilot, George, whom you all know, expressed my conviction on this matter exactly when he said to me, "Oh, yes, Mr. Seward, we *do* have changeable weather here sometimes, as they do in the other States." I might amend the expression by adding the weather here is only a little more changeable. It must be confessed, at least, that it is an honest climate; for it makes no pretensions to constancy. If, however, you have

fewer bright sunrises and glowing sunsets than southern latitudes enjoy, you are favored, on the other hand, with more frequent and more magnificent displays of the aurora and the rainbow. The thermometer tells the whole case when it reports that the summer is colder and the winter is warmer in Alaska than in New York and Washington. It results from the nature of such a climate that the earth prefers to support the fir, the spruce, the pine, the hemlock, and other evergreens rather than deciduous trees, and to furnish grasses and esculent roots rather than the cereals of dryer and hotter climates. I have mingled freely with the multifarious population,— the Tongas, the Stickeens, the Cakes, the Hydahs, the Sitkas, the Kootznoos, and the Chilcats, as well as with the traders, the soldiers, the seamen, and the settlers of various nationalities, English, Swedish, Russian, and American,— and I have seen all around me only persons enjoying robust and exuberant health. Manhood of every race and condition everywhere exhibits activity and energy, while infancy seems exempt from disease, and age relieved from pain.

It is next in order to speak of the rivers and seas of Alaska. The rivers are broad, shallow, and rapid, while the seas are deep, but tranquil. Mr. Sumner, in his elaborate and magnificent oration, although he spake only from historical accounts, has not exaggerated — no man can exaggerate — the marine treasures of the Territory. Besides the whale, which everywhere and at all times is seen enjoying his robust exercise, and the sea-otter, the fur-seal, the hair-seal, and the walrus, found in the waters which embosom the western islands, those waters, as well as the seas of the eastern archipelago, are found teeming with the salmon, cod, and other fishes adapted to the support of human and animal life. Indeed, what I have seen here has almost made me a convert to the theory of some naturalists, that the waters of the globe are filled with stores for the sustenance of animal life surpassing the available productions of the land.

It must be remembered that the coast range of mountains, which begins in Mexico, is continued into the Territory, and invades the seas of Alaska. Hence it is that in the islands and on the mainland, so far as I have explored it, we find ourselves everywhere in the immediate presence of black hills, or foot-hills, as they are variously called, and that these foot-hills are overtopped by ridges of snow-capped mountains. These

snow-capped mountains are manifestly of volcanic origin ; and they have been subjected, through an indefinite period, to atmospheric abrasion and disintegration. Hence they have assumed all conceivable shapes and forms. In some places they are serrated into sharp, angular peaks, and in other places they appear architecturally arranged, so as to present cloud-capped castles, towers, domes, and minarets. The mountain sides are furrowed with deep and straight ravines, down which the thawing fields of ice and snow are precipitated, generally in the month of May, with such a vehemence as to have produced in every valley immense level plains of intervale land. These plains, as well as the sides of the mountains, almost to the summits, are covered with forests so dense and dark as to be impenetrable, except to wild beasts and savage huntsmen. On the lowest intervale land the cottonwood grows. It seems to be the species of poplar which is known in the Atlantic States as the Balm of Gilead, and which is dwarfed on the Rocky Mountains. Here it takes on such large dimensions that the Indian shapes out of a single trunk even his great war canoe, which safely bears over the deepest waters a phalanx of sixty warriors. These imposing trees always appear to rise out of a jungle of elder, alder, crab-apple, and other fruit-bearing shrubs and bushes. The short and slender birch, which, sparsely scattered, marks the verge of vegetation in Labrador, has not yet been reached by the explorers of Alaska. The birch-tree sometimes appears here upon the riverside, upon the level next above the home of the cottonwood, and is generally found a comely and stately tree. The forests of Alaska, however, consist mainly neither of shrubs, nor of the birch, nor of the cottonwood, but, as I have already intimated, of the pine, the cedar, the cypress, the spruce, the fir, the larch, and the hemlock. These forests begin almost at the water's edge, and they rise with regular gradation to a height of two thousand feet. The trees, nowhere dwarfed or diminutive, attain the highest dimensions in sunny exposures in the deeper cañons or gorges of the mountains. The cedar, sometimes called the yellow cedar, and sometimes the fragrant cedar, was long ago imported in China as an ornamental wood ; and it now furnishes the majestic beams and pillars with which the richer and more ambitious native chief delights to construct his rude but spacious hall or palatial residence, and upon which he carves in rude symbolical imagery

the heraldry of his tribe and achievements of his nation. No beam, or pillar, or spar, or mast, or plank is ever required in either the land or the naval architecture of any civilized state greater in length and width than the trees which can be hewn down on the coasts of the islands and rivers here, and conveyed directly thence by navigation. A few gardens, fields, and meadows have been attempted by natives in some of the settlements, and by soldiers at the military posts, with most encouraging results. Nor must we forget that the native grasses, ripening late in a humid climate, preserve their nutritive properties, though exposed, while the climate is so mild that cattle and horses require but slight provision of shelter during the winter.

Such is the island and coast portion of Eastern Alaska. Klakautch, the Chilcat, who is known and feared by the Indians throughout the whole Territory, and who is a very intelligent chief, informs me that beyond the mountain range which intervenes between the Chilcat and the Yukon Rivers you descend into a plain unbroken by hills or mountains, very fertile, in a genial climate, and, as far as he could learn, of boundless extent. We have similar information from those who have traversed the interior from the shore of the Portland canal to the upper branches of the Yukon. We have reason, therefore, to believe that beyond the coast range of mountains in Alaska we shall find an extension of the rich and habitable valley lands of Oregon, Washington Territory, and British Columbia.

After what I have already said, I may excuse myself from expatiating on the animal productions of the forest. The elk and the deer are so plenty as to be undervalued for food or skins, by natives as well as strangers. The bear of many families,— black, grizzly, and cinnamon; the mountain sheep, inestimable for his fleece; the wolf, the fox, the beaver, the otter, the mink, the raccoon, the marten, the ermine; the squirrel,— gray, black, brown, and flying,— are among the land fur-bearing animals. The furs thus found here have been the chief element, for more than a hundred years, of the profitable commerce of the Hudson Bay Company, whose mere possessory privileges seem, even at this late day, too costly to find a ready purchaser. This fur-trade, together with the sea fur-trade within the Territory, were the sole basis alike of Russian commerce and empire on this continent. This commerce was so

large and important as to induce the governments of Russia and China to build and maintain a town for carrying on its exchanges in Tartary on the border of the two empires. It is well understood that the supply of furs in Alaska has not diminished, while the demand for them in China and elsewhere has immensely increased.

I fear that we must confess to a failure of ice as an element of territorial wealth, at least as far as this immediate region is concerned. I find that the Russian American Company, whose monopoly was abolished by the treaty of acquisition, depended for ice exclusively upon the small lake or natural pond which furnishes the power for your saw-mill in this town, and that this dependence has now failed by reason of the increasing mildness of the winter. The California Ice Company are now trying the small lakes of Kodiac, and certainly I wish them success. I think it is not yet ascertained whether glacier ice is pure and practical for commerce. If it is, the world may be supplied from the glaciers, which, suspended from the region of the clouds, stand forth in the majesty of ever-wasting and ever-renewed translucent mountains upon the banks of the Stickeen and Chilcat Rivers and the shores of Cross Sound.

Alaska has been as yet but imperfectly explored; but enough is known to assure us that it possesses treasures of what are called the baser ores equal to those of any other region of the continent. We have Copper Island and Copper River, so named as the places where the natives, before the period of the Russian discovery, had procured the pure metal from which they fabricated instruments of war and legendary shields. In regard to iron the question seems to be not where it can be found, but whether there is any place where it does not exist. Mr. Davidson, of the Coast Survey, invited me to go up to him at the station he had taken up the Chilcat River to make his observations of the eclipse, by writing me that he had discovered an iron mountain there. When I came there, I found that, very properly, he had been studying the heavens so busily that he had but cursorily examined the earth under his feet, that it was not a single iron mountain he had discovered, but a range of hills the very dust of which adheres to the magnet, while the range itself, two thousand feet high, extends along the east bank of the river thirty miles. Limestone and marble crop out on the banks

of the same river and in many other places. Coal-beds, accessible to navigation, are found at Kootznoo. It is said, however, that the concentrated resin which the mineral contains renders it too inflammable to be safely used by steamers. In any case, it would seem calculated to supply the fuel requisite for the manufacture of iron. What seems to be excellent cannel coal is also found in the Prince of Wales Archipelago. There are also mines at Cook's Inlet. Placer and quartz gold mining is pursued under many social disadvantages upon the Stickeen and elsewhere, with a degree of success which, while it does not warrant us in assigning a superiority in that respect to the Territory, does nevertheless warrant us in regarding gold mining as an established and reliable resource.

It would argue inexcusable insensibility if I should fail to speak of the scenery which, in the course of my voyage, has seemed to pass like a varied and magnificent panorama before me. The exhibition did not, indeed, open within the Territory. It broke upon me first when I had passed Cape Flattery and entered the Straits of Fuca, which separate British Columbia from Washington Territory. It widened as I passed along the shore of Puget Sound, expanded in the waters which divide Vancouver from the continent, and finally spread itself out into a magnificent archipelago, stretching through the entire Gulf of Alaska, and closing under the shade of Mounts Fairweather and St. Elias. Nature has furnished to this majestic picture the only suitable border which could be conceived, by lifting the coast range mountains to an exalted height, and clothing them with eternal snows and crystalline glaciers.

It remains only to speak of man and of society in Alaska. Until the present moment the country has been exclusively inhabited and occupied by some thirty or more Indian tribes. I incline to doubt the popular classification of these tribes upon the assumption that they have descended from diverse races. Climate and other circumstances have indeed produced some differences of manners and customs between the Aleuts, the Koloschians, and the interior continental tribes. But all of them are manifestly of Mongol origin. Although they have preserved no common traditions, all alike indulge in tastes, wear a physiognomy, and are imbued with sentiments peculiarly noticed in Japan and China. Savage communities, no less than civilized nations, require space for subsistence,

whether they depend for it upon the land or upon the sea,— in savage communities especially; and increase of population disproportioned to the supplies of the country occupied necessitates subdivision and remote colonization. Oppression and cruelty occur even more frequently among barbarians than among civilized men. Nor are ambition and faction less inherent in the one condition than in the other. From these causes it has happened that the 25,000 Indians in Alaska are found permanently divided into so many insignificant nations. These nations are jealous, ambitious, and violent; could in no case exist long in the same region without mutually affording what, in every case, to each party seems just cause of war. War between savages becomes the private cause of the several families which are afflicted with the loss of their members. Such a war can never be composed until each family which has suffered receives an indemnity in blankets, adjusted according to an imaginary tariff, or, in the failure of such compensation, secures the death of one or more enemies as an atonement for the injury it has sustained. The enemy captured, whether by superior force or strategy, either receives no quarter or submits for himself and his progeny to perpetual slavery. It has thus happened that the Indian tribes of Alaska have never either confederated or formed permanent alliances, and that even at this late day, in the presence of superior power exercised by the United States government, they live in regard to each other in a state of enforced and doubtful truce. It is manifest that, under these circumstances, they must steadily decline in numbers; and, unhappily, this decline is accelerated by their borrowing ruinous vices from the white man. Such as the natives of Alaska are, they are, nevertheless, in a practical sense, the only laborers at present in the Territory. The white man comes amongst them from London, from St. Petersburg, from Boston, from New York, from San Francisco, and from Victoria, not to fish (if we except alone the whale fishery) or to hunt, but simply to buy what fish and what peltries, ice, wood, lumber, and coal the Indians have secured under the superintendence of temporary agents or factors. When we consider how greatly most of the tribes are reduced in numbers and how precarious their vocations are, we shall cease to regard them as indolent or incapable; and, on the contrary, we shall more deeply regret than ever before that a people so gifted by nature, so vigorous and

energetic, and withal so docile and gentle in their intercourse with the white man, can neither be preserved as a distinct social community nor incorporated into our society. The Indian tribes will do here as they seem to have done in Washington Territory and British Columbia: they will merely serve their turn until civilized white men come.

You, the citizens of Sitka, are the pioneers, the advanced guard, of the future population of Alaska; and you naturally ask when, from whence, and how soon re-enforcements shall come, and what are the signs and guarantees of their coming? This question, with all its minute and searching interrogations, has been asked by the pioneers of every State and Territory of which the American Union is now composed; and the history of those States and Territories furnishes the complete, conclusive, and satisfactory answer. Emigrants go to every infant State and Territory in obedience to the great natural law that obliges needy men to seek subsistence, and invites adventurous men to seek fortune where it is most easily obtained; and this is always in the new and uncultivated regions. They go from every State and Territory, and from every foreign nation in America, Europe, and Asia, because no established and populous state or nation can guarantee subsistence and fortune to all who demand them among its inhabitants.

The guarantees and signs of their coming to Alaska are found in the resources of the Territory, which I have attempted to describe, and in the condition of society in other parts of the world. Some men seek other climes for health, and some for pleasure. Alaska invites the former class by a climate singularly salubrious, and the latter class by scenery which surpasses in sublimity that of either the Alps, the Apennines, the Alleghanies, or the Rocky Mountains. Emigrants from our own States, from Europe, and from Asia, will not be slow in finding out that fortunes are to be gained by pursuing here the occupations which have so successfully sustained races of untutored men. Civilization and refinement are making more rapid advances in our day than at any former period. The rising States and nations on this continent, the European nations, and even those of Eastern Asia, have exhausted, or are exhausting, their own forests and mines, and are soon to become largely dependent upon those of the Pacific. The entire region of Oregon, Washington Territory, British Columbia, and Alaska, seem thus destined to become a ship-

yard for the supply of all nations. I do not forget on this occasion that British Columbia belongs within a foreign jurisdiction. That circumstance does not materially affect my calculations. British Columbia, by whomsoever possessed, must be governed in conformity with the interests of her people and of society upon the American continent. If that territory shall be so governed, there will be no ground of complaint anywhere. If it shall be governed so as to conflict with the interests of the inhabitants of that territory and of the United States, we all can easily foresee what will happen in that case. You will ask me, however, for guarantees that the hopes I encourage will not be postponed. I give them.

Within the period of my own recollection, I have seen twenty new States added to the eighteen which before that time constituted the American Union; and I now see, besides Alaska, ten Territories in a forward condition of preparation for entering into the same great political family. I have seen in my own time not only the first electric telegraph, but even the first railroad and the first steamboat invented by man. And even on this present voyage of mine I have fallen in with the first steamboat, still afloat, that thirty-five years ago lighted her fires on the Pacific Ocean. These, citizens of Sitka, are the guarantees, not only that Alaska has a future, but that that future has already begun. I know that you want two things just now, when European monopoly is broken down and United States free trade is being introduced within the Territory: these are military protection while your number is so inferior to that of the Indians around you, and you need also a territorial civil government. Congress has already supplied the first of these wants adequately and effectually. I doubt not that it will supply the other want during the coming winter. It must do this because our political system rejects alike anarchy and executive absolutism. Nor do I doubt that the political society to be constituted here, first as a Territory, and ultimately as a State or many States, will prove a worthy constituency of the Republic. To doubt that it will be intelligent, virtuous, prosperous, and enterprising is to doubt the experience of Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Belgium, and of New England and New York. Nor do I doubt that it will be forever true in its republican instincts and loyal to the American Union, for the inhabitants will be both mountaineers and seafaring men. I am not among those who apprehend infidelity

to liberty and the Union in any quarter hereafter; but I am sure that, if constancy and loyalty are to fail anywhere, the failure will not be in the States which approach nearest to the North Pole.

Fellow-citizens, accept once more my thanks, from the heart of my heart, for kindness which can never be forgotten, and suffer me to leave you with a sincere and earnest farewell.

ALASKA TREATY.

The United States of America and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being desirous of strengthening, if possible, the good understanding which exists between them, have, for that purpose, appointed as their plenipotentaries: the President of the United States, William H. Seward, Secretary of State; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the privy counsellor Edward de Stoeckl, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States.

And the said plenipotentiaries, having exchanged their full powers, which were found to be in due form, have agreed upon and signed the following articles: —

ARTICLE I.— His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias agrees to cede to the United States, by this convention, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications thereof, all the territory and dominion now possessed by his said Majesty on the continent of America and in the adjacent islands, the same being contained within the geographical limits herein set forth, to wit: the eastern limit is the line of demarcation between the Russian and the British possessions in North America, as established by the convention between Russia and Great Britain, of February 28–16, 1825, and described in Articles III. and IV. of said convention, in the following terms: —

"Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and 133d degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree, in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean.

"IV. With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood —

"1st. That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia" (now by this cession to the United States).

"2d. That whenever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia as above mentioned (that is to say, the limit to the possessions ceded by this convention) shall be formed by a line parallel to the winding of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom."

The western limit within which the territories and dominion conveyed are contained passes through a point in Behring's Straits on the parallel of 65 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, at its intersection by the meridian which passes midway between the islands of Krusenstern, or Ignalook, and the island of Ratmanoff, or Noonarbook, and proceeds due north, without limitation, into the same Frozen Ocean. The same western limit, beginning at the same initial point, proceeds thence in a course nearly southwest, through Behring's Straits and Behring's Sea, so as to pass midway between the northwest point of the island of St. Lawrence and the southeast point of Cape Choukotski, to the meridian of 172 west longitude; thence, from the intersection of that meridian, in a southwesterly direction, so as to pass midway between the island of Attou and the Copper Island of the Kormandorski couplet or group in the North Pacific Ocean, to the meridian of 193 degrees west longitude, so as to include in the territory conveyed the whole of the Aleutian Islands east of that meridian.

ARTICLE II.— In the cession of territory and dominion made by the preceding article are included the right of property in all public lots and squares, vacant lands, and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks, and other edifices which are not private individual property. It is, however, understood and agreed that the churches which have been built in the ceded territory by the Russian government shall remain the property of such members of the Greek Oriental Church resident in the territory as may choose to worship therein. Any government archives, papers, and documents relative to the territory and dominion aforesaid, which may be now existing there, will be left in the possession of the agent of the United States; but an authenticated copy of such of them as may be required will be at all times given by the United States to the Russian government, or to such Russian officers or subjects as they may apply for.

ARTICLE III.— The inhabitants of the ceded territory, according to their choice, reserving their natural allegiance, may return to Russia within three years; but, if they should prefer to remain in the ceded territory, they, with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States, and shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion. The uncivilized tribes will be subject to such laws and regulations as the United States may from time to time adopt in regard to aboriginal tribes of that country.

ARTICLE IV.— His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias shall appoint, with convenient despatch, an agent or agents for the purpose of formally delivering to a similar agent or agents appointed on behalf of the United States the territory, dominion, property, dependencies, and appurtenances which are ceded as above, and for doing any other act which may be necessary in regard thereto. But the cession, with the right of immediate possession, is nevertheless to be deemed complete and absolute on the exchange of ratifications, without waiting for such formal delivery.

ARTICLE V.— Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, any fortifications or military posts which may be in the ceded territory shall be delivered to the agent of the United States, and any Russian troops which may be in the territory shall be withdrawn as soon as may be reasonably and conveniently practicable.

ARTICLE VI.— In consideration of the cession aforesaid the United States agree to pay at the treasury in Washington, within ten months after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, to the diplomatic representative or other agent of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, duly authorized to receive the same, seven million two hundred thousand dollars in gold. The cession of territory and dominion herein made is hereby declared to be free and unencumbered by any reservations, privileges, franchises, grants, or possessions, by any associated companies, whether corporate or incorporate, Russian or any other, or by any parties, except merely private individual property-holders; and the cession hereby made conveys all the rights, franchises, and privileges now belonging to Russia in the said territory or dominion, and appurtenances thereto.

ARTICLE VII.— When this convention shall have been duly ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, on the one part, and on the other by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington within three months from the date hereof, or sooner, if possible.

In faith whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this convention, and thereto affixed the seals of their arms.

Done at Washington, the 30th day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven.

[L. S.] WILLIAM H. SEWARD.
[L. S.] EDOUARD DE STOECKL.

The purchase of Alaska has often been called Seward's greatest service to his country. A vast territory which Russia acquired by right of discovery and held for considerably more than a century was sold to the United States before hardly a dozen Americans knew that such a proposition was even under consideration. There is a tradition that during Polk's administration something was said to Russia about parting with her possessions in North America. It is

certain that as early as 1859 Senator Gwin and the Assistant Secretary of State discussed the question with Stoeckl, the Russian Minister at Washington, and that as much as five million dollars was offered. The official answer was that this sum was not regarded as adequate, but that Russia would be ready to carry on negotiations as soon as the Minister of Finance could look into the question. There was no occasion for haste: Buchanan soon went out of office; and the subject, which was never known to many persons, seems to have been entirely forgotten for several years.

The interests of a few citizens on the Pacific slope were the mainspring of the little that had been done. For more than a decade San Francisco had annually received a large amount of ice from Russian America, and United States fishermen had been profitably engaged in different parts of the far northern Pacific. Those interests had rapidly increased from year to year. At the beginning of 1866 the legislature of Washington Territory sent a petition to President Johnson, saying that an abundance of codfish, halibut, and salmon had been found along the shores of Russian America, and requesting him to obtain from the Russian government such concessions as would enable American fishing vessels to visit the ports and harbors of that region for the purpose of obtaining fuel, water, and provisions. Sumner says that this was referred to the Secretary of State, who suggested to Stoeckl that some comprehensive arrangement should be made to prevent any difficulties arising between the United States and Russia on account of the fisheries. About this time several Californians wished to obtain a franchise to carry on the fur-trade in Russian America. Senator Cole, of California, urged both Seward and Stoeckl to support the request. Seward instructed Cassius M. Clay, the United States Minister at St. Petersburg, to consult the Russian government on the subject. Clay reported in February, 1867, that there was a prospect of success. In fact, the time happened to be peculiarly opportune for negotiation.

Russian America had never been brought under the regular rule of the imperial government. Since the beginning of the century its few thousand civilized inhabitants had been governed by a great monopoly called the Russian-American Company. Its charter had expired with the year 1861, and had not been renewed: yet a renewal was expected. This monopoly was so unprofitable that it had sought and obtained special privileges, such as the free importation of tea into Russia. It had even sublet some of its privileges to the Hudson Bay Company. This sublease to Englishmen was to expire in June, 1867. By the usual means of communication Russian America was from Russia one of the most distant regions on earth. To organize it as a colony would involve great expense and continuous financial loss. To defend it in time of war with Great Britain or the United States would be an impossibility. When the Crimean war broke out common interest led the Russian-American and the Hudson Bay companies to induce their respective governments to neutralize the Russian and the British possessions on the northwest coast of America. Otherwise Great Britain might easily have seized the Russian Terri-

tory. To the imperial government at the beginning of 1867 the problem resolved itself into these three questions: Shall the charter of the monopoly, with its privileges and unsatisfactory treatment of the inhabitants, be renewed? Shall an expensive colonial system be organized? Shall we sell at a fair price territory that will surely be lost, if it ever becomes populated and valuable? It was foreseen that unless sold to the most constant and grateful of Russia's friends, it was likely to be taken by her strongest and most inveterate enemy. Stoeckl was spending part of the winter of 1866–67 in St. Petersburg, and the different questions were talked over with him, for he had long been Minister to the United States. In February, 1867, as he was about to return to Washington, "the Archduke Constantine, the brother and chief adviser of the Emperor, handed him a map with the lines in our treaty marked upon it, and told him he might treat for this cession."

The following month Stoeckl and Seward began negotiations. One named ten million dollars as a reasonable price; the other offered five millions. Then they took the middle ground — namely, seven million five hundred thousand — as a basis. Seward urged and Stoeckl agreed that the half million should be dropped. The Russian-American Company still claimed privileges and held interests that could not be ignored. Seward saw the objections to assuming any responsibility for matters of this kind; so he offered to add two hundred thousand dollars to the seven millions if Russia would give a title free from all liabilities. On the evening of March 29, 1867, the Russian Minister called at Seward's house and informed him of the receipt of a cablegram reporting the Emperor's consent to the proposition, and then he added that he would be ready to take up the final work the next day, for haste was desirable. With a smile of satisfaction at the news, Seward pushed aside the table where he had been enjoying his usual evening game of whist, and said: "Why wait until to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night." The needed clerks were summoned; the Assistant Secretary went after Sumner, the chairman of the Senate committee on foreign affairs; the Russian Minister sent for his assistants; and at midnight all met at the Department of State. By four o'clock in the morning the task was completed. In a few hours the President sent the treaty to the Senate.— *Life of William H. Seward, by Frederic Bancroft.*

Two great American names are associated with the purchase of Alaska, Seward and Sumner. Seward, as Secretary of State negotiated with Stoeckl, the Russian minister, the treaty, which was signed March 30, 1867. Sumner, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, was its chief sponsor before the Senate, delivering on April 9, 1867, his speech upon the Cession of Russian America to the United States, which was followed the same day by the vote in favor of ratification. Sumner's speech, which occupies 64 pp in vol. xi. of his Works, is a most thorough study of the boundaries of Alaska, its early history, the negotiations for the cession, the sources of information upon Russian America, the character and value of the territory, and the general problems involved in the transfer; and it remains the greatest speech upon Alaska, a monument to Sumner's erudition and a permanent magazine of information.

Seward regarded the purchase as of the highest value and significance. "What, Mr.

Seward," asked a friend, "do you consider the most important measure of your political career?" "The purchase of Alaska," he replied; "but it will take the people a generation to find it out." Seward was an ardent expansionist. As early as 1846 he said, "Our population is destined to roll its resistless waves to the icy barriers of the North, and to encounter Oriental civilization on the shores of the Pacific." At St. Paul in 1860 he said: —

"Standing here and looking far off into the northwest, I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports and towns and fortifications on the verge of this continent, as the outposts of St. Petersburg; and I can say, 'Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic Ocean — they will yet become the outposts of my own country — monuments of the civilization of the United States in the north-west.' So I look off on Prince Rupert's Land and Canada, and see there an ingenious, enterprising, and ambitious people, occupied with bridging rivers and constructing canals, railroads, and telegraphs to organize and preserve great British provinces north of the great lakes, the St. Lawrence, and around the shores of Hudson Bay, and I am able to say, 'It is very well: you are building excellent States to be hereafter admitted into the American Union.' I can look southwest and see amid all the convulsions that are breaking the Spanish-American republics, and in their rapid decay and dissolution, the preparatory stage for their reorganization in free, equal, and self-governing members of the United States of America."

He believed that the City of Mexico would become ultimately the capital of the United States of America. But he would have expansion only by peaceful means, never by war, which he abhorred. "I would not give one human life for all the continent that remains to be annexed." See Sumner also upon this point in his Alaska speech: "This treaty must not be a precedent for a system of indiscriminate and costly annexation. . . . I cannot disguise my anxiety that every stage in our predestined future shall be by natural processes without war, and I would add even without purchase. There is no territorial aggrandizement which is worth the price of blood. . . . Our triumph should be by growth and organic expansion in obedience to 'pre-established harmony,' recognizing always the will of those who are to become our fellow-citizens."

Two years after the purchase, Mr. Seward visited Alaska, with which his name had become so closely identified that it was often spoken of as "Seward's Arctic Province." The account of his travels in Alaska (1869) may be read in his biography by Frederic Bancroft and elsewhere. At Sitka he was called upon to make a public address expressing his impressions of Alaska. This is the address given in the present leaflet, reprinted from Seward's Works, vol. v. The address was clearly intended for the people of the United States in general quite as much as for his particular audience; and it is a memorable picture of Alaska at the time by the principal agent in its purchase.

Seward's Autobiography (1801–34) has been published, supplemented by Memoirs (1831–46) by his son, Frederick W. Seward; and the work on "Seward at Washington," by the same, supplements this. There is a life of Seward in two vols. by Frederic Bancroft. The volume on Seward in the American Statesmen Series is by Thornton K. Lothrop. Charles Francis Adams's address on Seward should be read, and the essay by Henry Cabot Lodge in his "Historical and Political Essays."

The important history of Alaska is that by Hubert Howe Bancroft,— vol. xxviii of his History of the Pacific States: chap. 28 gives the account of the treaty and the transfer. "The area of Alaska," says Bancroft, in his graphic introduction, "is greater than that of the thirteen original States of the Union, its extreme length being more than two thousand miles and its extreme breadth about fourteen hundred; while its coast line, including bays and islands, is greater than the circumference of the earth." The price paid for this enormous arctic province was about two cents an acre.

There are many books, historical and descriptive, about Alaska. Among them are William Healy Dall's "Alaska and its Resources" (1870), Henry W. Elliott's "Our Arctic Province" (1886), and the accounts of travel by M. M. Ballou, Henry Martyn Field, E. R. Scidmore, Alfred P. Swineford, and others. See the essay on "Imperial Lessons of Alaska" by David Starr Jordan, in his "Imperial Democracy." The publications concerning Alaska issued by various departments of the government, the Census Office, the Bureau of Education, the Coast Survey, and the Geological Survey, are of great value. One of these, Bulletin No. 187 of the United States Geological Survey, is the Geographic Dictionary of Alaska by Marcus Baker.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 134

Fourth of July Oration. 1802.

By REV. WILLIAM EMERSON.

Delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, July 5, 1802.

It is the glory of nations, as it is of individuals, to increase in wisdom as they advance in age, and to guide their concerns not so much by the result of abstract reasoning as by the dictates of experience. But this glory is no more the uniform felicity of ancient states than of their ancient citizens. In the eighteenth century, the British nation had existed thirteen hundred years; seen ages roll away with wrecks of empires; marked thousands of experiments in the science and the art of civil government; and had risen to a lofty height of improvement, of freedom, and of happiness. It was yet the misfortune and the disgrace of this kingdom, so famous in the annals of modern Europe, to war with the principles of her own constitution, and to tread with presumptuous step the dangerous path of innovation and unrighteousness.

This sentiment will be vindicated by considering, as on this occasion we are bound "to consider, the feelings, manners, and principles which led to the declaration of American Independence, as well as the important and happy effects, whether general or domestic, which have already flowed, or will forever flow, from the auspicious epoch of its date." In assisting your performance of this annual duty, my fellow-citizens, I claim the privilege granted to your former orators, of holding forth the language of truth; and I humbly solicit a favor, of which they had no need, the most liberal exercise of your ingenuousness and benevolence.

The feelings of Americans were always the feelings of freemen. Those venerable men from whom you boast your descent brought with them to these shores an unconquerable sense of liberty. They felt that mankind were universally entitled to be free; that this freedom, though modified by the restrictions of social compact, could yet never be annulled; and that slavery in any of its forms is an execrable monster, whose breath is poison and whose grasp is death. Concerning this liberty, however, they entertained no romantic notions. They neither sought nor wished the freedom of an irrational, but that of a rational being; not the freedom of savages, not the freedom of anchorites, but that of civilized and social man. Their doctrine of equality was admitted by sober understandings. It was an equality not of wisdom, but of right; not a parity of power, but of obligation. They felt and advocated a right to personal security, to the fruits of their ingenuity and toil, to reputation, to choice of mode in the worship of God, and to such a liberty of action as consists with the safety of others and the integrity of the laws.

Of rights like these your ancestors cherished a love bordering on reverence. They had inhaled it with their natal air; it formed the bias and the boast of their minds and indelibly stamped the features of their character. In their eyes honor had no allurement, wealth no value, and existence itself no charms, unless liberty crowned the possession of these blessings. It was for the enjoyment of this ecclesiastic and political liberty that they encountered the greatest dangers and suffered the sharpest calamities. For this they had rived the enchanting bonds which unite the heart to its native country, braved the terror of unknown seas, exchanged the sympathies and intercourse of fondest friendships for the hatred and wiles of the barbarian, and all the elegancies and joys of polished life for a miserable sustenance in an horrible desert.

It was impossible for descendants of such men not to inherit an abhorrence of arbitrary power. Numerous circumstances strengthened the emotion. They had never been taught that property acquires title by labor; and they were conscious of having expended much of the one for little of the other. They were thence naturally tenacious of what they possessed, and conceived that no human power might legally diminish it without their consent. They had also sprung from a commercial people, and they inhabited a country which opened

to commerce the most luxuriant prospects. Of course, property with them was an object of unusual importance. Inhabitants of other regions might place their liberty in the election of their governors; but Americans placed it in the control of their wealth, and to them it was a matter of even less consequence who wore the robes of office or held the sword of justice than who had the power of filling the treasury and appropriating its contents. The resolves and attempts therefore, of the British government to raise an American revenue they viewed as a thrust at their liberties. By these measures they felt themselves wronged, vilified, and insulted. If they acknowledged the pretended right of parliament to bind them in all cases whatever, it cleft, like a ball of lightning, the tree of colonial liberty, giving its foliage to the winds and its fruit to the dust. There was no joy which it did not wither, no hope which it did not blight. An angry cloud of adversity hung over every department of social life. Demands of business, offices of love, and rites of religion were in some sort suspended, and the earliest apprehensions of the American infant were those of servitude and wretchedness. Such were the feelings which impelled resistance of Great Britain and the rejection of her authority They were the feelings of men who were vigilant of the rights of human nature, of freemen whose liberties had been outraged, of patriots determined never to survive the honor of their country.

American independence was also induced by American manners. The planters of this western world, especially of New England, were eminent for the purity and lustre of their morals. They were industrious from choice, necessity, and habit. Their mode of living rendered them abstinent from enervating pleasures and patient of toil. The difficulties of subduing a rough wilderness, the severities of their climate, and the rigor of paternal discipline were almost alone sufficient to preserve in their offspring this simplicity of life. It had, however, a yet stronger guard in their military and civil, literary and religious institutions. Exposed continually to the incursion of hostile and insidious neighbors, they trained their youth to the exercise of arms, to courage in danger, and to constancy in suffering. The forms of their government were popular. They exercised the right of choosing their rulers, and they chose them from the wisest and best of the people. Virtue and talents were indispensable qualifications for office,

and bribery and corruption were unknown and unsuspected. A deep foresight and an expanded generosity directed their plans of education. Colleges were founded in the midst of deserts, and the means of knowledge and goodness were within the reach of all ranks of the community. Every householder was the chaplain of his family, every village had its instructor of children, every parish its minister of the gospel, every town its magistrate, and every county its court of justice. The study of the law, which is ever conservative of liberty, had a due proportion of followers, among whom it numbered as eminent civilians as any age or country has produced. The colonists, in short, enjoyed all those advantages which conduce to intelligence, sobriety, hardihood, and freedom in a people.

Such were the manners which distinguished Americans for a century and a half. They were the manners of men who, though poor, were too rich to be venal, though humble in pretension, too proud for servility, and though overlooked in the mass of mankind, as possessing no national character, yet convinced the proudest monarchy in the world that an attempt to oppress them was dangerous, and to conquer them impossible.

The impossibility of subjugating America consisted not in the feelings and manners only, but likewise in the political principles of her sons. They honestly believed what they boldly avowed, that the assumption of parliament was a violation of law, equity, and ancient usage. These colonies originally were composed of men who were rather ejected from Britain as nuisances of the State than fostered as her duteous children. If, when their increasing population and riches became an object of attention, they owed anything to the parent country, it was to the king who gave them their charters, and not to the parliament which had expended neither cost nor concern in their settlement, and taken no part in the management of their internal affairs. Whilst the governor represented the royal authority, the provincial assembly was to each province what parliament was to Britain. It framed laws, levied taxes, and made every provision for the public exigence. In regard to the single article of commerce, parliament did, indeed, exercise an unquestioned power of monopoly. In all respects else, it was unknown to the colonies. When, therefore, this body in which the colonies were not represented asserted the right of colonial taxation, its claim was unjust; and

with the same right in reality, if not in appearance, might the colonial assemblies have gravely maintained the identical supremacy over the people of Britain which parliament assumed over the people of America.

Was it, then, right in the colonies to resist the parliament and wrong to resist the king? No. For the king had joined the latter to oppress the former, and thus became, instead of the righteous ruler, the tyrant of this country, to whom allegiance was no longer due. Americans called themselves free, because they were governed by laws originating in fixed principles, and not in the caprice of arbitrary will. They held that the ruler was equally obliged to construct his laws in consonance with the spirit of the constitution, as were the people to obey them when enacted; and that a departure from duty on his part virtually absolved them from allegiance.

Let not this be deemed a licentious doctrine. Who is the rebel against law and order, the legislator ordaining, or the citizen resisting, unconstitutional measures? It is the unprincipled minister who artfully innovates on the custom of governing; the ambitious senator whose self is his god; the faithless magistrate who tramples on rights which he has sworn to protect,—these are the men who, by perverting the purposes of government, destroy its foundations, bring back society into a state of war, and are answerable for its mischievous effects. Not those who defend, but those who attack the liberties of mankind, are disturbers of the public peace; and not on you, my countrymen, but on thee, O Britain, who killedst thy people with the rod of oppression, be the guilt of all that blood which was spilt in the Revolutionary War!

Here, then, you find the principles which produced the event we this day commemorate. They were the principles of common law and of eternal justice. They were the principles of men who fought not to subvert the government under which they lived, but to save it from degeneracy; not to create new rights, but to preserve inviolate such as they had ever possessed, rights of the same sort by which George III. then sat, and still sits, on the throne of England, the rights of prescription. Hence through the progress of our Revolution these principles continued their operation. Armed in the uprightness of your cause, you disdained an appeal to those ferocious passions which commonly desolate society in times of commotion. No man lost his life for resisting the general opinion. Instruction

maintained its influence, law its terrors, and religion its divine and powerful authority. Property was secure, and character sacred; and the condition of the country was as remote from a savage democracy as from a sullen despotism.

Such was the American Revolution. It arose not on a sudden, but from the successless petitions and remonstrance of ten long years. It was a revolution not of choice, but of necessity. It grew out of the sorrows and unacknowledged importance of the country, and, having to obtain a definite object by definite means, that object being obtained, was gloriously terminated.

As evidence that I have not misrepresented the "feelings, manners, and principles" which gave birth to your independence, recollect the early, regular, and effectual methods adopted by the United States to form a national constitution of civil government. That continental patriotism which, in a time of war, was able to bend individual interest to the common benefit, proved sluggish, precarious, and totally inadequate to the purposes of union and order in the season of peace. There lacked a principle of cohesion, springing from the certain tendencies of human passion which should compel the knowledge, industry, and emulation of every citizen to promote the opulence and power of the country. Such a cement was recognized in the federal constitution. Its healthful operations, guided by its celebrious framers and friends, revived the languishing spirit of Columbia. Our consequent rapid population had scarcely a parallel in history. Individuals suddenly multiplied into families, families into towns, and towns into populous and flourishing States. What liberty was to the people of Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, government was now to this country. It patronized genius and learning, gave stimulus to enterprise and reward to labor. It encouraged agriculture and manufactures, unfurled the sails of commerce, lifted public credit out of the mire of contempt, and placed America on a dignified eminence among the nations of the earth.

These are among the important and happy effects of a domestic nature which have already flowed from our national independence. There is, moreover, a general effect which will forever flow from the auspicious epoch of July 4, 1776. As often as the sun shall enlighten this day in each successive revolution of our orb, it will admonish the rulers of mankind of the folly and danger of innovations in government. Sound politics is ever conversant with expedience and the temper of

the age. It is not a science which may be learned in the closet and forced into practice against nature and circumstances. An endeavor, therefore, to engraft untried theories, however plausible, upon the usual mode of administering affairs of state is always an hazardous undertaking. The man who would rashly change even a government confessedly corrupt betrays pitiable ignorance and presumption. What, then, shall be thought of English ministers who impinged on rights and usages which for generations had strengthened and adorned the ancient empire and were imparting nourishment to this infant realm, and who expended thousands of lives and millions of money in a fruitless effort to legalize their wrongs?

Although, then, the American Revolution must be considered, in regard to this country, the most honorable and felicitous and, in the view of the historian, the most splendid, event the world ever saw, yet to legislators in all climes and periods it conveys this solemn instruction; it teaches them in a voice louder than the thunders of heaven to be just and wise: just in not abridging the freedom and invading the properties of their fellow-men, and wise in not abandoning the measures of a temperate policy for the garish projects of innovation.

If, however, this revolution contain a monition to rulers against political speculations, a revolution of later date affords similar warning to every description of men. The vicissitudes of France during the twelve past years defy the pen of description and deter the writer who values his credit with posterity from essaying the record of truth. See there, ye vaunting innovators, your wild and dreadful desolations! Whatever was visionary in metaphysic, or violent in practice, you greedily adopted, and as hastily destroyed whatever bore the semblance of order, rectitude, and antiquity. You fixed no bounds to either your ambition or cupidity. Not content with banishing faith and law and decency from the Gallic dominion, your ever changeful and unhinging policy assumed the forms of hostility to other governments, and threatened to bring upon the whole civilized world the decades of disorder and rapine. Yet what have Frenchmen gained by all this revolutionary error and frenzy? After warring with science, they now encourage it; after abolishing Christianity, they have restored it; and after murdering the mildest of despots, their present republic is a mere mixture of military despotism and of popular slavery.

In thus animadverting on the conduct and character of a

foreign government, I fulfil a painful but necessary duty. It is a necessary part of this day's solemnity, because the American has sometimes been confounded with the French revolution,* when that bears no more resemblance to this than the movement of a regular and beneficent planet is like the wanderings of a comet, which "from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war," † "importing change to times and States." ‡ It is necessary, because along with the political innovation which was ravaging Europe there came abroad an infidel philosophy, equally subversive of freedom as of morals. For how shall the liberty of individuals be preserved in a state of universal licentiousness? And after the prostration of religious principle how can you hope for purity of manners? What shall support the superstructure when the foundation is removed? Who ever put faith in the national convention of France after it had denied the existence of God? Or what was ever more farcical than a report on morals from the mouth of Robespierre, whilst that monster of faction was wading to empire in the blood of his country? It is, finally, necessary because this unholy spirit of atheism has already deteriorated the political and moral condition of this country, and still menaces our hopes, privileges, and possessions.

Should it be the fate of America to drink still deeper of the inebriating bowl, its government, whose existence depends on the public sentiment, must fall a victim to the draught. Should the rulers of our country especially ever become intoxicated with the poison; should they deviate from the course prescribed by their wise predecessors, incautiously pulling down what had been carefully built; should they mutilate the form or impair the strength of our most excellent constitution; should they amuse themselves with ephemeral experiments instead of adhering to principles of certain utility; and should they despise the religion and customs of our progenitors, setting an example of impiety and dissipation, deplorable will be the consequences. From an head so sick and an heart so faint, disease will extend to the utmost extremities of the political body. As well may you arrest the flight of time or entice the moon from her orbit as preserve your freedom under atheistical rulers and amidst

* A very instructive and valuable tract on this topic is found in a pamphlet printed at Philadelphia, entitled "The Origin and Principles of the American Revolution, compared with the Origin and Principles of the French Revolution, translated from the German of Gentz, by an American gentleman."

† Milton. ‡ Shakespeare.

general profligacy of habit. Libertinism and lethargy, anarchy and misrule, will deform our once happy republic, and its liberties will receive an incurable wound. The soil of America will remain; but the name and glory of the United States will have perished forever. This lovely peninsula will continue inhabited; but "the feelings, manners, and principles" of those Bostonians who nobly resisted the various acts of British aggression will be utterly changed. The streams of Concord will flow as formerly, and the hills of Charlestown grow verdant with each return of spring; but the character of the men who mingled their blood with those waters and who eternized those heights will be sought for, but shall not be found.

What execrations shall we merit from posterity if, with the instruction and example of preceding ages and our present advantages, we shall tamely suffer this havoc from the besom of innovation! Compared with ours, the memory of those Goths who overwhelmed in their conquest the arts and literature of Greece and Rome will be glorious and amiable. They destroyed the improvements of their enemies, but we shall have abolished the customs of our forefathers and the worthiest labor of our own hands; they pleaded the necessity of wasting the refinements of civilization to prevent luxury and vice, but the annihilation of our institution will annihilate all our virtue and all our liberty.

Are we willing, then, to bid farwell to our independence and freedom? Shall we relinquish the bright visions of republican bliss which twenty-six years have feasted our imagination? Upon the trial of only half that period will we decry a constitution which is the wonder of the universe? Or, on account of supposed or real injuries which it may have sustained, will we desert the noble fabric? Be such national perverseness and instability far from Americans! The dust of Zion was precious to the exiled Jew, and in her very stones and ruins he contemplated the resurrection of her walls and the augmented magnificence of her towers. A new glory, too, shall yet overspread our beloved constitution. The guardian God of America, he who heard the groans of her oppression and led her hosts to victory and peace, has still an ear for her complaints and an arm for her salvation. That confidence in his care which consists in steadfastness to his eternal statutes will dispel the clouds which darken her hemisphere.

Ye, therefore, to whom the welfare of your country is dear,

unite in the preservation of the Christian, scientific, political, and military institutions of your fathers. This high tribute is due to those venerable sages who established this Columbian festival, to the surviving officers and soldiers of that army which secured your rights with the sword, and to the memory of their departed brethren. You owe it to the ashes of him who, whether considered as a man among men, an hero among heroes, or a statesman among statesmen, will command the love and admiration of every future age. Yes, immortal Washington, amidst all the rancor of party and war of opinions, we will remember thy dying voice, which was raised against the madness of innovation! "We will cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to our national union, accustoming ourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of our political safety and prosperity." You owe it to his great successor, who has now carried into retirement the sublime and delightful consciousness of having been an everlasting benefactor of his country. Enjoy, illustrious man, both here and hereafter, the recompense of the wise and good! And may the principles of free government which you have developed and the constitutions which you have defended continue the pride of America until the earth, palsied with age, shall shake her mountains from their bases and empty her oceans into the immensity of space! You owe it to the civil fathers of this commonwealth, and in particular to him who, thrice raised to its highest dignity, watches over its immunities with painful diligence and governs it with unrivalled wisdom, moderation, and clemency. You owe it, in fine, Americans, to yourselves, to your posterity, and to mankind.

With daily and obstinate perseverance, perform this momentous duty. Preserve unchanged the same correct feelings of liberty, the same purity of manners, the same principles of wisdom and piety, of experience and prescription, the same seminaries of learning, temples of worship and castles of defence, which immortalize the memory of your ancestors. You will thus render yourselves worthy of their names and fortunes, of the soil which they watered with the sweat of their brows, and of the freedom for which their blood was the sacrifice. You will thus give consistence, vigor, beauty, and duration to the government of your country; and, rich reward of your fidelity! you will witness a reign of such enlightened policy, firmness of administration and unvaried justice, as shall recall

and prolong to your enraptured eyes the age of Washington and of Adams.

Vote of the Town.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, duly qualified and legally warned in public Town-Meeting, assembled at Faneuil Hall, the 5th day of July, A.D. 1802:

On motion, *Voted*, That the Selectmen be, and hereby are appointed a Committee to wait on the Rev. William Emerson, in the name of the Town, and thank him for the elegant and spirited Oration this day delivered by him, at the request of the Town, upon the Anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America; in which, according to the Institution of the Town, he considered the feelings, manners, and principles which led to that great National Event; and to request of him a copy for the press.

Attest: William Cooper, *Town-Clerk.*

Boston, July 5, 1802.

Gentlemen,— In compliance with custom, I resign to your pleasure the Oration this day delivered. I am, Gentlemen, with sentiments of respect,

Your humble servant,
W. Emerson.

The Selectmen of Boston.

Ode for the Anniversary of American Independence, July 4, 1802.

By a Citizen of Boston.

See the bright-haired golden Sun
Lead Columbia's Birthday on;
Mark the once o'ershadow'd soil,
Dressed by Ceres, court his smile;
While the distant vales prolong
Sphere-descended Freedom's song.

Chorus. Till each mountain's time-struck head
Leave a valley in its stead,
As you are, forever be,
Independent, firm, and free.

Our fathers sought this land afar,
By the light of Freedom's star;
Through trackless seas, unplough'd before,
For us they left their native shore:
The soil for which their blood has flown
Shall be protected with our own.

Chorus. Till, etc.

Beneath the gentle smiles of peace,
In arts our fame shall rival Greece.
For power insatiate, let the car
Of wild Ambition rush to war:
We twine, beneath the Olive's shade,
A wreath that age can never fade.

Chorus. Till, etc.

Lofty pæans strike the skies,
To the Power who gave the prize:
While Wachusett lifts its head
O'er the plains on which you bled,
Yearly let its vales reply,
"Freely live, or nobly die."

Chorus. Hark! already to the strain,
How they echo back again,
As you are, forever be,
Independent, firm, and free.

Memoir of the Life and Character of Rev. William Emerson.

By Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1814.

The late Rev. William Emerson was a man so much esteemed by the public, and is remembered with so much respect and affection by his friends, that it would be unjust that these volumes, which his own labors contributed to enrich, should not contain some record of his life and some memorial, however imperfect, of his worth.

The life of a scholar, and particularly of a clergyman whose occupations are necessarily so regular and uniform, of course can seldom furnish many materials for biography. Mr. Emerson was born at Concord, Massachusetts, on the 6th of May, 1769. He was the only son of the minister of that place, whose career of usefulness was prematurely closed in the thirty-fifth year of his age, while he was engaged in the service of his country at the beginning of the American Revolution. Though deprived of the guidance of a father at the early age of seven years, he was enabled by the blessing of Heaven on the care of an excellent mother to pass a blameless childhood. When in his seventeenth year he entered Harvard College, his views of life were already so just, his habits of industry so fixed, and his principles of action so elevated and correct, that he passed through the temptations to which he was exposed unhurt, and left the university in 1789 with a reputation for talents, learning, and virtue which his succeeding life confirmed and increased.

After engaging for a short time, as is usual with most of our clergy, in the care of a school, he completed his theological studies, and in the year 1792 was ordained over the church in Harvard. From this place he was called to a sphere of wider usefulness in the metropolis, and was installed in the First Church, Boston, October, 1799. Here the suavity and courtesy of his manners and the fidelity and ability with which he discharged his pastoral duties secured to him a great share of public esteem and affection. He became a member of nearly all the learned and charitable societies, which in this town are so numerous, and in most of them was intrusted with some important office. He was never weary in contriving and encouraging plans for the improvement of the moral and literary character of the community. In the year 1804 he undertook the conduct of the *Monthly Anthology* and Boston *Review*, a literary journal which, in conjunction with several friends whom he interested in its fate, he gratuitously supported, and which sustained a reputation not inferior to any similar work which had preceded it in this country. He continued in the uninterrupted discharge of these multiplied duties to great acceptance till May, 1808, when his friends perceived the first indications of his precarious health. The manner in which he bore the violence of a disease which attacked him at this period cannot be better described than in the language of one of his friends,* who, already, alas! himself claims from us the same sad tribute which he gave to his deceased brother.

"Of the practical strength of his faith and piety he was permitted to give us a memorable example during the sudden attack which he sustained a few years since in all the fulness of his health and expectations, when he was busily preparing for a public service. Those who then saw him brought down in an instant and without any previous warning to the gates of death can never forget the steadfastness with which he received the alarm and the singular humility and composure with which he waited during many days, doubtful of life and expecting to leave all that was dear to him on earth to present himself before God."

From this attack, however, he apparently recovered and resumed all his usual employments with his accustomed activity and interest. The occasion of the erection of a new place of public worship for the First Church suggested to him the plan of a history of that ancient and respectable society. It has been published since his decease by his friends, and, though laboring under the disadvantage of being posthumous and incomplete, it displays great accuracy and minuteness of research and is read with pleasure and profit by those who take an interest in the early history and ecclesiastical antiquities of our country. In preparing this work, he was engaged till the symptoms of the disease which finally closed his life interrupted his

*Rev. J. S. Buckminster's sermon at the funeral of Mr. Emerson.

labors, while employed in an analysis of the works and character of Chauncy. He sustained the severity of a lingering and distressing disorder with the most exemplary fortitude and Christian tranquillity, till at length he sunk under its force on 11th of May, 1811.

Such are the few incidents possessing sufficient general interest to be here recorded, which are to be found in the peaceful and even tenor of the life of this excellent man. In reviewing his character and attainments, it is not difficult to show the grounds of that reputation which during his life he enjoyed. He was a man of lively and vigorous talents, and possessed the rare felicity of having them so constantly at command that his literary efforts are almost all of nearly equal excellence. He possessed great diligence and activity in every pursuit in which he engaged, and was remarkably methodical and exact in the distribution of his time. If we were to select any single feature as marking his character more distinctly than any other, we should say it was the singular propriety with which he filled every station to which he was called. His strong curiosity led him to engage in a great variety of studies; and his love of activity allowed his friends to lay upon him the burden of a great multitude of occupations in the various literary and charitable societies of which he was a member. This variety and number of his duties — though they did not leave him leisure to carry his researches very deeply into many sciences — enabled him to gain a merited fame for active usefulness and devotion to the cause of benevolence; a fame, in the eye of reason and religion, far more valuable than any renown which can be claimed by a man of barren though ever so profound speculation.

As a clergyman, he was greatly endeared to his society. His manner in the pulpit was graceful and dignified, though seldom impassioned. His sermons were remarkably chaste and regular in their structure, correct and harmonious in their style, seldom aiming at the more daring graces of rhetoric, but always clear and accurate and, to a great majority of hearers, particularly acceptable.

In all the private relations of life he was most exemplary and conscientious. His purity was without a stain. His integrity was above all suspicion. No man delighted more in the happiness of his friends, or would more actively and disinterestedly exert himself to promote it. How deeply he felt the truth and value of the religion which he preached no one could doubt who witnessed the consolation and support which they gave him in his dying moments. By a life uniformly devoted to the cause of truth and of the best interests of mankind, he has left to his children and friends a rich legacy in the remembrance of his virtues. He has given them one more motive to form their lives on the principles which governed his, that they may hereafter share with him the rewards which we trust he has already gone to receive.

The following is given as a correct list of Mr. Emerson's acknowledged publications: —

1. Sermon at Harvard, July 4, 1794.
2. Sermon at the Artillery election, Boston, 1799.
3. Sermon before the Roxbury Charitable Society, 1800.
4. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Robert Smiley, Sept. 23, 1801.
5. Boston Oration, July 4, 1802.
6. Sermon on the death of Rev. Dr. Thacher, 1802.
7. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Thomas Bedé, 1803.
8. Sermon on the death of Madam Bowdoin, 1803.
9. Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum, 1805.
10. Sermon on the death of Charles Austin, 1806.
11. Discourse before the Humane Society, 1807.
12. The first, second, third, and seventh discourses in the fourth number of the *Christian Monitor*, with the prayers annexed to each discourse.
13. A selection of psalms and hymns, embracing all the varieties of subject and metre, suitable for private devotion and the worship of churches, 12mo, 1808.
14. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Clark, Burlington, 1810.

Beginning with 1783, a public oration has been given in Boston on the 4th of July each year, under the auspices of the City. The first orator was Dr. John Warren, brother of General Joseph Warren who fell at Bunker Hill. In 1802 the oration was given by Rev. William Emerson, the minister of the First Church, father of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was born on May 25 of the next year. Mr. Emerson's oration is here printed in full, together with the Memoir prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society after his death in 1811 by Rev. Samuel Cooper Thacher, who was ordained as minister of the New South Church just as Mr. Emerson died, while indeed his body still lay awaiting burial. To the list of Mr. Emerson's publications given by Mr. Thacher should be added the Historical Sketch of the First Church, left unfinished and published after his death with the brief memoir embodied in the funeral sermon by Rev. J. S. Buckminster, and the two sermons preached by Mr. Emerson July 17 and 21, 1808, upon the occasion of leaving the old meeting-house in Cornhill (Washington Street) and the dedication of the new one in Chauncy Place. The funeral sermon by Buckminster was printed in full in pamphlet form, and is the most important tribute to William Emerson. See the brief biographical notice by Josiah Quincy in his History of the Boston Athenæum ; also by Loring in his "Hundred Boston Orators." There may be seen in the libraries the "Catalogue of Books, comprising the Library of the late Rev. William Emerson, to be sold at Public Auction, on Tuesday, 27th of August instant, at the Theological Library in Chauncey Place. Sale to commence at 10 o'clock A.M. Whitwell & Bond, auctioneers." There are 212 titles in the catalogue, mostly of religious works, but not a few volumes in general literature and history, among the latter being the American Biographical and Historical Dictionary, Adams's History of New England, Belknap's American Biography, Bancroft's Life of Washington, Eulogies on Washington, Holmes's American Annals, Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, Eliot's New England Biographical Dictionary, Neal's Puritans, Rollin's Ancient History, Robertson's Charles the Fifth, Trumbull's History of Connecticut, Winthrop's Journal, and Washington's Political Legacies.

The first of Mr. Emerson's published discourses, given at Harvard, Mass., July 4, 1794, is interesting in comparison with the Boston 4th of July oration in 1802. It was given at the request of the military officers of the town of Harvard, who, with the militia under their command, assembled to hear it. It dwelt largely upon the importance of morals and religion in the nation. Referring to dangers then confronting, or likely to confront, the nation, the preacher said, "If ever called to the field, we trust ye will remember from

whom ye descend." The motto for the whole might very well have been that often attributed to Cromwell's Puritans: "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry." This, too, might well have served for the sermon, "Piety and Arms," preached in 1799 before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in Boston. The actual text was, "Let the high praises of God be in their mouth, and a two-edged sword in their hands." Ps. cxlix. 6. "We vindicate no war," the preacher said, "which is not the legitimate offspring of self-defence; none incompatible with any sober construction of the precept, *Resist not evil;* none which embraces other objects than such a restitution to the injured state as shall inhibit future aggressions; none in which a Christian country cannot consistently appeal to the sovereign arbiter of nations for the rectitude of its cause and confide the issue to his just decision." Referring to the unhappy conditions which still made arms and military organizations necessary, he said to the company which he was addressing: "Consider those arms as the sad emblems of an unnatural and depraved state of society. Under this impression you will not bear them with pride, but reluctance, and will consider the necessity of their assumption as a source of humiliation, and not of glory, to you in common with our kind." The word makes us think of his great son's denunciation of "musket worship" and of passages in his lecture on War. Turning to the general subject of public morals, the preacher said: "Vain is it for you, legislators, to levy taxes and establish armies for the safety of the republic if we, the subjects, by our luxuries and sloth, consume the political body." There was a warm tribute to Washington, then in the last year of his life; and we have a reflection of the Federalist spirit of the time in the word: You see the triumphs of Gallic infidelity in that factious and disorganizing spirit which has stalked through the United States for the purpose of destroying our confidence in the officers of the Federal government and of undermining the government itself."

Mr. Emerson's History of the First Church is a scholarly and valuable work. His collection of psalms and hymns shows a distinctly finer feeling than what we had had before. "In some of the psalms and hymns which are used in our country, the voice of poetry is silent," is one reason which he gives for preparing his new hymn-book; and he hopes the book will promote the interests of congregational singing, in the growth of which in the country he rejoices. The book contains 150 psalms and 150 hymns, one on each page, the page numbers and hymn numbers corresponding,—a distinctly convenient arrangement. The study of Mr. Emerson's various published works confirms the judgment pronounced upon him by his contemporaries as a thoughtful, cultivated, public-spirited, high-minded man, whose influence upon his gifted son during the tender years over which that influence extended must have been refining and ennobling.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 135.

The Schools of Massachusetts in 1824.

BY JAMES GORDON CARTER.

From his Essays upon Popular Education.

The pilgrims of Plymouth set the first example not only to our own country, but to the civilized world, of a system of free schools, at which were educated together, not by compulsion, but from mutual choice, all classes of the community,— the high, the low, the rich, and the poor,— a system, by which the state so far assumed the education of the youth, as to make all property responsible for the support of common schools for the instruction of all children. This institution was indeed the foster child, and has justly been the pride, of Massachusetts and of New England. Its influences were strong, and they still are strong, upon the moral and political character of the people.

If our ancestors were stern republicans, this institution did more than any and all others to make them so and to keep them so. While the best schools in the land are *free*, all the classes of society are blended. The rich and the poor meet and are educated together. And, if educated together, nature is so even-handed in the distribution of her favors that no fear need be entertained that a monopoly of talent, of industry, and consequently of acquirements, will follow a monopoly of property. The principle upon which our free schools are established is in itself a stern leveller of factitious distinctions. Every generation, while the system is executed according to the true spirit of it, as conceived by our ancestors, will bring its quota of *new men* to fill the public places of distinction,— men who owe nothing to the fortunes or the crimes of their fathers, but all, under

the blessing of God, to their own industry and the common schools. I say the *principle* in itself, because it has never been carried into full operation, and probably never will be.

Its tendency, however, is not to level by debasing the exalted, but by exalting the debased. And it is a more effectual check against an aristocracy of wealth, and consequently of political influence, than would be a national jubilee and the equal distribution of property once in fifty years, without such a principle at the foundation of our system of public instruction. "Knowledge is power," says Lord Bacon; and so is property power, because it will procure knowledge. If we suppose society divided into two classes, the rich and the poor, the property of the former class, if there were no such institution as the free schools, would procure such immense advantages of education as to bring second, third, and any rate talents into successful competition with those of the first order without such advantages.

This use of property puts upon it its highest value; and it would not be politic, if it were possible, to destroy it. But it should seem that this use ought to be limited, and that some of our institutions, at least, ought to have the tendency to put all upon the footing on which nature and the God of nature left them. And, just in proportion as you lose sight of or abandon the true principle of the free schools, you lose sight of and abandon all the moral, political, and religious blessings which result from them. You check the diffusion of knowledge through all classes of people. You stop the circulation through the extremities of the body politic of the very life-blood which must nourish and sustain them. You may preserve and amuse yourselves with the name of free institutions and of a republican government; but you will not be blessed with the reality. You may incorporate in your Constitution, if you like, the articles "that all men are born free and equal," and "that all are eligible to the highest offices"; but this is not freedom while ninety-nine hundredths of the community have not the means of fitting themselves or their children for discharging the duties of those high offices. As well might you tie the legs and pinion the arms of a man, and tell him he has as fair a chance to win the race as one who is free and trained to the course. Something like this our ancestors must have felt, who established the free schools; and something like this their posterity must feel if they would cherish and preserve them.

The first organization of the schools under the Colony Charter did not, probably, yield so good instruction as was afforded afterwards or as is afforded now in them. But it gave to *all* the best elementary education which could be procured in the country. The next organization under the Province Charter gave better instruction, to be sure; but its excellence was more the result of the progress of society in other respects than of any improvements in the discipline of the schools themselves. Though somewhat advanced, they did not so much take the lead of society as they had done before; and individuals began to look about them and to supply for themselves and their families better instruction than they afforded. Under our present constitution, or for the last forty years, the schools have no doubt been vastly improved. But they have, most certainly, not kept up with the progress of society in other respects. Although their absolute motion must be acknowledged to have been onward, their relative motion has for many years been retrograde. And there never was a time, since the settlement of the country, when the common schools were farther in the rear of the improvements of the age in almost everything else affecting our condition and happiness than they are at the present moment.

We impose upon ourselves, in examining our literary institutions and in estimating the efficiency of our means of popular education, somewhat in this manner. We see six schools supported now where there were once but three, and therefore conclude that just twice as much attention is paid to education as there formerly was. But there are probably four times as many scholars and inhabitants upon the same territory as then supported the three schools, and more than four times the amount of wealth; so that instead of six they ought, at the same rate, to support more than twelve schools. We see, indeed, many new branches of learning introduced into all our lower seminaries, and hastily conclude that all this is advancement in their character and condition. True, it may be so; but how many new arts and sciences have sprung up within these few years and assumed the dignity of separate and important departments of education? and what sort of a figure in the world would your pupil make if destitute of instruction in them? Does a common-school education prepare those who have that only better for discharging all the duties which society requires of its best and highest citizens than it did forty years ago?

This is the correct method of estimating the condition of the schools. We must compare them with the altered state of society in other respects.

Our instructors of the present day would no doubt appear to good advantage when contrasted with those of the last century. But compare them with the first men in the community. What is their standing there? By these means, and by these only, can we decide correctly whether they are likely to take the lead in the improvements of the age, or whether they will more probably fall lazily into the wake of those improvements which have gone far before them. Examine the amount of your appropriations for the support of free schools in connection with the number of youth who must be educated in them, and also in connection with the present wealth of the country; examine *what* is taught in connection with what is required in order to discharge successfully all the duties of a citizen of the republic; examine *how* it is taught in connection with the present improved state of science and the arts; and, above all, examine the acquirements, the experience, and the skill of your teachers in connection with the important duty which you assign to them,— and there can be no doubt that you will come to the conclusion that the condition of the free schools is far behind what the improved and improving state of society among us requires. And, while you pass loud praises to the memory of your ancestors for the establishment of an institution which has contributed so much to your own happiness, prosperity, and glory, you stand convicted of perverting it in your hands, and defrauding posterity of an inheritance which was designed for them.

Having thus stated the principles upon which an examination into our means of popular education should be conducted, then briefly alluded to the principal points to which inquiries should be first directed, and lastly intimated the result at which I have arrived, and at which I think all must arrive, in regard to the present condition of the free schools, I now hasten forward to take a similar view of other parts of the system. The decline of popular education among us, or rather the comparatively retrograde motion of the principal means of it, has been more perceptible during the last twenty or thirty years than it ever was at any former period. And in the mean time there has sprung up another class of schools, more respectable, indeed, in their character, and better answering the demands of a por-

tion of the public, but not free. The academies are *public*, but not *free* schools. They are open to the whole community under certain conditions. But those conditions exclude nineteen-twentieths of the people from participating in the advantages which they are designed to afford. Leaving behind, then, nineteen-twentieths of the whole population of the State, the academies have generally been so well conducted as to meet the wants and expectations of the other twentieth. This last small fraction embraces that part of the community who set the highest value upon the influence of early education, and are able to defray the expenses necessary to provide for it. But in the rapid progress of knowledge, and the consequent demand for instruction of all kinds, even this class of schools has ceased to be adequate to supply the wants of all; and private establishments begin to take the lead of them.

Now I rejoice at the establishment of every institution for the education of youth, whether it be for the benefit of one or a thousand, if it can be conducted upon better principles of government and instruction than those which generally prevail. It is matter of congratulation that there are some among us who feel the need of better schools; and I am one of the most hearty admirers of the private enterprise which would endeavor to supply so important a public demand. I appreciate fully, too, the efforts of those who have founded and conducted our public academies. But it is most deeply to be regretted that their plans are quite so much tinctured with the notions of the last century, and that the systems of instruction and government which they adopt do not partake more largely of the modern and improved ideas of education. The energy of their board of directors, too, is frequently much impaired by the struggles among individuals to adjust opposite views and conflicting interests; and the fear of innovation hangs like an *incubus* upon many, and paralyzes the efforts of all, even of those who have thrown it off.

Better schools and better instruction are demanded than the academies in their present state afford, and they must soon be supplied. It is certainly to be regretted that these public demands exist to so great an extent, and that they are every day increasing. It may here, without impertinence, be suggested to those who control the public academies that, if those establishments were put in the condition in which it should seem they might easily be put, they would meet the wants of even the most

discriminating, and anticipate the opening of private schools of a higher character. If those wants exist, it is certainly better that they should be supplied by private schools than not at all. But it would be much more for the interest of the community if they could be supplied or anticipated by public ones, not because it is any evil that a few scholars are withheld from the public schools and better provided for in private ones; but every private establishment which is so far superior to the public ones as to draw off a portion of the patronage which would otherwise be bestowed upon them detaches a portion of the community from the great mass, and weakens or destroys their interest in those means of education which are common to the whole people.

The character and influence of this enlightened and efficient part of the community, who thus secede from the whole, will be found in the end, when, perhaps, it is too late to remedy the evil, to be a loss which has not yet been duly estimated. Their property may be cheerfully yielded to support the public schools, but their wisdom is needed to direct them. The remote good of an improved state of society, and the security and happiness of being surrounded by more intelligent neighbors, may for a time be sufficient to control the purses of people; but their hearts will most surely follow and abide with their own children. Now, if the public academies, or at least some of them, be not new modelled and improved so as to meet the demands of even those who demand the most, there must inevitably a portion of interest in them soon secede from their support. And by the by (may it be at some very distant day), when our population comes to be crowded, when our numbers have become so great as to press hard upon the means of subsistence, when property comes to be more unequally distributed than it now is, when the rich become more insolent and the poor more depressed, more hungry, and more factious, then will jealousies arise and grow strong between the different classes of the community, then will the children of the higher classes be contaminated by contact with those of the lower, then will general and public interest yield to particular and private interest, then will a large portion of the property be withheld from the means of popular education or be extorted from unwilling owners, then will the several classes, being educated differently and without a knowledge of each other, imbibe mutual prejudices and hatreds, and entail them upon posterity

from generation to generation. This may be refining a little too much or looking a little too deeply into futurity; but it is the natural tendency of things upon sound principles of political reasoning. Circumstances may conspire to hasten or retard the time, but the time will come when those who hold most property will not be so zealous as they now are to urge it upon others for their better education. Charity between individuals is soon tired when it begins to be abused; and a policy in government, however generous and noble it may be, operating in favor of the more ignorant and the weaker part of the community at the expense of the wiser and the stronger, will soon be abandoned when it begins to be perverted. May our rulers look to this natural and powerful tendency of things, and check it while it may be checked or counteract its influence as far as it may be counteracted. And what means are there so likely to do this as an efficient system of popular education, which shall bring out and put in vigorous action and keep in constant and struggling competition the greatest amount of intellect among all classes?

The academies were unknown in Massachusetts before the Revolution. The oldest of these institutions is Phillips Academy at Andover, the date of whose charter is 1780. Before this time all public schools, it should seem, were also free. The number of these seminaries or high schools did not much increase for many years after the close of the Revolutionary War. But during a short period, about ten or fifteen years since, they were multiplied to a very great extent. The people of Massachusetts, always desirous of following the policy of the Pilgrims of Plymouth in regard to schools, seemed for a time absurdly to suppose that they had but to get an academy incorporated and established in their neighborhood, and that their children would be educated without farther trouble. But in this too sanguine expectation they have been most of them somewhat disappointed. An act of incorporation has not been found, on experiment, to be quite so efficacious as was at first anticipated. And many of these institutions, which in the imagination of their projectors rose at once almost to the dignity of colleges, are now found in a very inefficient, indeed, in a most wretched condition.

The legislature of the State, then willing and anxious to encourage "learning and good morals" among the people,— a duty which the constitution solemnly enjoins upon them,— by

all means in their power granted as many acts of incorporation as were petitioned for; and to many of these corporations, in token of their good will, they appropriated townships of land in the interior and northerly part of Maine which then formed a part of Massachusetts. Some of these townships of land, by the way, it is to be feared, may be found on the wrong side of the boundary line to be drawn between Maine and the British Provinces. So far as this policy evinced a desire to encourage the diffusion of knowledge, it should receive the commendation which good intentions always deserve; but, for all practical purposes, for perhaps fifty years from the date of these charters and appropriations the legislature might about as well have assigned to the petitioners for them a tract of the moon.

When these hungry corporate beings had been created by the legislature, and their first cries for sustenance had been soothed by the unsavory dish of eastern lands, they were then abandoned to the charity of their friends, or, if they proved cold, to a lingering death by starvation. The eastern lands, which constituted the patrimony of the State, were in most cases utterly unavailable. The benevolence of friends was generally exhausted in accumulating the means to erect suitable buildings; and the corporations were left to rely upon their own sagacity for procuring other resources to put their institution in operation. The more essential, indeed almost the only essential part of a good academy — namely, a good instructor — was left unprovided for. The only expedient which remained was to support the teacher by a tax upon the scholars. It seemed but reasonable that those who enjoyed the exclusive benefit of the institution should pay for their own instruction. But this condition, though perhaps but a small sum was required of each pupil in order to produce an adequate salary for an instructor, removed the advantages of the academies at once beyond the reach of a large proportion of the inhabitants. The appropriations of the State, therefore, for the support of these schools, if they benefited any body in particular, surely benefited not the poor, but the rich and middling classes of the community. At least, these enjoyed the chief advantage of them, the direct rays of the State's favor; while the poor could feel only a dim reflection of them.

That the academies, at least those of them which have been put and sustained in a tolerably respectable condition, have been a great accommodation to a few of our inhabitants, cannot be doubted. And how few are those who have received any

advantages from them may be easily estimated by comparing the small number of children instructed in them with the whole number in the Commonwealth. Still, these are, or may be, useful institutions. I have certainly no desire to lessen the high repute in which they seem to be held. On the contrary, I wish they were in higher estimation than they really are; and, what is more, I wish they were more worthy of that estimation. But they should be appreciated for the character which they possess, and never for that which they do not possess. And they are not establishments for the instruction of the poor. Neither can they be relied upon as efficient means for the education of the mass or even a majority of the people, because, as has been before intimated, their conditions exclude nineteen-twentieths of the whole population of the State from a participation of their advantages. If they are sustained, therefore, it must be upon some other ground. What that ground is it is not my purpose now to inquire. But what has been their influence upon the free or town schools?

One influence which they undoubtedly have had has been to prepare young instructors *some* better than they could be prepared in the town schools themselves. This is a good influence; and, if the same object could not be attained much better by other means, it would deserve great consideration in estimating the utility which we are to expect from those establishments for the future. But the preparation of instructors for the free schools never formed a part of the original design of the academies. They were intended to afford instruction in other and higher branches of education than those usually taught in the free schools, and not merely to give better instruction in the same branches. Much less did it come within the wide scope of their purposes to give instruction in the science of teaching generally; so that the little good derived from them in this respect is only incidental.

The preparation of instructors for free schools is a subject of such moment to this community that it will hardly be thought expedient, on reflection, to trust it to chance or to incidents. Experience and observation have convinced those who have attended to the subject that adequate instructors for the free schools are not prepared by these incidental means. In order to be efficient and effectual in attaining that desirable object, means must be applied directly to it. But, of the education of instructors, more by and by. I wish merely now to say, and I

trust I have shown, that the academies cannot be relied upon for accomplishing that object so as in any good degree to meet the demands and answer the reasonable expectations of the community.

But the academies have had another influence upon the public town schools which has much impaired their usefulness; and, if not soon checked, it will ultimately destroy them. This influence, operating for a series of years, has led already to the abandonment of a part of the free school system, and to a depreciation in the character and prospects of the remaining part; and it is working, not slowly, the destruction of the vital principle of the institution, more valuable to us than any other for the preservation of enlightened freedom. The pernicious influence to which I allude will be better understood by taking an example of its operation on a small scale, and then extending the same principle of examination to the whole State or to New England.

Take any ten contiguous towns in the interior of this Commonwealth, and suppose an academy to be placed in the centre of them. An academy, as I have before observed, commonly means a corporation with a township of land in Maine, given them by the State, and a pretty convenient house, built generally by the patriotic subscriptions of those who expect to use it, the instructor being supported chiefly or altogether by a separate tax on the scholars. In each of these ten towns select the six individuals who have families to educate, who set the highest value on early education, and who are able to defray the expenses of the best which can be had, either in a private school among themselves or at the academy, which, by the supposition, is in their neighborhood. Now of what immediate consequence can it be to the six families of each town, or to the sixty families of the ten towns, whether there be such a thing as a free school in the Commonwealth or not? They have a general interest in them, to be sure, because they have themselves been there instructed, and the early associations of childhood and youth are strong; and they have a sort of speculative belief, if it be not rather an innate sentiment, that free schools make a free people. But how are their own particular, personal, and immediate interests affected? Without any libel upon good nature, these are the mainsprings to human actions. These are the motives which find their way soonest to the human heart, and influence most powerfully and steadily the opinions of men and the conduct founded upon and resulting from them.

As soon as difficulties and disagreements in regard to the free schools arise, as they necessarily must, upon various topics, such as the amount of money to be raised, the distribution of it among the several districts, the manner of appropriation, whether it be to the "summer schools" or to the "winter schools," to pay an instructor from this family or from that family, of higher qualifications or of lower qualifications, of this or that political or religious creed, or a thousand other questions which are constantly occurring,— if any of our six families happen to be dissatisfied or disgusted with any course which may be adopted, they will immediately abandon the free schools, and provide for the education of their children in their own way. They may organize a private school, for their own convenience, upon such principles as they most approve; or they may send their scholars, at an expense trifling to them, to the academy in their neighborhood. Well, what if they do? The free schools remain, all taxes are paid cheerfully for their support, and the number of scholars is lessened. What is the evil of their sending their children somewhere else to be educated? We should, at first, suppose that it would be an advantage, inasmuch as the amount of money to be expended would be left the same, and the number of pupils to receive the benefit of it would be considerably diminished.

But the evils of this course, and of the general policy of the State government which has led to it, are very serious ones. When the six individuals of any country town who are, by the supposition, first in point of wealth and interest in the subject, and who will generally be also first in point of intelligence and influence in town affairs, withdraw their children from the common schools, there are at the same time withdrawn a portion of intelligence from their direction and heartfelt interest from their support. This intelligence is needed to manage the delicate and important concerns of the schools; and this heartfelt interest is needed to lead the way to improvements, to stimulate and encourage larger and larger appropriations, and to insure vigilance in their expenditure. Patriotism and philanthropy are dull motives to exertions for the improvement of common schools compared with parental affection; and this quickening power has gone off to the academies or somewhere else with the children who are the objects of it.

Look at the operation of this influence of the academies upon the free schools on a still smaller scale. Examine the condition

of the latter in the very towns where academies are placed, and where, if their influence be a happy one, we should expect to find the common schools in the best condition. What is the fact? From observation and from information collected from authentic sources the assertion may be hazarded that the condition of the free schools will be found, on examination, to be worse, far worse, in those towns than in any others. And it is for this plain reason: because those who can barely afford the expense of tuition will send their children to the academy which the State or benevolent individuals have built up for their accommodation, and give themselves no farther trouble about the free schools but to pay the tax bill for their support when it is presented.

Thus the men who would have the most interest in the subject, the most intelligence and the most leisure to conduct the concerns of the town schools, secede from them, and join themselves to other institutions. Abolish the academy, and leave these six families of each town to the free schools alone, and you would find all their powers assiduously employed to put them in the best condition possible. Or rather put the free schools in a state to afford as good instruction as the academies now do, and you would supersede in a great degree the necessity of them. And it is apprehended that it would be quite easy to place them upon a footing to give even better instruction, at least in all the elementary branches of a common education, than the academies now give or ever have given. If the principles suggested above for the examination of our means of popular education be correct, and if the influence of the private establishments upon the academies, and of the academies upon the free schools, be really such as it has been described to be, my readers, by following out the inquiries which those principles lead to, in all their relations and bearings, cannot fail to convince themselves that something may be done as well as much said upon this subject.

Towards the close of my third essay a comparison was instituted between the academies and those private establishments which begin and will continue to grow up, while the former do not afford as good instruction as can be procured in this or in any country. The conclusion was that, as a means of public instruction, the academies are, decidedly, the most to be relied upon, because their conditions do not exclude more than *nineteen-twentieths* of the people from the free enjoyment of their

advantages, whereas the private establishments of high character are beyond the reach of at least *ninety-nine hundredths*. In my last pages a comparison upon the same principles was drawn between the academies and the free schools; and the conclusion was that we cannot safely rely upon the former either for directly instructing the mass of the people, who are found only in the free schools, or for preparing instructors for them, and thus, indirectly, accomplishing the same object. Our only reliance, therefore, is upon the town schools, because access to them is open to all; whereas certainly not more than one-twentieth and probably not more than one-fiftieth of the whole population can gain admittance to the academies at all. Hence, if any measures are to be taken, or any appropriations to be made by the legislature for the diffusion of knowledge generally, it should seem that the free schools demand their first attention. They are the foundation not only of our whole system of public instruction, but of all our free institutions. Let our rulers take care, then, that this basis be not allowed to crumble away on any pretence. If it do so, there will be wrenching in the political fabric when it will be too late to apply a brace, disorder and confusion when it will be too late to take the alarm, and impending ruin when it will be too late to escape it. But let this foundation be laid deep and firm, not only in the constitution and the laws of our country, but also in the heads and the hearts of our countrymen. The care of the higher seminaries of learning, the ornaments of our system of popular education, will more appropriately follow.

Before we attempt, however, to take a single step towards reform, let us see what we have to amend. Unless faults can be shown to exist in the organization of our system of popular education, and great ones, it will do but little good to recommend improvements. For it is with communities as with individuals; and "no one," says Fisher Ames, "is less likely to improve than the coxcomb who fancies he has already learned out." The pride which we of New England have been accustomed to feel and, perhaps, to manifest, in our free schools as the best in the country and in the world, has not improved their condition; but, on the contrary, the great complacency with which we contemplate this institution is a most effectual bar to all improvements in it. The time has come when we owe it to our country and ourselves to speak the whole truth in this matter, even though it disturb our self-satisfaction a little.

It will be convenient to point out the faults of the public provisions for popular education under the two following heads: first, the "Summer Free Schools," which are generally taught in the country towns for a few months in the warm season of the year by females; and, second, the "Winter Free Schools," which are taught by men, commonly, for a shorter period during the cold season. Children of both sexes of from four to ten or twelve years usually attend these primary summer schools, and females often to a much later age. This is a very interesting period of human life. No one who has reflected much upon the subject of early discipline, no one, I trust, who has even followed me through the preceding essays, can doubt that it is one of the most important parts, if not the very most important part, of our lives, as it regards the influence of education in its widest sense. It is important as it regards the development of the powers of the body or physical education; because the parts of the body, the limbs, the muscles, the organs, or whatever are the technical names for them, now assume a firmness and consistency in discharging their proper functions or they become distorted and enfeebled; and these habits, thus early contracted, become a part of ourselves and are as abiding as our lives. Yet what has been done in this branch of education? Nothing at all, absolutely nothing at all, even in our best schools. This period is vitally important as it regards the cultivation of the heart and its affections. What has been done here? Chance and ill-directed efforts make up all the education which we have received or are giving to our children in the schools in this department. Finally, it is important to us, as it regards the discipline of the head, the development of the understanding and its faculties. What have we done in this department? We have done something, indeed, and think that we have done much. We have done, and we continue to do, *more* than we do *well*. We resort to many expedients and apply many means, without distinctly understanding either what we wish to attain, whether it be possible to attain it, or, if so, the adaptation of our means to its attainment. Success, here, therefore, if the best possible results have ever been gained in any instance, has been more the result of chance than of skill.

To whom do we assign the business of governing and instructing our children from four to twelve years of age? Who take upon themselves the trust of forming those principles and habits which are to be strengthened and confirmed in manhood,

and make our innocent little ones through life happy or miserable in themselves, and the blessings or the curses of society? To analyze, in detail, the habits which are formed and confirmed in these first schools, to trace the abiding influence of good ones, or to describe the inveteracy of bad ones, would lead me from my present purpose. But are these interesting years of life and these important branches of education committed to those who understand their importance or their influence upon the future character? Are they committed to those who would know what to do to discharge their high trust successfully if they did, indeed, understand their importance? I think not. And I am persuaded that all who have reflected but for a moment upon the age, the acquirements, and the experience of those who assume to conduct this branch of education must have come to the same conclusion.

The teachers of the primary summer schools have rarely had any education beyond what they have acquired in the very schools where they begin to teach. Their attainments, therefore, to say the least, are usually *very moderate*. But this is not the worst of it. They are often very young, they are constantly changing their employment, and consequently can have but little experience; and, what is worse than all, they never have had any direct preparation for their profession. This is the only service in which we venture to employ young and, often, ignorant persons, without some previous instruction in their appropriate duties. We require experience in all those whom we employ to perform the slightest mechanical labor for us. We would not buy a coat or a hat of one who should undertake to make them without a previous apprenticeship; nor would any one have the hardihood to offer to us the result of his first essay in manufacturing either of these articles. We do not even send an old shoe to be mended, except it be to a workman of whose skill we have had ample proof. Yet we commit our children to be educated to those who know nothing, absolutely nothing, of the complicated and difficult duties assigned to them. Shall we trust the development of the delicate bodies, the susceptible hearts, and the tender minds of our little children to those who have no knowledge of their nature? Can they, can these rude hands, finish the workmanship of the Almighty? No language can express the astonishment which a moment's reflection on this subject excites in me.

But I must return to the examination of the qualifications of

the female teachers of the primary summer schools, from which purpose I have unconsciously a little departed to indulge in a general remark. They are a class of teachers unknown in our laws regulating the schools, unless it be by some latitude of construction. No standard of attainments is fixed, at which they must arrive before they assume the business of instruction; so that any one *keeps school*, which is a very different thing from *teaching school*, who wishes to do it, and can persuade, by herself or her friends, a small district to employ her. And this is not a very difficult matter, especially when the remuneration for the employment is so very trifling. The farce of an examination and a certificate from the minister of the town (for it is a perfect farce) amounts to no efficient check upon the obtrusions of ignorance and inexperience. As no standard is fixed by law, each minister makes a standard for himself, and alters it as often as the peculiar circumstances of the case require; and there will always be enough of peculiar circumstances to render a refusal inexpedient.

Let those who are conversant with the manner in which these schools are managed say whether this description of them undervalues their character and efficacy. Let those who conduct them pause and consider whether all is well, and whether there are not abuses and perversions in them, which call loudly for attention and reformation. Compare the acquirements, the experience, the knowledge of teaching possessed by these instructors, not one with another,— for the standard is much too low,— but with what they might be, under more favorable circumstances and with proper preparation. Compare the improvement made in these little nurseries of piety and religion, of knowledge and rational liberty, not one with another,— for the progress in all of them is much too slow,— but with what the infant mind and heart are capable of, at this early age, under the most favorable auspices. And there can be no doubt that all will arrive at the same conclusions,— a dissatisfaction with the condition of these schools, and an astonishment that the public have been so long contented with so small results from means which all will acknowledge capable of doing so much.

The faults of the primary summer schools, then, are a want of adequate acquirements, a want of experience, and a total want of any direct preparation of their teachers for their employment. These must be acknowledged to be great faults; and they have affected, and will continue to affect, essentially,

the usefulness of the schools. Neither reason, observation, nor experience leaves reflecting men any consoling probability that these defects will be remedied, or the condition of the schools be essentially improved, under their present organization. As to the acquirements of female teachers, there is no standard to which they must be brought for decision, except on moral qualifications. As to experience, they have usually none, and they can never have but little, because they are constantly leaving their employment and new teachers assuming it, without any system of their own or any plan laid down for their direction. As to direct preparation for the business of teaching, such a thing was never heard of. But cannot some system or arrangement be devised by which the experience or the results of the experience of those who have gone successfully over the ground may be communicated to the younger teachers without the necessity of their going over the same ground, and under precisely the same disadvantages, all at the expense of the pupils?

Many of the above remarks upon the character and qualifications of the teachers of the summer schools apply with equal force to the young men who undertake the instruction of the primary winter schools, which now constitute the highest class of schools to which the whole population of the State have free access. My remarks upon this class of instructors must also be general; and, as all general rules have their exceptions, every individual will of course consider himself as particularly excused. What are the acquirements of these young men who assume the delicate and responsible duty of governing and instructing a school of fifty or a hundred children? We have a catalogue, perhaps an ample one, of branches of knowledge which the laws suppose the candidates for the place of teacher to be possessed of. But who knows that they come up to established standard? And who knows that they are fully possessed of the knowledge which the laws require? And who knows, if they do possess it, that they will be able to communicate it to their pupils? This is no trifling consideration in estimating the value and usefulness of an instructor. The laws provide that the minister and the selectmen of each town shall assure themselves that their teachers possess the prescribed qualifications. The minister. Which minister? There may be, and not infrequently are, at the present day, half a dozen in the town. When the school law was enacted, in 1789, our towns were not broken up as they now are, and are likely to be for the future, into small parishes.

Here, then, are six ministers in the same town, of different denominations, of different characters, of different discrimination, and of different qualifications, some of them, perhaps, hardly qualified to teach school themselves. Now which one or two among them all shall decide on the qualifications of teachers? Why not let every one decide on the qualifications of the instructors employed in his own parish? This is very plausible, but not at all practicable. The different parishes are made up of families from every part of the town, whereas the several school districts are, and necessarily must be, laid out without any reference to them. The same school district, therefore, may, and probably will, contain families, many or few, from every parish in the town. Then some *one* of the six ministers may decide upon the qualifications of instructors for the whole town, which those belonging to other parishes than his own would certainly not agree to, or each must be clothed with that power for the whole. What! will you allow the itinerant preacher, who has only stopped for a few Sabbaths or for a few months, to license instructors for the whole town? This is a result which, it seems, must follow.

But the minister must be "settled." Then comes the question, What is a "settled" minister? When we are not in the heat of controversy, we can understand such ambiguous language. But the laws do not define what constitutes a settled minister. The "Cambridge Platform" is not the acknowledged law of the land upon this subject. The parish — and any thing is now a parish — may define the mode in which the relation between them and their preacher shall be solemnized. And who can interfere, and say that a preacher "settled" *only* by a vote of uplifted hands is not a minister within the intention of the school law of 1789? The looseness of this law has already led to difficulties in some places, and the only reason it has not in more is that there is too much indifference to the subject of schools and teachers generally to induce men to quarrel about them. We have a law, indeed, and a bench for justice; but we have no judge,— or, rather, any one judges who chooses to do so.

Other considerations readily suggest themselves to all who are acquainted with the relation subsisting between country clergymen and their parishes why they should be relieved of the responsibility of deciding upon the qualifications of teachers. Experience has long since proved that their decision does not

insure to the public competent instructors, which alone is sufficient reason why the duty of selecting them should be imposed upon others. The clergy were once the only learned profession and almost the only learned men in New England. Now there are others. The task of deciding upon the qualifications of teachers is invidious, and those should perform it whose usefulness depends least on popular favor.

The young man who lays down his axe and aspires to take up the "rod" and rule in a village school has, usually, in common with other young men, a degree of dignity and self-complacency which it is dangerous to the extent of his power to disturb. And when he comes to his minister, sustained by his own influence in the parish, and that of a respectable father and perhaps a large family of friends, and asks of him the legal approbation for a teacher, it is a pretty delicate matter to refuse it. A firm and conscientious refusal of approbation to a schoolmaster has led in more instances than one to a firm and conscientious refusal to hear the minister preach; and by the parish difficulties growing out of so small an affair he has found himself at last "unsettled" and thrown with his family, perhaps in his old age, upon the world to seek and gain his subsistence as he may. This is truly martyrdom. And martyrs in ordinary times are rare. Even good men can make peace with their consciences on better terms. So much for the literary qualifications of instructors.

It is the intention of the school law to secure good, moral characters in the public instructors by requiring the approbation as to this qualification of the selectmen of the town where the school is to be taught. No doubt selectmen are as good judges of morality as any body of men which could readily be appealed to. But either we are a very moral people or they are not very discriminating; for instances are rare, indeed, of refusal of their approbation on this ground. If a young man be moral enough to keep out of State prison, he will find no difficulty in getting approbation for a schoolmaster. These things ought not to be so. Both the moral and the intellectual character of the rising generation are influenced more by their instructors, during the period of from four to twelve years of age, than by any cause so entirely within our control. It becomes then of momentous concern to the community, in a moral and religious as well as in political point of view, that this influence should be the greatest and the best possible. That it

is not now so, every one, I trust, who has followed me through my preceding essays is convinced. And if something be not done, and that speedily, to improve the condition of the free schools, and especially the primary *summer schools*, they will not only fail of their happiest influence, but in a short time of all influence which will be worth estimating.

If the policy of the legislature in regard to free schools for the last twenty years be not changed, the institution which has been the glory of New England will, in twenty years more, be extinct. If the State continue to relieve itself of the trouble of providing for the instruction of the whole people, and to shift the responsibility upon the towns, and the towns upon the districts, and the districts upon individuals, each will take care of himself and his own family as he is able, and as he appreciates the blessing of a good education. The rich will, as a class, have much better instruction than they now have, while the poor will have much worse or none at all. The academies and private schools will be carried to much greater perfection than they have been, while the public free schools will become stationary or retrograde, till at length they will be thrown for support upon the gratuitous and of course capricious and uncertain efforts of individuals; and then, like the lower schools of the crowded cities of Europe, they will soon degenerate into mere mechanical establishments, such as the famous *seminaries* of London, Birmingham, and Manchester, of which we hear so much lately, not for rational, moral, and intellectual instruction of human beings, but for training young animals to march, sing, and draw figures in sand,— establishments in which the power of one man is so prodigiously multiplied that he can overlook, direct, and control the intellectual exercises of a thousand! And this wretched mockery of education they must be right glad to accept as a charity instead of inheriting as their birthright as good instruction as the country affords.

The one man who did more to cast up a highway for Horace Mann than any other was Mr. James G. Carter, to whom Dr. Barnard says "more than to any other one person belongs the credit of having first attracted the attention of the leading minds of Massachusetts to the necessity of immediate and thorough improvement in the system of free or public schools, and having clearly pointed out the most direct and thorough mode of procuring that improvement

by providing for the training of competent teachers for these schools."

Mr. Carter was born at Leominster, Massachusetts, in 1795, and was bred up a farmer's son. He worked his own way through the academy and college, graduating from Harvard in 1820. He was a fellow-student and personal friend of Warren Colburn, whose well-known text-books gave such an impetus to the study of arithmetic, and through arithmetic to the common schools. He continued to teach for a number of years after his graduation, and soon began to write for newspapers on educational subjects. To ability, scholarship, character, and interest in the subject, he added as qualifications for such work a thorough practical knowledge of the elementary and secondary schools of New England. In 1824 there appeared from his pen a pamphlet that is incomparably the best existing mirror of education in New England in the first quarter of this century. (*Letters to the Honorable William Prescott, LL.D., on the Free Schools of New England, with Remarks upon the Principles of Instruction.* Boston: Published by Cummings, Hilliard & Co., 1824, pp. 123.)

Carter contends that the two principal causes which have operated against the free schools are bad teachers and bad text-books. He does not think that the incompetency of teachers is due to the negligence or indifference of the public so much as to the competition of business and professional life, which tends to prevent young men from becoming professional teachers. The men teachers may be divided into three classes: (1) Those who think teaching is easier and possibly a little more remunerative than common labor. (2) Those who are acquiring, or have acquired, a good education, and who take up teaching as a temporary employment, either to earn money for pressing necessities or to give themselves time to choose deliberately a regular profession. (3) Those who, conscious of weakness, despair of distinction or even the means of subsistence by other means.

But Mr. Carter did not stop here. A few months later he contributed to a Boston journal a series of essays that dealt very largely with the same topics, and these essays were soon gathered up into a small volume. (*Essays upon Popular Education, containing a Particular Examination of the Schools of Massachusetts and an Outline of an Institution for the Education of Teachers.* By James G. Carter. Boston: Bowles & Deerman, 1826.) Attention is again drawn to the incompetency of teachers, and the method of certificating them is particularly examined. The law of 1789, which committed the examination of teachers to the ministers in connection with the selectmen of the towns, worked very well while there was but one religious denomination and one minister in a town; but now, owing to the multiplication of ministers growing out of the division of parishes, the growth of sects, and the lowering of the

average standard of ministerial education, it works very unsatisfactorily.

But the essay that gives character to this publication is the last one, entitled "Outlines of an Institution for the Education of Teachers." It is distinctly creative in character. In nothing that had appeared from the press thus far had this subject been so carefully thought out and presented, so far as the United States are concerned, as in this celebrated essay. It justifies the title that George B. Emerson bestowed upon the author, "Father of Normal Schools." Mr. Carter contends that insufficient stress has been laid upon the professional preparation of teachers. A teacher must know how to impart knowledge. Education is a science, and must be taught as such. To do this work, the State should found and support an institution that would be free to all its pupils. This institution should embrace (1) an appropriate library and philosophical apparatus; (2) a principal and assistant professors in the different departments; (3) a school for children of different ages, embracing both those desiring a general education and those fitting for teachers; (4) a board of commissioners representing the interests and the wishes of the public. The proposed institution would set the standard of qualifications for teachers, and would give stability, influence, and dignity to the teaching profession. The proposed school bears no distinctive name; the words "normal" and "normal school" do not occur in the essay, nor is there any recognition whatever of similar schools that have been founded in Europe. In a foot-note to one of the letters to Prescott, Mr. Carter gives some account of Pestalozzi, drawing his information from the *Edinburgh Review* and a work on Switzerland. The philosophers whom he mentions are Stewart, Locke, and Dr. Watts. A bill that Carter prepared embodying his ideas was introduced into the legislature in 1827, and failed of passing only by a single vote in the Senate.

Mr. Carter's two pamphlets attracted immediate attention. Professor George Ticknor reviewed the *Letters to Prescott* in *The North American Review*, and Dr. Orville Dewey the *Essays upon Popular Education*, in the same periodical. Theophilus Parsons reviewed the *Letters* in *The Literary Gazette*. These reviews were all highly commendatory. *The United States Review* also contained an article on Mr. Carter's institution for the education of teachers, the writer of which says that the country schools are everywhere degraded, and that they stand so low in the estimation of their warmest friends that it is thought a mean thing for any man but the mechanic, the artisan, or the laborer to send his children to them for an education. . . .

At the session of the legislature for 1836–37 the Directors of the American Institute of Instruction had memorialized that body to consider the expediency of appointing, for a term of years, a Superintendent of the Common Schools of the Commonwealth, urging the usual arguments in favor of the measure. Besides, Governor Everett, in his opening address, recommended the creation of a State Board of Education. The whole

subject was accordingly referred to the joint committee of the two houses on education. The committee reported the text of the act which was drawn by Mr. James G. Carter of the House of Representatives. At first, the measure was lost in the House by a vote of nearly two to one, but, owing to Mr. Carter's wise management and advocacy, was finally carried. It was the culmination of the agitation that he had first aided thirteen years before, and that he had continued to promote to the utmost until the end finally crowned the work.

The first Board was made up with peculiar care. It was necessary to avoid arousing opposition as far as possible. Years afterward, in the midst of the great religious controversy, Mr. Mann explained the criteria that were followed in selecting the members. All the great parties into which the State was divided were regarded. First of all, religious views were considered, then political considerations. Preferences for men that the public had expressed by elevating them to official positions were thought important. And the element of locality, although considered among the weakest motives, was not wholly disregarded. Besides the *ex officiis* members, the list, when it appeared, carried the names of these distinguished citizens: James G. Carter, Emerson Davis, Edmund Dwight, Horace Mann, Edward A. Newton, Robert Rantoul, Jr., Thomas Robbins, and Jared Sparks. Carter and Rantoul, one a Whig and the other a Democrat, were taken from the House of Representatives. Mann, a Whig, came from the Senate. Dwight was a Unitarian, Newton an Episcopalian, both business men, while Davis and Robbins were orthodox clergymen. Sparks had formerly been a Unitarian minister, and was at the time President of Harvard College.

The educators of the State generally expected that Mr. Carter would be made the Secretary of the Board, and the appointment of another was the source of much surprise and disappointment. This was not without reason. If any man could be said to have deserved the office, Mr. Carter was the man. His labors as a teacher and writer on popular education were universally appreciated, and the governor very properly placed his name at the head of the list of appointive Board members. But Mr. Carter was passed by and Horace Mann chosen. Mann had done what he could to promote the bill in the Senate, and was well known to be an ardent friend of public education: he had served as a tutor at Providence, and as member of the school committee at Dedham; but he had no record that could be compared with Mr. Carter's. It was not strange, therefore, that his preferment should create surprise. The selection of Mr. Mann and his acceptance were brought about by Mr. Edmund Dwight. Mr. Dwight, no doubt, appreciated the peculiar nature of the work to be done by the Secretary, and discerned in Mr. Mann peculiar fitness for this work. A business man himself of great capacity and large enterprises, he knew that a man might be a scholar, a teacher, and an able writer on education, and yet not possess the peculiar combination of qualities that would be necessary to crown the creation of the Secretaryship and of the Board of Education with success. Mr. Carter might have made an admirable Secretary; but it cannot be claimed, at this distance, that he had ever shown the necessary capacity for the work to be done. Mr. George B. Emerson, in the able contribution that he made to the controversy growing out of Mr. Mann's Seventh Report, answered in the negative the question whether it would not have been better for the Board to choose a Secretary who was

engaged in the practical work of teaching, basing his answer on general principles as well as on special facts.—*From B. A. Hinsdale's "Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States."*

The extract from James G. Carter's Essays upon Popular Education printed in the present leaflet gives a better idea than any other writing of the period, unless it be the same writer's Letters to Hon. William Prescott published a few months previously, of the condition of the schools of Massachusetts in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Together with the warm and just tribute to Mr. Carter by Dr. Hinsdale, reprinted from his admirable little book on Horace Mann, it is hoped that it may perform a greatly needed service in redirecting attention to a devoted and far-seeing Massachusetts educator, a pioneer in educational reform, whose fame has been eclipsed, and his revolutionary work and very name almost forgotten, through the conspicuousness of his great follower. Horace Mann's searching exposure of the condition and needs of our public schools, his eloquent pleas for better teachers and better text-books, his proposition for normal schools, and his demand for a new and more generous public spirit in the whole field of popular education are known by all. But few remember that James G. Carter anticipated him in all these points, and that he drew the bill creating the Massachusetts State Board of Education, as whose secretary Mann did his epoch-making work. All of the early chapters of Hinsdale's Life of Mann should be read by the student, especially the chapter entitled "Horace Mann's Forerunners." See Old South Leaflet, No. 109, Horace Mann's discussion of the Ground of the Free School System, from his tenth annual report. See, too, in connection with the studies of Emerson's life and times, Emerson's noble and prophetic lecture on Education. Emerson was deeply interested in the reforms urged by Carter and Mann.

Mr. Carter was instrumental in founding the American Institute of Instruction. This, our oldest existing society of the kind, was formally organized in a convention of teachers and others interested, held in Boston in August, 1830. President Francis Wayland of Brown University gave the introductory address and was chosen the first president. At this convention Mr. Carter gave a vital and stimulating address upon the "Development of the Mental Faculties and the Teaching of Geography," which appears in the first volume published by the Institute. In 1830 also he published a "Geography of Massachusetts," a little volume with a map, which to-day serves equally as a monument of advance upon things before and of the immense advance since. It enforced and illustrated a central point of Mr. Carter's. The geographies generally began with descriptions of the solar system. Mr. Carter said: "The subject is begun precisely at the wrong end." "We need to know most concerning those places which are nearest us." Hence his little geography of Massachusetts. He also wrote a "Geography of New Hampshire"; and he was the author of a work on Middlesex and Worcester Counties, besides various addresses not mentioned above. He died in Chicago in 1849. His home for many years was in Lancaster, Mass., which town he represented several years in the legislature. In the last year of his life he was bitterly attacked by a body of enemies in the town, who petitioned that his commission as justice of the peace be taken away. The legislative hearing resulted in his unanimous vindication. It is of interest from the fact that he was defended by Rufus Choate and Hon. Pliny Merrick, whose speeches can be read in the libraries; and Mr. Choate's eloquent tribute to Mr. Carter's character and services makes some distinct additions to our knowledge of the details of his life and public service.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 136.

Boston at the Beginning of the 19th Century.

BY TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

From President Dwight's "Travels in New England."

Boston, the capital of Massachusetts and the principal town in New England, lies in 42° 22′ 23″ North latitude, and in 70° 58′ 53″ West of London. It is built on a peninsula at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay. This peninsula is one mile, three-fourths, and fifty-seven rods in length, and one mile and forty-two rods in breadth; of a very irregular form, and not easily described. It contains between seven hundred and eight hundred acres, and, with a population occupying the whole ground and conveniently spread, would contain seven thousand houses and from sixty to seventy thousand inhabitants. To the main it is united by an isthmus, in length one mile and eleven rods. The whole length of the township is almost three miles. The isthmus is already built upon to a considerable extent, and at a period not very distant will probably be covered with houses.

Boston contains one hundred and thirty-five streets, twenty-one lanes, eighteen courts, and, it is said, a few squares; although, I confess, I have never seen anything in it to which I should give that name. The streets, if we except a small number, are narrow, crooked, and disagreeable. The settlers appear to have built where they wished, where a vote permitted, or where danger or necessity forced them to build. The streets strike the eye of a traveller as if intended to be mere passages from one neighborhood to another, and not as the open, hand-

some divisions of a great town; as the result of casualty, and not of contrivance.

It deserves to be remembered that almost all the great cities in the world have been formed in a similar manner. London, Paris, Amsterdam, Lisbon, Madrid, Vienna, Moscow, Constantinople, Cairo, Aleppo, etc., are all principally built on wretched streets and with a deplorable confusion. The founders of Nineveh and Babylon seem to have been the only ancients who understood this subject. Whence these men acquired such largeness of heart it will be difficult to determine, unless we suppose Nineveh to have derived its noble form from traditionary remains of antediluvian improvement, and Babylon to have been a copy of Nineveh. The Chinese have, indeed, formed their cities with regularity; but their streets, except a few of those in Pekin, are very narrow and inconvenient.

Why the Greeks, who readily adopted the improvements of other countries and originated so many of their own, neglected an article of such importance,— an article, too, with which they were perfectly acquainted,— it is not easy to explain.

It is remarkable that the scheme of forming public squares, so beautiful, and in great towns so conducive to health, should have been almost universally forgotten. Nothing is so cheerful, so delightful, or so susceptible of the combined elegancies of nature and art. On these open grounds the inhabitants might always find sweet air, charming walks, fountains refreshing the atmosphere, trees excluding the sun, and, together with fine flowering shrubs, presenting to the eye the most ornamental objects found in the country. Here, also, youth and little children might enjoy those sports, those voluntary indulgences, which in fresh air are, peculiarly to them, the sources of health and the prolongation of life. Yet many large cities are utterly destitute of these appendages; and in no city are they so numerous as the taste for beauty and a regard for health compel us to wish.

We are not, however, to wonder that so much imperfection should be found in the plan of Boston. Those who formed it were in a sense exiles, forced to leave their country on account of their religion. In many instances they had been plundered of their property, and in many were poor from other causes. They were few, ill-furnished with the means of living remote from supplies, and in doubt and distress concerning the future subsistence of their families. At the same time, they were sur-

rounded by savages, and of course exposed to hostilities which must be dreaded, but could not be foreseen. To provide means of defence for themselves and their children, and to fulfil the demands of religion and good neighborhood, constituted the sum of their duties and enjoyments. Their object was not to lay the foundations of a great city, but to secure a refuge for themselves; not to make their descendants great, but to establish them in the possession of civil and religious liberty. Men in these circumstances and entertaining these views can scarcely be supposed to direct even their imaginations, much less their sober plans, to means of future and distant elegance. A moderate share of comfort for themselves and for their children naturally engrosses all their thoughts, and satisfies their utmost ambition.

Had Boston been laid out in some such manner as the following: had the main street been carried with a breadth of one hundred and twenty feet from the southern limit to the northern, and accompanied by others running parallel to it, ninety feet wide, and sufficiently numerous to occupy the whole ground; had these been crossed at right angles by others of a corresponding breadth; had ten open squares been formed at the proper intersections of the principal streets, the largest containing ten, and the smallest five acres, all beautified with selected ornaments; or had some other plan, substantially resembling this and directed by the nature of the ground, been completed,— Boston would even now have been the most beautiful town that the world has ever seen. No spot of ground is a happier site for a large city. Its surface is most agreeably varied. Three hills of considerable size relieve it from the tameness of a dead flat. They are advantageously posited. Beacon Hill ascends on the west, Copp's Hill on the north, and Fort Hill on the east. They furnish the most eligible situations for private, and especially for public, buildings, and yield ample means for conveying off the water rapidly, and of keeping the streets, yards, and gardens continually clean and sweet.* All the streets, except Main Street at the South End, would in this case have terminated on the water, and assumed the appearance of vistas opening on this beautiful object. The

* Beacon Hill received its name from being resolved on as a spot where a beacon was to be customarily erected. A fort, anciently built on Fort Hill, gave it this name. Copp's Hill was so called from the first owner of the ground, whose name was Copp. From the appearance of these hills at Charlestown, the first settlement in this neighborhood, Boston was originally called "Trimountain."

surrounding scenery, exquisite in its variety and beauty, would have been visible and new at every little distance. On both sides of such streets might have been set handsome rows of trees, so eminently delightful in a city, and so necessary as a shelter from our summer sun. At the same time they would have been ventilated by every wind that blew, and would have assured the inhabitants of the utmost health, furnished by our climate. Who that has any taste for the beauties of nature or any regard for the health and happiness of his fellow-men will not regret that some plan like this was not formed at the original settlement of Boston?

A great number of houses in this town are indifferent buildings,— indifferent, I mean, for a place of such distinction; and a considerable number deserve this character in the absolute sense. Many of them are of wood: some of these are handsome. The reasons why Boston, considered at large, is not so well built as New York and Philadelphia, are obvious. Compared with these cities, Boston is ancient. Philadelphia was a forest in the beginning of the year 1682, fifty-two years after the settlement of Boston.

New York, although settled by the Dutch planters in the year 1614, was a little trading village long after Boston was a great commercial town. For more than a century the inhabitants of Boston imported the merchandise of Europe, particularly of Great Britain, for the people of New York. In the year 1774 Philadelphia did not contain more than one-fourth and New York one-fifth of its present number of houses. Boston, on the contrary, increased very little during the last century until after the year 1790. A large proportion of its buildings were, therefore, erected at periods when the inhabitants were in humble circumstances, and their knowledge in architecture was very defective. Some of them are mere relics of the seventeenth century.

The people of New York and Philadelphia to a great extent live also in hired houses, built by a moderate number of men able and interested to build such as are good. The people of Boston as a body have very generally lived in their own houses. Each man, therefore, builds according to his ability; and you need not be informed that the greater number of people in any city must in this case fall much below the boundary of elegance.

The modern houses in this town are, however, superior to

those of every American city. These are scattered in great numbers throughout most parts of the town. In West Boston and still more on Mount Vernon (the modern name of Beacon Hill) they appear with peculiar advantage. Until within a few years the last-mentioned spot was almost absolutely a waste. In the year 1796 it was purchased by three gentlemen of Boston, and all its roughnesses and irregularities removed at a prodigious expense, its steep western declivity cut down, and a field of near thirty acres converted into one of the most beautiful building grounds in the world. A great part of this field is already covered with elegant houses, some of them superb, and in splendor of building and nobleness of situation is not on this side of the Atlantic within many degrees of a rival.

There are several pretty streets in Boston. Among them Franklin Place, a street of four hundred and eighty feet in length, fifty feet in breadth at the two ends, and one hundred feet at the centre, is particularly handsome. The middle of the street is a grass plat surrounded by trees, and guarded by posts and chains. The name is derived from a monument of Dr. Franklin, who was a native of this town.

In 1692 a law was enacted by the Legislature of the Colony requiring that "no dwelling-house, shop, warehouse, barn, stable, nor any other *housing* of more than eight feet in length or breadth and seven feet in height, should thenceforth be erected and set up in Boston, but of stone or brick, and covered with slate or tile, unless where in a case of necessity, certified by a majority of the justices and selectmen, the governor, with advice of council, should give permission." In this law a reference is had to a similar one enacted in 1688. I think there was at least one such law in being antecedently to this date. Several others have been made in latter times. The last was June 14, 1810. All which have preceded this have been evaded, or in some other manner have proved inefficacious. It is to be hoped that after the severe lessons which the inhabitants have been taught by fire the last law will be implicitly obeyed.

The water in the pumps, which exist everywhere, is much better than in those of New York and Philadelphia. Gardens also, of considerable extent, and well furnished with vegetables, flowers, and sometimes with fruit-trees, adorn many parts of this town. Nothing can have a more cheerful aspect in the midst of a city.

The public buildings are eighteen churches,* — ten Presbyterian, three Episcopal, two Baptist, one Methodist, one Roman Catholic, and one Universalist,— a State House, a Court House, Faneuil Hall, a gaol, a workhouse, a bridewell, a town-house, an almshouse, a medical college, a custom-house, and a theatre.† Several of the Presbyterian churches are new and handsome buildings, particularly that in Federal Street, the new South Church, the church in Hollis Street, and that in Park Street. The last stands in a very eligible situation. The others are generally decent buildings.

The State House, which stands on the eastern side of Beacon Hill, has a most noble and commanding position. It is one hundred and seventy-three feet in length and sixty-one in breadth. It consists of a basement story twenty feet in height, a principal thirty feet in height, and in the centre an attic twenty feet in height, extending sixty feet and covered with a pediment. Above this is a dome fifty feet in diameter and thirty in height, and above this a circular lantern crowned with a gilt pine cone. The basement story is divided into a large hall, two entries containing, each, two flights of stairs, and the offices of the treasurer and secretary. In the second story are the Representatives' chamber, fifty-five feet square, the Senate chamber, fifty-five by thirty-three, and the Council chamber, twenty-seven feet square, together with about twenty other rooms of inferior consequence. This building is finished in a rich style, and cost about £40,000 sterling.

The almshouse is a handsome building beautifully situated on a point in the western part of the town. I know of no structure destined to the same purpose which can be compared with it either in site or appearance.‡

The other public buildings exhibit nothing to the eye deserving of any particular attention.§

The bridges which connect this town with the main have higher claims. The first of these in order is Charles River bridge which unites this town with Charlestown. This was the

* Now 24 (1820): eleven Presbyterian [Congregational], four Episcopal, three Baptist, two Methodist, two Universalist, one Roman Catholic, and one African Church.— *Pub.*

† There have since been erected an additional Court House and a General Hospital.— *Pub.*

‡ A handsomer is now building in New York, 1815.

§ The new Court House, the General Hospital, of which only the centre building and one of the wings are yet erected, and the new Episcopal church in Common Street are inferior to no buildings of the same kind in the country. They are all of the gray granite, a material for building inferior to no other for durability and beauty.— *Pub.*

first effort to erect a bridge over a broad river in the American states. A brief account of its origin will not be destitute of interest.

Judge Russell, the gentleman whom I have mentioned in an earlier chapter, was long and ardently desirous that a bridge should be erected between these towns As he advanced in years, he became more and more solicitous to see the work accomplished. His son, the late Hon. Thomas Russell, and his son-in law, the late Hon. John Lowell, district judge of Massachusetts, together with several other gentlemen connected with them, were earnestly desirous to see the wishes of this venerable man realized. At that time it was universally believed that for a river so wide, and a current so strong a floating bridge was the only practicable structure of this nature. They, therefore, engaged a gentleman to obtain for them a correct account of the construction, expense, convenience, and security of the floating bridge then lying on the Schuylkill at Philadelphia. Several other persons at that time bound to Europe they requested, also, to furnish them with similar information concerning bridges in that quarter of the globe. While this business was in agitation, both the gentlemen being on a visit at Cambridge, during the session of the Supreme Judicial Court, they made the projected bridge a subject of conversation with the Hon. David Sewall, one of the judges. In the course of this conversation the designs mentioned above were particularly stated. On his return to York, the place of his residence, Judge Sewall communicated this information to his brother, Major Sewall, a gentleman distinguished for peculiar mechanical talents. After being informed that the difficulties presented by the stream furnished the only reason for erecting a floating bridge, Major Sewall observed that a fixed bridge might be so constructed as easily, and certainly to be secure from the dangers of the current. His brother requested him to state his views to the gentlemen concerned. Accordingly, he formed and communicated a scheme for the intended structure. After this scheme had been thoroughly examined, the original design was relinquished, and the present bridge begun. At the request of the undertakers Major Sewall came to Boston, and continued to superintend the work until he had completely possessed the builders of the principles on which it was to be accomplished.

The facts I had from Judge Lowell himself. I have recited

them merely to do justice to merit to which justice has not hitherto been publicly done. Major Sewall I never saw; but I think him deserving of a high tribute of respect from every American, as a source of those vast improvements which have been made throughout the United States in this interesting branch of architecture.

Charlestown bridge was finished in 1787. It is built on seventy-five wooden piers, and is forty-two feet in breadth and one thousand five hundred and three in length, the river being here two hundred and eighty feet wider than the Thames at Westminster Bridge, and six hundred and three feet wider than the same river at London Bridge. It is also deeper. Footways are formed on each side. The centre rises insensibly two feet higher than the ends. The bridge was built by two able and ingenious American artists, Messrs. Cox and Stone, and cost $50,000. About forty large bridges have been built in the United States in consequence of the erection of this structure.

West Boston bridge is a more expensive and a more interesting object. It is made up of four parts: —

	Feet.
The abutment on the Boston side in length	87½
Principal bridge	3,483
Second bridge	275
Causeys	3,344
Total	7,189½

This bridge is forty feet wide, and is executed in the same manner. The principal bridge stands on one hundred and eighty piers, the second on fourteen. The sides of the causeys are stoned, capstained, and railed, and accompanied by a canal thirty feet wide. The whole work was accomplished under the direction of Major Whiting, of Norwich (Connecticut), at the expense of $76,700, about £17,250 sterling. It was begun July 15, 1792, and was opened November 23, 1793. It is finished with more neatness than the Charlestown bridge.

A third bridge has been built over this river from West Boston to Lechmere's Point in Cambridge by Dr. Craigie, a wealthy inhabitant of Cambridge. This bridge is two thousand seven hundred and forty feet long and fifty-six broad. A branch bridge connects the centre of Craigie's Bridge with State Prison Point in Charlestown.

A fourth bridge crosses the inlet on the south-eastern side of

Boston, and unites it with South Boston, formerly Dorchester Neck. This also differs immaterially from those already described.*

Boston contains a considerable number of incorporated societies, commercial, literary, and charitable. The commercial societies are, first, two banks,— Massachusetts Bank, whose capital is $400,000, or £90,000 sterling; and Union Bank, whose capital is $800,000, or £180,000 sterling.†

There are also several insurance ‡ companies and a Chamber of Commerce in this town.

The literary societies are the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Medical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Library Society, Massachusetts Agricultural Society, Boston Athenæum,— an institution substantially resembling that of the same name in Liverpool, etc.§

The charitable societies in this town are: the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, instituted for the relief

* An Act passed the Legislature in 1815, authorizing the erection of a mill-dam across the basin which separates Boston from Roxbury and Brookline. The work was commenced in 1818 under the direction of Uriah Cotting, Esq., a gentleman to whose energy and enterprise the town had previously been indebted for the erection of Broad Street, New Market Street, and Central Wharf. Mr. Cotting died in 1819. The mill-dam is nearly completed. It is upwards of one and three-quarters of a mile in length, and fifty feet in breadth. The expense of this work will exceed half a million of dollars. No enterprise of a similar nature comparable to this has been commenced on this side of the Atlantic.— *Pub.*

† The banks in Boston in 1820 and the amount of their capitals were as follows: —

	Capital.
Massachusetts Bank	$1,600,000
Union Bank	800,000
Boston Bank	900,000
State Bank	1,500,000
New England Bank	1,000,000
Manufacturers and Mechanics Bank	750,000
Suffolk Bank	500,000
A branch of the Bank of United States	750,000

— *Pub.*

‡ The insurance companies in 1820 were: —

	Capital.
Massachusetts Fire and Marine	400,000
Massachusetts Mutual Fire	300,000
Boston Marine	300,000
Suffolk	300,000
New England Marine	300,000
Union	300,000
American	300,000
Merchants	300,000
Eagle	100,000

— *Pub.*

§ I have not been able to obtain any good account of the Boston Athenæum. From an advertisement published by the secretary of the institution, I have learned that it is under the direction of a Board of Trustees, and that the Library contains about eighteen thousand volumes, which are the property of the institution. Among these are many valuable works in various languages, and in different branches in literature and science. Many of them are very rare in this country, and some of the editions very splendid. A great part of both are

of destitute widows and children of deceased ministers; Boston Episcopal Charitable Society; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; the Massachusetts Missionary Society; Massachusetts Bible Society; Evangelical Missionary Society; Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; American Education Society; the Humane Society, instituted for the relief of distressed seamen; the Baptist Education Fund; the Boston Female Asylum; and the Boston Dispensary.

Beside these there is the Boston Mechanic Association.

From these institutions, which include in the number of their immediate agents a great proportion of the wealth, talents, and influence of this town, you will easily believe that commerce, learning, and charity engross here no inconsiderable share of attention.

This is the only large town within my knowledge in which schools have been formed into a system. That which is pursued here is excellent, and, if we consider the spirit and punctuality with which it is apparently executed, reflects high honor on the good sense and liberality of the inhabitants. The public schools are seven in number,— six of them English, the other a Latin grammar school. Into the English schools children of both sexes are admitted at seven years of age, and may continue until they are fourteen. Boys cannot be admitted into the grammar school until they have reached the age of ten.*

These schools are visited and regulated by a committee of twenty-one gentlemen, annually chosen, and invested with ample powers for the purposes of their commission. It is the duty of these gentlemen "to visit the schools once in three months; to examine the scholars in the various branches in

donations. The collection of French literary and philosophical journals, of political and periodical publications, and of works relating to the history of this country, is supposed not to be exceeded in the United States.

Two-thirds of the original funds of the institution have been invested in a building and in a permanent fund, the interest of which only is to be annually expended

A large and valuable collection of medals has been lately made, intended for the inspection of the public. A collection of minerals also has been begun.

The institution is prosperous, and is certainly very honorable to the town, and particularly to the gentlemen who have raised it to such a degree of respectability.

* Primary public schools have lately been established for the instruction of children between four and seven years of age.

The whole number of primary schools in operation January, 1821, was thirty-five. The number of children belonging to these schools was one thousand eight hundred and six,— girls eight hundred and eighty-five, boys nine hundred and twenty-one. A general regulation is that no school shall have less than forty nor more than fifty children attached to it. The instructors are all females, and are paid two hundred and forty dollars per annum in quarterly payments in full, for school-room, fuel, etc.

These *public* primary schools are considered as superior to the *private* ones, the children of the first class in the former having higher studies and greater lessons than those of the fourth class at the latter.— *Pub.*

which they are taught; to devise the best methods for the instruction and government of the schools; to give such advice to the masters as they shall judge expedient; and by all proper means to excite in the children a laudable ambition to excel in virtuous, amiable deportment, and in every branch of useful knowledge."

At the annual visitation in July, 1795, thirteen hundred children were instructed in these schools.

At the examination in August, 1803, the number of children was one thousand six hundred and nineteen,— nine hundred and seventy-four boys and six hundred and forty-five girls.

The attention here paid to this object may be conjectured from the character of the persons who were present. These, besides the committee, were the lieutenant governor, the councillors, and senators, belonging to the County of Suffolk, the Representatives, clergy, and justices, of Boston, and the Sheriff of the county, together with several other gentlemen of distinction.

The number of private schools is great.

Boston was divided in the year 1775 into twelve wards. Its police, like that of all other towns in New England, is in the hands of selectmen, of whom nine are annually chosen to superintend its internal affairs. Besides these a great number of other officers are employed in the different departments of this business.

The most enlightened inhabitants have long since perceived that a more energetic police than the present is necessary for the best government of so large a town. To obtain this benefit, efforts have heretofore been made; but they have hitherto been unsuccessful, the majority of the inhabitants being strongly attached to the present system. A Bostonian admits with no small reluctance, if he admits at all, that he needs any regulations which are not equally necessary for an inhabitant of Worcester or Northampton. These towns, he is well assured, are perfectly well regulated by town meetings and selectmen. "Why," he naturally asks, "may not Boston be equally well regulated by the same authority?" Where the spirit of liberty is on so high a key, new restraints will scarcely be welcomed by the mere conviction of their expediency. Necessity only, and that little less than absolute, will persuade most men to admit cheerfully the unpleasant change from a smaller to a greater number of restrictions.

Were the government of Boston to be placed in the hands of a mayor, aldermen, and common council, vested with the usual powers, they would still be unable to exert those powers so as to control the affairs of this town in a manner sufficiently efficacious. The fires of a century and a half have hardly forced the consent of the inhabitants to build with brick and stone or to cease from accumulating additional materials for a conflagration. The evils which they have hitherto suffered from a feeble police are far from being such as to awaken a general belief that a more energetic one is necessary. In these remarks I intend no censure on the Bostonians. They would probably adopt such a measure as readily as any other people in the like circumstances. But no body of people now existing in the United States would adopt it but from mere necessity. Should it be said that several towns in Connecticut have solicited such a mode of government, my answer is that these towns in their solicitation aimed at totally other objects, and that their police now is not a whit more efficient than it was before. The police of Pekin is in a sense perfect, because it is invested with absolute authority. The same perfection cannot be attained without the same power. The only substitute for this purpose in a free country is a more virtuous and thorough education of children than has hitherto been found among the human race.

The commerce of Boston is very extensive, and is carried on with every part of the globe. The coasting trade is inferior to that of New York. Still it is great. Its direct commerce also is less. Its circuitous commerce is probably greater.

The following statement will exhibit the amount of its imports for ten years, commencing with 1801, in an imperfect manner. It is an abstract of the duties on imports: —

Years.	*Duties.*
1801	$2,926,538
1802	2,181,888
1803	2,005,587
1804	3,471,382
1805	3,718,002
1806	4,010,010
1807	472,751
1808	1,495,833
1809	1,620,291
1810	2,773,675*

*In 1816 the shipping of Boston amounted to 143,420 tons. In 1816, 655 foreign vessels and 1,684 coasting vessels arrived in that port. In 1817 arrived 775 foreign vessels and 1,649 coasting vessels, and cleared 685 foreign vessels and 1,494 coasting vessels.— *Pub.*

There are upwards of eighty wharves and quays in the harbor of Boston. Of these the principal is Boston Pier or Long Wharf, the most considerable structure of this kind in the United States. Its length from the bottom of State Street is one thousand seven hundred and forty-three feet, and its breadth one hundred and four. At the end the water is seventeen feet deep, when lowest. Hancock's Wharf and India Wharf are also very important works of the same nature. On the latter of these is a splendid collection of stores, built and arranged with singular elegance, and far excelling everything of the kind on this side of the Atlantic.* This undertaking, and that by which Mount Vernon has been covered with noble houses, has, it is believed, been rarely excelled in the history of individual enterprise. Broad Street, which connects India Wharf with Boston Pier, is also very beautifully lined with stores. Stores are also built on the north side of Boston Pier throughout the whole length, some of them handsome. A view of these structures, whether single or successive, lends a magnificence to commerce which it can boast on no other spot of North America.

The quantity of shipping owned in this town is very great. The liveliest impression that was ever made on my mind of cheerful activity has been communicated by the vast multitude of boats and larger vessels moored in this harbor or moving over its waters in a thousand directions.

The manufactures of Boston are numerous and considerable. Among them are soap, candles, chocolate, loaf sugar, beer, rum, cordage, duck, cards, pot and pearl ashes, paper hangings, plate glass, various manufactures in brass, cannon, bells, etc., etc. There are here thirty distilleries, eight sugar houses, and two breweries. Before the fire of July 30, 1794, there were fourteen ropewalks. Seven of them were then consumed, several of which have since been rebuilt.

The chocolate made in this town by Cunningham fifty years ago was superior to any which has ever been made in the United States.

The best window glass made here excels any which is imported.

*Since this account was written there "have been erected in 1817, on both sides of Market Street, a block of stores, four hundred and eighty-five feet in length on one side and four hundred and forty-two on the other, and four stories high; and on Central Wharf another immense pile of building was completed the same year, one thousand two hundred and forty feet in length, containing fifty-four stores, four stories high, and having a spacious hall in the centre, over which is erected an elegant observatory." Worcester's Gazetteer.—*Pub.*

The wealth of Boston is great. Individuals have risen to high opulence in greater numbers, compared with the mass of population, than in any other large town of the United States.

The Bostonians, almost without an exception, are derived from one country and a single stock. They are all descendants of Englishmen, and, of course, are united by all the great bonds of society,— language, religion, government, manners, and interests. You will easily believe, therefore, that they exhibit as much unity of character as can accord with the nature of free and civilized society. With a very small number of exceptions, they speak the English language in the English manner, are Protestants, hold the great principles of English liberty, are governed voluntarily by the English common law, and by statutes strongly resembling those of Great Britain, under a Constitution essentially copied from the British, and by courts in almost every respect the same. Their education, also, differs very little in the school, the shop, the counting-house, or the university. Although they are Republicans, and generally Congregationalists, they are natively friends of good order and firm government, and feel the reputation of Old Massachusetts in much the same manner as an Englishman feels the honor of Old England.

You will remember that every New Englander, with hardly an exception, is taught to read, write, and keep accounts. By means of this privilege, knowledge is probably more universally diffused here than in any other considerable town in the world. A great number of the inhabitants, also, have been liberally educated. In examining a Catalogue of the members of the University in Cambridge a short time since, I observed that about one-fourth of the whole number were natives of Boston. Persons of this character, from the state of society, mix more freely and converse more generally than in other countries with those of every class. Hence, also, information is more universally diffused.

Boston contains about thirty-four thousand inhabitants,* a population sufficiently great to insure all the benefits of refined society, and yet so small as to leave the character of every man open to the observation of every other.† Here a man is not, as in London, lost in an immense crowd of people, and thus hidden from the inspection of his fellow-men, but is known and

*1810.

†In 1820 Boston, including Chelsea, and the islands in the harbor, contained forty-three thousand eight hundred and ninety-three inhabitants.— *Pub.*

is conscious that he is known. His virtues and his vices, his wisdom and his folly, excite here much the same attention and are examined in much the same manner as in a country village. A strong sense of the public approbation or disapprobation, therefore, cannot fail to reach every man who is not stupid. All offices and honors are at the same time conferred here by the general suffrage; and success at elections depends, at least in a great measure, on the candidate's supposed character. Of course, every man will feel the influence of these considerations,— every man, I mean, who feels even a remote wish to obtain a public office.

Popular elections are in a great measure the result of popular prejudices and passions. To excite these in his own favor is a principal object of every ambitious man. A town of this size will furnish no small advantages to a demagogue in the pursuit of this object. It is easier to excite to madness the common people of a large town than the more cautious and sober inhabitants of a village. In every such town, demagogues will be found, and the success which will attend their ingenious efforts will compel better men to resemble them at least in civility.

Boston is distinguished for its habits of business. A man who is not believed to follow some useful business can scarcely acquire or retain even a decent reputation. A traveller passing through it is struck with the peculiar appearance of activity everywhere visible. Almost all whom he meets move with a sprightliness differing very sensibly from what he observes in New York and Philadelphia.

Not less distinguished are the inhabitants, particularly the middle and inferior classes, for their intelligence and information. In a singular degree are they acquainted with the affairs of the town itself and with the residence and character of almost every inhabitant. I have rarely met a child who could not tell me both the street and the house for which I inquired.

Nor are they less distinguished for civility. A Bostonian, if not pressed by business of his own, will readily accompany a stranger to the house which he wishes to find, and will scarcely appear to feel as if he had conferred the least obligation. In the superior classes this disposition appears often with peculiar advantage.

Better tables are nowhere spread than in Boston; and nowhere does a guest find himself more at ease, more secure from

solicitations, or entertained with more graceful or cordial hospitality. The best bred women here are charming examples of grace and amenity.

The people of Boston are characteristically distinguished by a lively imagination, an ardor easily kindled, a sensibility soon felt and strongly expressed, a character more resembling that of the Greeks than that of the Romans. They admire where graver people would only approve, detest where cooler minds would only dislike, applaud a performance where others would listen in silence, and hiss where a less susceptible audience would only frown. This character renders them sometimes more, sometimes less, amiable; usually less cautious, and often more exposed to future regret. From this source their language is frequently hyperbolical, and their pictures of objects in any way interesting highly colored.

Hence, also, their enterprises are sudden, bold, and sometimes rash. A general spirit of adventure prevails here, which in numerous instances has become the means of attempts made with honor and success in cases where many of their commercial neighbors would have refused to adventure at all. The manner in which they commenced the trade of Nootka Sound, and circumnavigated the globe, advantageously illustrates this observation. A ship belonging to Joseph Barrell, Esq., and others sailed round the earth three times, and a sloop of moderate size once. Few merchants in America would, I believe, have resolved on these enterprises, and few seamen executed them. On the other hand, the dealers in Georgia lands found many more customers in Boston than in New York. The tea shipped to Boston by the East India Company was destroyed. In New York and Philadelphia it was stored.

From the same source, also, both persons and things are suddenly, strongly, and universally applauded or censured. Individuals of distinction command a popularity which engrosses the public mind and rises to enthusiasm. Their observations and their efforts are repeated with wonder and delight, and such as do not join in the chorus of applause hazard the suspicion of being weak, envious, or malevolent. When the sympathetic ardor is terminated, the persons who have received this tribute of admiration are without any change of character regarded, perhaps, through life as objects deserving of no peculiar esteem or attachment. This characteristic is, indeed, found in every large city. Every such city has at every period

its great men, made great by the fashion and for the moment,—men who yet descend soon and finally to the common level, and who, nevertheless, during that moment see others really great and eminently good forgotten amid the adulation given to themselves.

From this ardor springs in the inhabitants of this town, especially in the middle and lower classes, a pronunciation unusually rapid. As they are all of English origin, they are perfectly free from the multiform brogue which salutes the ears of a traveller in the cities of New York and Philadelphia. Their language is probably superior in its purity to that of the same classes in the city of London, as their education is much better; but the rapidity of their pronunciation contracts, frequently, two short syllables into one, and thus renders the language, in itself too rough, still rougher by a violent junction of consonants which in the spelling were separated. Dissyllables accented on the first and terminating the last with a liquid, particularly with *l*, *n*, or *m*, they pronounce in such a manner as to leave out the sound of the vowel. Thus Sweden, Britain, garden, vessel, are extensively pronounced *Swed'n*, *Brit'n*, *gard'n*, *vess'l*. By this contraction, also, the harshness of the language is increased. The syllable *ing*, when unaccented, many of them pronounce *en*, as exceeden for exceeding, aspiren for aspiring, etc. This pronunciation I have remarked in most Englishmen whom I have seen; and it may be the prevailing one in England. It is, however, an unnecessary, useless departure from the sound indicated by the letters, and the loss of one variety of pleasing sounds in our language, denoted by the semi-vowel, which we write *ng*. Like the inhabitants of most other large cities, they often omit the aspirate in words beginning with *wh*, pronouncing, for example, wheat and wharf *weat* and *warf*, etc. Several of the most fashionable people have lately and I think unhappily adopted the harsh anti-English pronunciation of the vowel *u*, foisted upon the language by Sheridan, and derived from the brogue of his native country.

The *Boston Style* is a phrase proverbially used throughout a considerable part of this country to denote a florid, pompous manner of writing, and has been thought by persons at a distance to be the predominant style of this region. It cannot be denied that several publications written in this manner have issued from the press here, and for a time been much cele-

brated. Most of the orations delivered on the 5th of March may be produced as examples. Still, it has never been true that this mode of writing was either general in this town or adopted by men of superior talents. The most respectable writers here have been distinguished for the chasteness and simplicity of their compositions. The papers published by the Legislature of this State on the embargo, and the measures connected with it, are inferior, in no kind of merit, to those of any public body in the world.

The people of this town are distinguished by their attachment to literature. Their pecuniary contributions to this object have exceeded those of any city in the American Union. Indeed, the liberality exhibited in most of the towns on this coast is unrivalled on this side the Atlantic. Accordingly, there are here many more men in proportion to the whole number liberally educated than in New York, and far more than in any other town in America. There is also a much more extensive diffusion of intelligence and information among all classes of people.

When the first proposal was made to establish a theatre in this town, a considerable number of the inhabitants eagerly engaged in forwarding the design. Accordingly, a theatre was built, and soon after that another. There is reason to believe that the stage is now regarded with very general indifference. One of the theatres has been already taken down, and the other, it is said, is far from being crowded.

An honorable specimen of the Bostonian character was lately exhibited. Two young gentlemen (natives) fought a duel. One of them was killed, the other fled. The inhabitants with one voice manifested an unequivocal wish to have the law executed upon the survivor. Even his own friends are said to have made no efforts in his favor. It is doubted whether the same opposition to this crime, and the same respect for the decisions of law, would be found in a similar case in any other town of equal distinction. It ought to be remarked that the survivor was intensely provoked, and had made numerous, unusual, and very patient exertions to prevent the unhappy catastrophe.

During one hundred and forty years, Boston was probably more distinguished for religion than any city of the same size in the world. An important change has, however, within a period of no great length, taken place in the religious opinions

of the Bostonians. Before this period, moderate Calvinism very generally prevailed. At the present time, Unitarianism appears to be the predominating system. It is believed that neither ministers nor people have had any reason to congratulate themselves on this change.

Boston enjoys a superiority to all the other great towns on this continent in an agreeable neighborhood. A numerous collection of pleasant towns and villages almost surround it, the residence not only of flourishing farmers and mechanics, but also of men respectable for their polish, learning, and worth. The surface of the country is everywhere finely varied, the soil generally fertile, the agriculture neat and productive, the gardening superior to what is found in most other places, the orchards, groves, and forests numerous and thrifty. The roads running in every direction on the western side of the meridian are most of them good, and some of them excellent. Several of them are lined, throughout their whole extent, with almost a continued village, formed of houses, neat, well built, and strongly indicative of prosperity. Villas pleasantly situated, commanding handsome views, exhibiting more lightness and elegance of architecture, and ornamented with more suitable appendages than I have elsewhere seen, adorn, at little distances, a considerable part of this region. A singular collection of pleasant rides is opened in this manner to the inhabitants, and of interesting objects, to which these rides conduct them. From the gratification furnished by this source a considerable abatement is made by several slaughter-houses standing on or near some of the roads, one of them near that which passes over the Neck. A traveller cannot easily conceive how a people within and without whose doors so much taste and elegance appear can be satisfied to pass daily by objects so deformed and offensive.

Of the same nature is the ride from Boston to Portland. No part of the United States furnishes a tour equally pleasing. Nowhere is there, within the same compass, such a number of towns equally interesting, large, wealthy, and beautiful, or equally inhabited by intelligent, polished, and respectable people.

To these advantages ought to be added another, of no small distinction; namely, the neighborhood of the University in Cambridge. The importance of this advantage is too obvious to need illustration.

The prospect of this town and its environs is taken completely from the lantern of the State House. Commencing your survey at Allerton Point in Nantasket, or Hull, nine miles eastward, and tracing onward to the south-east an irregular undulating country and a bewildered shore, you are presented with the peninsula called Dorchester Neck, rising with two beautiful heights. Continuing the progress further on, the towns of Dorchester, Milton, and Roxbury fill up the view to the south-western point. Thence the eye passes over Brookline, Brighton, Cambridge, and Menotomy to the west, Medford and Charlestown on the north, and thence over Malden, Chelsea, and Lynn on the north-east, to Nahant Point, the northern boundary of the harbor. Beyond the circuit which I have described, an extensive region is seen from this spot, gradually receding from the view, and blending by degrees into confusion.

The land side of this prospect is ornamented with beauties numerous, rich, and diversified. The hills from Malden through Charlestown to Dorchester Heights are formed by slopes and summits of the highest elegance. The towns are numerous and uncommonly cheerful. Villas in a multitude of fine situations and churches with their white spires enliven the rich verdure universally spread, and awaken in the mind a lively sense of prosperity.

The appearance of a large, populous, wealthy city is everywhere much the same,—a scene of crowds and confusion, but a scene ever engaging and animating. No city was ever seen from any point with more advantage than Boston from this. All its buildings, public and private, are in complete view, and are contrasted by the Common, a spacious field of the sprightliest verdure, pastured by a great multitude of cows, and lying directly beneath the eye.

The waterside of the prospect is not inferior to that of the land. The three basins of Dorchester, Charles River, and Mystic are uncommonly beautiful, and are crossed by seven extensive bridges. The harbor is a magnificent piece of water, containing a number of fine islands, and ornamented by the numerous points successively stretching out from its serpentine shores. On its surface a vast collection of shipping, and smaller vessels, is continually seen, either lying at anchor or moving through its waters in every direction. In a clear autumnal day a sense of sprightliness, activity, and gayety is excited here in the highest degree, and is increased by the prospect

of ships advancing toward the town through the entrance of the harbor, where it opens interminably into the ocean.

The commerce of Boston is principally supported by the State of Massachusetts. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore engross to a great extent the supplies of the American Union. Even those of this State are shared by Salem, Newburyport, and Portland, and of the western parts by New York.

Boston has always contained a large number of inhabitants distinguished by their respectability of character. It will not be expected that but very few should be particularly mentioned, unless in a biographical dictionary.

Governor Winthrop may be justly considered as the father of this colony, and has merited the respectful and perpetual remembrance of its inhabitants. This gentleman devoted his property, his talents, and his life to its interests. He was able, upright, and pious. Too zealous at times against opinions which he thought erroneous and against practices of no great importance, he was, still, a man of superior worth, benevolence, and liberality.

Governor Shirley came from England to Boston in 1733, where he practised law until 1741. From this time he continued to hold the chief seat of magistracy until the year 1757. He was afterward governor of one of the Bahama Islands, whence he returned to Massachusetts, and died at Roxbury in 1771. He was one of the best and ablest governors of the colony, and will be long remembered as the author of the expedition to Cape Breton and the abolition of the paper currency in Massachusetts Bay.

Governor Bowdoin was in early life distinguished for his talents and his virtues. He was a sound scholar at the University, where he took his first degree in 1745. His attachment to learning and science continued through life, and he not only excelled in them himself, but was a generous benefactor to others of the same character. The University of Edinburgh gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and the Royal Societies of London and Dublin elected him one of their members. When the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was, in a great measure by his influence, established at Boston in 1780, he was chosen its first president, and continued in the office until he died. In 1753, at the age of twenty-six, he was chosen one of the Representatives of Boston; and in 1756 he became a member of the legislative council. At this board,

either as a member or president, he continued twenty-three years. He was also president of the convention which formed the Constitution of Massachusetts, and contributed not a little to the wisdom discernible in many of its provisions.

In the year 1785 he was elected Governor of the State. In this office his wisdom, firmness, and moderation reflected the highest honor upon his character, and crushed in its infancy and without a single execution an insurrection against the government, stimulated by an unwise taxation and secretly cherished by every discontented and mischievous citizen. This measure preserved the State, perhaps the Union, and merited for the author of it a statue.

Still more honorable to this highly respectable man was his Christianity. More than thirty years of his life he was a professor of religion, and exemplarily adorned his profession. Bishop Butler's Analogy originally established in his mind the truth of divine revelation. On the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles he erected a fair edifice of personal religion, which he beautified to the end of his days. In all the duties enjoined by the gospel, both of piety and charity, he abounded throughout his life, and at his death left the world urging upon his family the religion which he had professed, and rejoicing in the hope of spending his future existence with them in a happier world. His name will descend to posterity as the odor of sweet incense.

The Hon. John Lowell, late judge of the District Court for Massachusetts, deserves a distinguished place in the biography of this country for his learning, good sense, elegance of mind, and religious worth.

The Hon. Thomas Russell, son of the gentleman whom I have mentioned in the account of Charlestown, was one of the most respectable and successful merchants whom America has produced, and for his private and domestic virtues and honorable public life was held in high estimation, not only in this town, but throughout the country.

A numerous train of eminent clergymen have been ministers of Boston, at the head of whom are the venerable names of Cotton and Wilson, the former distinguished for his learning, genius, and eloquence, the latter for his mildness, gentleness, benevolence and piety. Few men have been more respected on this side of the Atlantic than Mr. Cotton, none, perhaps, more beloved than Mr. Wilson. To commence an account of the character of these respectable men would involve an obligation to proceed, and to proceed would be to write a volume.

In the year 1790 Boston contained two thousand three hundred and seventy-six dwelling-houses, and eighteen thousand and thirty-eight inhabitants; in 1800, two thousand eight hundred and seventy houses and twenty-four thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven inhabitants; and, in 1810, thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty.*

In the year 1795 I was chosen President of Yale College. The business of this office is chiefly of a sedentary nature, and requires exertions of mind almost without interruption. In 1774, when a tutor in the same seminary, I was very near losing my life by inaction and too intense application to study. A long course of unremitted exercise restored my health. These facts, together with subsequent experience, had taught me that it could not be preserved by any other means. I determined, therefore, to devote the vacations, particularly that in the autumn, which includes six weeks, to a regular course of travelling. In September, 1796, the execution of my design was commenced; and the first journey mentioned in these letters was accomplished. Before its commencement it occurred to me that a description of such interesting things as I might meet with in my excursions would probably furnish amusement to my family. I therefore put a note-book into my pocket, with an intention to set down in it whatever should suit my inclination. The following September, when my journey lay along the Connecticut River and thence through the Notch of the White Mountains to Portland, I enlarged my scheme, and determined to keep a regular journal. Some incidental circumstances at the same time excited in my mind a wish to know the manner in which New England appeared, or to my own eye would have appeared, eighty or a hundred years before. The wish was found to be fruitless; and it was soon perceived that information concerning this subject was chiefly unattainable. A country changing as rapidly as New England must, if truly exhibited, be described in a manner resembling that in which a painter would depict a cloud. The form and colors of the moment must be seized or the picture will be erroneous. As it was naturally presumed by me that some of those who will live eighty or a hundred years hence must have feelings similar to my own, I resolved to furnish, so far as should be in my power, means of enabling them to know what was the appearance of their country during the period occupied by my journeys.

To the inducements presented by these considerations some addition was made by the misrepresentations which foreigners, either through error or design, had published of my native country. As none of its inhabitants appeared to me inclined to do justice to its

* By the Census of 1820, Boston contained forty-three thousand two hundred and ninety-eight inhabitants.— *Pub.*

character, I began to entertain loose and distant thoughts of attempting it myself; and, after the purpose was once formed, every new misrepresentation made me more solicitous to carry it into execution. Still there was no fixed intention formed of publishing, during my lifetime, the book which I projected. With these views and some others which it is unnecessary to mention, both my excursions and my journals were continued.— *From the Preface to President Dwight's "Travels in New England."*

President Dwight's "Travels in New England and New York" is a unique and invaluable picture of this portion of the country at the close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The passage from the preface given above states his motive in preparing it. "His plan," says Moses Coit Tyler, "broadened out into that of a systematic journal for the possible benefit of the whole family of man, and elastic enough to admit into itself everything, directly or indirectly suggested by his journeys, which could give instruction or diversion to any mind,—incidents of travel, natural scenery, statistics of population and of social progress, talks by the way, local histories, legends, superstitions, sketches of towns, buildings, domestic life, notable persons, comments on the past, present, or future of our country, on forms of government, politics, religion, irreligion, climate, soil, trees, rocks, mountains, rivers, beasts, birds, storms, earthquakes, the public health, longevity, schools, colleges, ministers, lawyers, doctors, butchers, bakers, and candle-stick makers, together with race-problems, the aboriginal savages and their descendants, the inaccuracies and scurrilities of foreign travellers in America, international discourtesy, and so forth, and so forth. Thus, under the frail disguise of a mere book of travels, the thing grew to be a vast literary miscellany; not a book, but a bibliotheca." The result of his labors fairly entitles him to the name of the New England Camden. The "Travels" is cast in the form of a series of letters to an imaginary Englishman. The work (in four volumes) was not published until 1821, after Dwight's death; and the publishers added notes indicating the changes since his own last revisions. Such notes are those, as in the present leaflet, signed *Pub.* The visit to Boston, which furnished the basis of the account here reprinted, was in 1796: "Tuesday, October 15th, we rode over to Boston, where we spent the day very pleasantly in visiting everything which interested our curiosity." But the notes made in 1796 were revised as late certainly as 1810; so that the picture given is the Boston of Emerson's birth and boyhood.

Timothy Dwight was born in Northampton, Mass., in 1752, and died in New Haven, Conn., 1817. Henry Adams, whose general survey of the life and conditions of the United States, in the first volume of his History of the United States during the Administration of Jefferson, is the best which has ever been written, says of Dwight, upon whose "Travels" he draws largely: "One quality gave respectability to his writing apart from genius. He loved and believed in his country. Perhaps the uttermost depths of his nature were stirred only by affection for the Connecticut Valley; but after all where was human nature more respectable than in that peaceful region? What had the United States then to show in scenery and landscape more beautiful or more winning than that country of meadow and mountain?"

Dwight's father, Major Timothy Dwight, was a lawyer by education, and became a prosperous merchant of Northampton: his mother was a daughter of Jonathan Edwards. He studied at Yale, like his father, and became a tutor there in 1771, beginning there his ambitious epic, "The Conquest of Canaan." He became a chaplain in the Continental army, afterwards taught school, was a member of the Massachusetts legislature, and refused a nomination for Congress. In 1783 he took a parish at Greenfield Hill, Conn., and established an academy there which achieved national fame. He became the pioneer of higher education for women. In 1795 he succeeded Dr. Stiles as president of Yale College, in which office his influence until his death was very great. His published works fill thirteen large volumes, and his unpublished manuscripts would fill almost as many more. See memoir by his son, and the life by Sprague in Sparks's "American Biography," also the chapter by Rev. D. D. Addison in his "Clergy in American Life," and that entitled "A Great College President and What He Wrote," by Moses Coit Tyler, in his "Three Men of Letters."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 137.

The First Number of The Dial.

The Opening Pages.

THE DIAL.

VOL. I. JULY, 1840. No. I.

THE EDITORS TO THE READER.

WE invite the attention of our countrymen to a new design. Probably not quite unexpected or unannounced will our Journal appear, though small pains have been taken to secure its welcome. Those, who have immediately acted in editing the present Number, cannot accuse themselves of any unbecoming forwardness in their undertaking, but rather of a backwardness, when they remember how often in many private circles the work was projected, how eagerly desired, and only postponed because no individual volunteered to combine and concentrate the free-will offerings of many co-operators. With some reluctance the present conductors of this work have yielded themselves to the wishes of their friends, finding something sacred and not to be withstood in the importunity which urged the production of a Journal in a new spirit.

As they have not proposed themselves to the work, neither can they lay any the least claim to an option or determination of the spirit in which it is conceived, or to what is peculiar in the design. In that respect, they have obeyed, though with great joy, the strong current of thought and feeling, which, for

a few years past, has led many sincere persons in New England to make new demands on literature, and to reprobate that rigor of our conventions of religion and education which is turning us to stone, which renounces hope, which looks only backward, which asks only such a future as the past, which suspects improvement, and holds nothing so much in horror as new views and the dreams of youth.

With these terrors the conductors of the present Journal have nothing to do,— not even so much as a word of reproach to waste. They know that there is a portion of the youth and of the adult population of this country, who have not shared them; who have in secret or in public paid their vows to truth and freedom; who love reality too well to care for names, and who live by a Faith too earnest and profound to suffer them to doubt the eternity of its object, or to shake themselves free from its authority. Under the fictions and customs which occupied others, these have explored the Necessary, the Plain, the True, the Human,— and so gained a vantage ground, which commands the history of the past and the present.

No one can converse much with different classes of society in New England, without remarking the progress of a revolution. Those who share in it have no external organization, no badge, no creed, no name. They do not vote, or print, or even meet together. They do not know each other's faces or names. They are united only in a common love of truth, and love of its work. They are of all conditions and constitutions. Of these acolytes, if some are happily born and well bred, many are no doubt ill dressed, ill placed, ill made,— with as many scars of hereditary vice as other men. Without pomp, without trumpet, in lonely and obscure places, in solitude, in servitude, in compunctions and privations, trudging beside the team in the dusty road, or drudging a hireling in other men's cornfields, schoolmasters, who teach a few children rudiments for a pittance, ministers of small parishes of the obscurer sects, lone women in dependent condition, matrons and young maidens, rich and poor, beautiful and hard-favored, without concert or proclamation of any kind, they have silently given in their several adherence to a new hope, and in all companies do signify a greater trust in the nature and resources of man, than the laws or the popular opinions will well allow.

This spirit of the time is felt by every individual with some difference,— to each one casting its light upon the objects near-

est to his temper and habits of thought; — to one, coming in the shape of special reforms in the state; to another, in modifications of the various callings of men, and the customs of business; to a third, opening a new scope for literature and art; to a fourth, in philosophical insight; to a fifth, in the vast solitudes of prayer. It is in every form a protest against usage, and a search for principles. In all its movements it is peaceable, and in the very lowest marked with a triumphant success. Of course, it rouses the opposition of all which it judges and condemns, but it is too confident in its tone to comprehend an objection, and so builds no outworks for possible defence against contingent enemies. It has the step of Fate, and goes on existing like an oak or a river, because it must.

In literature, this influence appears not yet in new book so much as in the higher tone of criticism. The antidote to all narrowness is the comparison of the record with nature, which at once shames the record and stimulates to new attempts. Whilst we look at this, we wonder how any book has been thought worthy to be preserved. There is somewhat in all life untranslatable into language. He who keeps his eye on that will write better than others, and think less of his writing, and of all writing. Every thought has a certain imprisoning as well as uplifting quality, and, in proportion to its energy on the will, refuses to become an object of intellectual contemplation. Thus what is great usually slips through our fingers, and it seems wonderful how a lifelike word ever comes to be written. If our Journal share the impulses of the time, it cannot now prescribe its own course. It cannot foretell in orderly propositions what it shall attempt. All criticism should be poetic; unpredictable; superseding, as every new thought does, all foregone thoughts, and making a new light on the whole world. Its brow is not wrinkled with circumspection, but serene, cheerful, adoring. It has all things to say, and no less than all the world for its final audience.

Our plan embraces much more than criticism; were it not so, our criticism would be naught. Everything noble is directed on life, and this is. We do not wish to say pretty or curious things, or to reiterate a few propositions in varied forms, but, if we can, to give expression to that spirit which lifts men to a higher platform, restores to them the religious sentiment, brings them worthy aims and pure pleasures, purges the inward eye, makes life less desultory, and, through raising

man to the level of nature, takes away its melancholy from the landscape, and reconciles the practical with the speculative powers.

But perhaps we are telling our little story too gravely. There are always great arguments at hand for a true action, even for the writing of a few pages. There is nothing but seems near it and prompts it,— the sphere in the ecliptic, the sap in the apple-tree,— every fact, every appearance seems to persuade to it.

Our means correspond with the ends we have indicated. As we wish not to multiply books, but to report life, our resources are therefore not so much the pens of practised writers, as the discourse of the living, and the portfolios which friendship has opened to us. From the beautiful recesses of private thought; from the experience and hope of spirits which are withdrawing from all old forms, and seeking in all that is new somewhat to meet their inappeasable longings; from the secret confession of genius afraid to trust itself to aught but sympathy; from the conversation of fervid and mystical pietists; from tear-stained diaries of sorrow and passion; from the manuscripts of young poets; and from the records of youthful taste commenting on old works of art; we hope to draw thoughts and feelings, which being alive can impart life.

And so with diligent hands and good intent we set down our Dial on the earth. We wish it may resemble that instrument in its celebrated happiness, that of measuring no hours but those of sunshine. Let it be one cheerful rational voice amidst the din of mourners and polemics. Or to abide by our chosen image, let it be such a Dial, not as the dead face of a clock, hardly even such as the Gnomon in a garden, but rather such a Dial as is the Garden itself, in whose leaves and flowers and fruits the suddenly awakened sleeper is instantly apprised not what part of dead time, but what state of life and growth is now arrived and arriving.

A SHORT ESSAY ON CRITICS.

An essay on Criticism were a serious matter; for, though this age be emphatically critical, the writer would still find it necessary to investigate the laws of criticism as a science, to settle its conditions as an art. Essays entitled critical are

epistles addressed to the public through which the mind of the recluse relieves itself of its impressions. Of these the only law is, "Speak the best word that is in thee." Or they are regular articles, got up to order by the literary hack writer, for the literary mart, and the only law is to make them plausible. There is not yet deliberate recognition of a standard of criticism, though we hope the always strengthening league of the republic of letters must ere long settle laws on which its Amphictyonic council may act. Meanwhile, let us not venture to write on criticism, but by classifying the critics imply our hopes, and thereby our thoughts.

First, there are the subjective class (to make use of a convenient term, introduced by our German benefactors). These are persons to whom writing is no sacred, no reverend employment. They are not driven to consider, not forced upon investigation by the fact, that they are deliberately giving their thoughts an independent existence, and that it may live to others when dead to them. They know no agonies of conscientious research, no timidities of self-respect. They see no Ideal beyond the present hour, which makes its mood an uncertain tenure. How things affect them now they know; let the future, let the whole take care of itself. They state their impressions as they rise, of other men's spoken, written, or acted thoughts. They never dream of going out of themselves to seek the motive, to trace the law of another nature. They never dream that there are statures which cannot be measured from their point of view. They love, they like, or they hate; the book is detestable, immoral, absurd, or admirable, noble, of a most approved scope; — these statements they make with authority, as those who bear the evangel of pure taste and accurate judgment, and need be tried before no human synod. To them it seems that their present position commands the universe.

Thus the essays on the works of others, which are called criticisms, are often, in fact, mere records of impressions. To judge of their value you must know where the man was brought up, under what influences,— his nation, his church, his family even. He himself has never attempted to estimate the value of these circumstances, and find a law or raise a standard above all circumstances, permanent against all influence. He is content to be the creature of his place, and to represent it by his spoken and written word. He takes the same ground

with the savage, who does not hesitate to say of the product of a civilization on which he could not stand, "It is bad," or "It is good."

The value of such comments is merely reflex. They characterize the critic. They give an idea of certain influences on a certain act of men in a certain time or place. Their absolute, essential value is nothing. The long review, the eloquent article by the man of the nineteenth century are of no value by themselves considered, but only as samples of their kind. The writers were content to tell what they felt, to praise or to denounce without needing to convince us or themselves. They sought not the divine truths of philosophy, and she proffers them not if unsought.

Then there are the apprehensive. These can go out of themselves and enter fully into a foreign existence. They breathe its life; they live in its law; they tell what it meant, and why it so expressed its meaning. They reproduce the work of which they speak, and make it better known to us in so far as two statements are better than one. There are beautiful specimens in this kind. They are pleasing to us as bearing witness of the genial sympathies of nature. They have the ready grace of love with somewhat of the dignity of disinterested friendship. They sometimes give more pleasure than the original production of which they treat, as melodies will sometimes ring sweetlier in the echo. Besides there is a peculiar pleasure in a true response; it is the assurance of equipoise in the universe. These, if not true critics, come nearer the standard than the subjective class, and the value of their work is ideal as well as historical.

Then there are the comprehensive, who must also be apprehensive. They enter into the nature of another being and judge his work by its own law. But having done so, having ascertained his design and the degree of his success in fulfilling it, thus measuring his judgment, his energy, and skill, they do also know how to put that aim in its place, and how to estimate its relations. And this the critic can only do who perceives the analogies of the universe, and how they are regulated by an absolute, invariable principle. He can see how far that work expresses this principle as well as how far it is excellent in its details. Sustained by a principle, such as can be girt within no rule, no formula, he can walk around the work, he can stand above it, he can uplift it, and try its weight. Finally, he is worthy to judge it.

Critics are poets cut down, says some one by way of jeer; but, in truth, they are men with the poetical temperament to apprehend, with the philosophical tendency to investigate. The maker is divine; the critic sees this divine, but brings it down to humanity by the analytic process. The critic is the historian who records the order of creation. In vain for the maker, who knows without learning it, but not in vain for the mind of his race.

The critic is beneath the maker, but is his needed friend. What tongue could speak but to an intelligent ear, and every noble work demands its critic. The richer the work, the more severe would be its critic; the larger its scope, the more comprehensive must be his power of scrutiny. The critic is not a base caviller, but the younger brother of genius. Next to invention is the power of interpreting invention; next to beauty the power of appreciating beauty.

And of making others appreciate it; for the universe is a scale of infinite gradation, and below the very highest, every step is explanation down to the lowest. Religion, in the two modulations of poetry and music, descends through an infinity of waves to the lowest abysses of human nature. Nature is the literature and art of the divine mind; human literature and art the criticism on that; and they, too, find their criticism within their own sphere.

The critic, then, should be not merely a poet, not merely a philosopher, not merely an observer, but tempered of all three. If he criticize the poem, he must want nothing of what constitutes the poet, except the power of creating forms and speaking of music. He must have as good an eye and as fine a sense; but if he had as fine an organ for expression also, he would make the poem instead of judging it. He must be inspired by the philosopher's spirit of inquiry and need of generalization, but he must not be constrained by the hard cemented masonry of method to which philosophers are prone. And he must have the organic acuteness of the observer, with a love of ideal perfection, which forbids him to be content with mere beauty of details in the work or the comment upon the work.

There are persons who maintain that there is no legitimate criticism, except the reproductive; that we have only to say what the work is or is to us, never what it is not. But the moment we look for a principle, we feel the need of a criterion, of a standard; and then we say what the work is *not*, as well

as what it *is;* and this is as healthy though not as grateful and gracious an operation of the mind as the other. We do not seek to degrade but to classify an object by stating what it is not. We detach the part from the whole, lest it stand between us and the whole. When we have ascertained in what degree it manifests the whole, we may safely restore it to its place, and love or admire it there ever after.

The use of criticism in periodical writing is to sift, not to stamp a work. Yet should they not be "sieves and drainers for the use of luxurious readers," but for the use of earnest inquirers, giving voice and being to their objections, as well as stimulus to their sympathies. But the critic must not be an infallible adviser to his reader. He must not tell him what books are not worth reading, or what must be thought of them when read, but what he read in them. Wo to that coterie where some critic sits despotic, intrenched behind the infallible "We." Wo to that oracle who has infused such soft sleepiness, such a gentle dulness into his atmosphere, that when he opes his lips no dog will bark. It is this attempt at dictatorship in the reviewers, and the indolent acquiescence of their readers, that has brought them into disrepute. With such fairness did they make out their statements, with such dignity did they utter their verdicts, that the poor reader grew all too submissive. He learned his lesson with such docility, that the greater part of what will be said at any public or private meeting can be foretold by any one who has read the leading periodical works for twenty years back. Scholars sneer at and would fain dispense with them altogether; and the public, grown lazy and helpless by this constant use of props and stays, can now scarce brace itself even to get through a magazine article, but reads in the daily paper laid beside the breakfast plate a short notice of the last number of the long established and popular review, and thereupon passes its judgment, and is content.

Then the partisan spirit of many of these journals has made it unsafe to rely upon them as guide-books and expurgatory indexes. They could not be content merely to stimulate and suggest thought; they have at last become powerless to supersede it.

From these causes and causes like these, the journals have lost much of their influence. There is a languid feeling about them, an inclination to suspect the justice of their verdicts, the value of their criticisms. But their golden age cannot be quite

past. They afford too convenient a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge; they are too natural a feature of our time to have done all their work yet. Surely they may be redeemed from their abuses, they may be turned to their true uses. But how?

It were easy to say what they should *not* do. They should not have an object to carry or a cause to advocate, which obliges them either to reject all writings which wear the distinctive traits of individual life, or to file away what does not suit them, till the essay, made true to their design, is made false to the mind of the writer. An external consistency is thus produced, at the expense of all salient thought, all genuine emotion of life, in short, and living influences. Their purpose may be of value, but by such means was no valuable purpose ever furthered long. There are those, who have with the best intention pursued this system of trimming and adaptation, and thought it well and best to

"Deceive their country for their country's good."

But their country cannot long be so governed. It misses the pure, the full tone of truth; it perceives that the voice is modulated to coax, to persuade, and it turns from the judicious man of the world, calculating the effect to be produced by each of his smooth sentences to some earnest voice which is uttering thoughts, crude, rash, ill-arranged it may be, but true to one human breast, and uttered in full faith, that the God of Truth will guide them aright.

And here, it seems to me, has been the greatest mistake in the conduct of these journals. A smooth monotony has been attained, an uniformity of tone, so that from the title of a journal you can infer the tenor of all its chapters. But nature is ever various, ever new, and so should be her daughters, art and literature. We do not want merely a polite response to what we thought before, but by the freshness of thought in other minds to have new thought awakened in our own. We do not want stores of information only, but to be roused to digest these into knowledge. Able and experienced men write for us, and we would know what they think, as they think it not for us but for themselves. We would live with them, rather than be taught by them how to live; we would catch the contagion of their mental activity, rather than have them direct us how to regulate our own. In books, in reviews, in the senate, in

the pulpit, we wish to meet thinking men, not schoolmasters or pleaders. We wish that they should do full justice to their own view, but also that they should be frank with us, and, if now our superiors, treat us as if we might some time rise to be their equals. It is this true manliness, this firmness in his own position, and this power of appreciating the position of others, that alone can make the critic our companion and friend. We would converse with him, secure that he will tell us all his thought, and speak as man to man. But if he adapts his work to us, if he stifles what is distinctively his, if he shows himself either arrogant or mean, or, above all, if he wants faith in the healthy action of free thought, and the safety of pure motive, we will not talk with him, for we cannot confide in him. We will go to the critic who trusts Genius and trusts us, who knows that all good writing must be spontaneous, and who will write out the bill of fare for the public as he read it for himself,—

> "Forgetting vulgar rules, with spirit free
> To judge each author by his own intent,
> Nor think one standard for all minds is meant."

Such an one will not disturb us with personalities, with sectarian prejudices, or an undue vehemence in favor of petty plans or temporary objects. Neither will he disgust us by smooth obsequious flatteries and an inexpressive, lifeless gentleness. He will be free and make free from the mechanical and distorting influences we hear complained of on every side. He will teach us to love wisely what we before loved well, for he knows the difference between censoriousness and discernment, infatuation and reverence; and, while delighting in the genial melodies of Pan, can perceive, should Apollo bring his lyre into audience, that there may be strains more divine than those of his native groves. F.

TO THE AURORA BOREALIS.

ARCTIC fount of holiest light
Springing through the winter night,
Spreading far beyond yon hill
When the earth is dark and still,
Rippling o'er the stars, as streams
Ripple o'er their pebble-gleams —
Oh, for names, thou vision fair,
To express thy splendors rare!

II

Blush upon the cheek of night,
Posthumous, unearthly light,
Dream of the deep-sunken sun,
Beautiful, sleep-walking one,
Sister of the moonlight pale,
Star-obscuring, meteor-veil,
Spread by heaven's watching vestals,
Sender of the gleamy crystals,
Darting on their arrowy course
From their glittering, polar source,
Upward where the air doth freeze,
Round the sister Pleiades —
Beautiful and rare Aurora,
In the heavens thou art their Flora,
Night-blowing Cereus of the sky,
Rose of amaranthine dye,
Hyacinth of purple light,
Or their Lily clad in white!

Who can name thy wondrous essence,
Thou electric Phosphorescence?
Lonely apparition fire!
Seeker of the starry quire!
Restless roamer of the sky,
Who hath won thy mystery?
Mortal science hath not ran
With thee through the Empyrean,
Where the constellations cluster
Flower-like on thy branchy lustre!

After all the glare and toil,
And the daylight's fretful coil,
Thou dost come so mild and still,
Hearts with love and peace to fill;
As when after revelry
With a talking company,
Where the blaze of many lights
Fell on fools and parasites,
One by one the guests have gone,
And we find ourselves alone,
Only one sweet maiden near,
With a sweet voice low and clear
Murmuring music in our ear —
So thou talkest to the earth,
After daylight's weary mirth.

Is not human fantasy,
Wild Aurora, likest thee,
Blossoming in nightly dreams
Like thy shifting meteor-gleams?

But a better type thou art
Of the strivings of the heart,

Reaching upwards from the earth
To the *Soul* that gave it birth.
When the noiseless beck of night
Summons out the *inner* light,
That hath hid its purer ray
Through the lapses of the day —
Then like thee, thou northern Morn,
Instincts which we deemed unborn,
Gushing from their hidden source,
Mount upon their heavenward course,
And the spirit seeks to be
Filled with God's Eternity.

C.

NOTES FROM THE JOURNAL OF A SCHOLAR.

Nunc non e manibus illis,
Nunc non e tumulo, fortunataque favilla
Nascuntur violæ? PERSIUS.

HOMER.

Homer I read with continually new pleasure. Criticism of Homer is like criticism upon natural scenery. You may say what is, and what is wanting, but you do not pretend to find fault. The Iliad is before us as a pile of mountains,— so blue and distant, so simple and real,— even so much an image of majesty and power.

He is as prolific as the earth, and produces his changing scenery with the ease and the finish and the inexhaustible variety of nature. Homer never mistakes. You might as well say, there was untruth in the song of the wind.

I notice Homer's mention of an interview with a great man. It is with him always among the memorabilia to have seen a great man. An embassy of Ulysses, a breakfast with Tydeus, any meeting with any heroic person, which barely gave time to note him, is text for memory and comparison.

Homer is pious.

Homer, says Goethe, describes that which exists, not its effect on the beholder. He paints agreeable things, not their agreeableness.

Homer writes from no theory as a point of vision. He tells us what he sees, not what he thinks.

Homer is an achromatic glass. He is even less humorsome than Shakspeare.

Two or three disinterested witnesses have been in the world,

who have stated the facts as they are, and whose testimony stands unimpeached from age to age. Such was Homer, Socrates, Chaucer, Shakspeare; perhaps Goethe.

A larger class state things as they believe them to be; Plato, Epicurus, Cicero, Luther, Montaigne, George Fox.

A still larger class take a side, and defend it the best they can; Aristotle, Lucretius, Milton, Burke.

SHAKSPEARE.

O my friend! shall thou and I always be two persons? Any strong emotion makes the surrounding parts of life fall away as if struck with death. One sometimes questions his own reality,— it so blenches and shrivels in the flame of a thought, a relation, that swallows him up. If that lives, he lives. "There either he must live or have no life."

This afternoon we read Shakspeare. The verse so sunk into me, that as I toiled my way home under the cloud of night, with the gusty music of the storm around and overhead, I doubted that it was all a remembered scene; that Humanity was indeed one, a spirit continually reproduced, accomplishing a vast orbit, whilst individual men are but the points through which it passes.

We each of us furnish to the angel who stands in the sun a single observation. The reason why Homer is to me like dewy morning, is because I too lived while Troy was, and sailed in the hollow ships of the Grecians to sack the devoted town. The rosy-fingered dawn as it crimsoned the top of Ida, the broad sea shore dotted with tents, the Trojan hosts in their painted armor, and the rushing chariots of Diomed and Idomeneus,— all these I too saw; my ghost animated the frame of some nameless Argive. And Shakspeare in King John does but recall to me myself in the dress of another age, the sport of new accidents. I, who am Charles, was sometime Romeo. In Hamlet, I pondered and doubted. We forget what we have been, drugged with the sleepy bowl of the Present. But when a lively chord in the soul is struck, when the windows for a moment are unbarred, the long and varied past is recovered. We recognize it all. We are no more brief, ignoble creatures; we seize our immortality, and bind together the related parts of our secular being.

Shakspeare was a proper Pagan. He understood the height

and depth of humanity in all its tossings on the sea of circumstance,— now breasting the waves, mounting even to heaven on their steep sides, and now drifting before the wrath of the tempest. In himself he embraced this whole sphere, the whole of man struggling with the whole of fortune. But of religion, as it appears in the new dispensation of Christianity, as an element in the soul controlling all the rest, and exhibiting new phenomena of action and passion, he had no experience; almost I had said, he had no conception. The beauty of holiness, the magnanimity of faith, he never saw. Probably he was an unbeliever in the creed of his time, and looked on the New Testament as a code that hampered the freedom of the mind which was a law unto itself, and as intruding on the sublime mystery of our fate. Hence, he delighted to get out of the way of Christianity, and not to need to calculate any of its influences.

> "What's brave, what's noble,
> Let's do it after the high Roman fashion."

This was as he felt, and in Cleopatra it is just sentiment; but his men and women in the English plays often talk in the same ante-Christian style as Cæsar or Coriolanus. Now, our sign boards tell of Titian; and society everywhere attests in one mode or other the effects of Christianity. Certain fundamental truths sink and sow themselves in every soil, and the most irreligious man unconsciously supposes them in all his life and conversation.

Shakspeare had in its perfection the poetic inspiration; applied himself without effort to the whole world,— the sensible, the intelligent. Into all beauty, into all suffering, into all action, into all affection, he threw himself,— and yet not himself, for he seems never committed in his plays; — but his genius. His genius was thus omnific and all-sympathizing. He seems to have sat above this hundred-handed play of his imagination, pensive and conscious. He read the world off into sweetest verse as one reads a book. He in no way mixed himself the individual with the scenes he drew, and so his poetry was the very coinage of nature and life. The pregnant cloud disburdened itself and meaning became expression. In proportion as the prophet sees things from a personal point of view, and speaks under the influence of any temperament, interest, or prepossession, his eye is not clear, his voice is husky,— the oracle philippizes. The perfect inspiration is that

which utters the beauty and truth, seen pure and unconfused as they lie in the lap of the Divine Order. Shakspeare was the inspired tongue of humanity. He was priest at the altar not of the Celestials, but of Mortals. His kingdom was of this world, and the message he was sent to do he delivered unembarrassed, unimplicated. He gave voice to the finest, curiousest, boldest philosophical speculations; he chanted the eternal laws of morals; but it was as they were facts in the consciousness, and so a part of humanity. He gives no pledge, breathes no prayer,— and religion is mirrored no otherwise than debauchery. In his sonnets we behold him appropriating his gifts to his own use, but never in the plays. Hamlet and Othello,— as he counted them not his creatures, but self subsistent, too highborn to be propertied,— so he tampers not with their individuality, nor obtrudes himself on us as their prompter. If they lived, he lived.

BURKE.

It is not true what Goldsmith says of Burke; he did not give up to party any more than Shakspeare gave up to conspiracy, madness, or lust. His was not the nature of the partisan, but of the poet, who is quite other than the partisan. With the faculty proper to genius, he threw himself into the cause he espoused; and the Reflections on the French Revolution and the Impeachment of Warren Hastings were his Othello and Julius Cæsar, wherein himself was lost and the truth of things only observed.

The poet, it is said, has in him all the arts and letters of his time. The Iliad is a panorama of Greek civilization in the Homeric age. So Burke in his speeches comprises his era. Hence he could no more be a Radical than a Courtier. The spirit by which he was wedded to what was venerable was one with the spirit in which he welcomed the new births of reformation and liberty. He was consistent with himself. He had no sympathy with those who, like George Fox, would clothe themselves in a suit of leather, and nakedly renounce the riches together with the restraints of social life. He did not chafe under the splendid harness of old institutions. Herein appeared not the servility but the greatness of the man; and his homage to the English Constitution was like the chivalrous courtesy which man pays to woman, as beautiful in him to yield, as in her to accept.

THE RELIGION OF BEAUTY.

The devout mind is a lover of nature. Where there is beauty it feels at home. It has not then to shut the windows of the senses, and take refuge from the world within its own thoughts, to find eternal life. Beauty never limits us, never degrades us. We are free spirits when with nature. The outward scenery of our life, when we feel it to be beautiful, is always commensurate with the grandeur of our inward ideal aspiration; it reflects encouragingly the heart's highest, brightest dreams; it does not contradict the soul's convictions of a higher life; it tells us that we are safe in believing the thought, which to us seems noblest. If we have no sense of beauty, the world is nothing more than a place to keep us in. But when the skies and woods reveal their loveliness, then nature seems a glorious picture, of which our own inmost soul is the painter, and our own loves and longings the subject. It is the apt accompaniment to the silent song of the beholder's heart.

The greatest blessing, which could be bestowed on the weary multitude, would be to give them the sense of beauty; to open their eyes for them, and let them see how richly we are here surrounded, what a glorious temple we inhabit, how every part of it is eloquent of God. The love of nature grows with the growth of the soul. Religion makes man sensible to beauty; and beauty in its turn disposes to religion. Beauty is the revelation of the soul to the senses. In all this outward beauty,— these soft swells and curves of the landscape, which seem to be the earth's smile; — this inexhaustible variety of form and colors and motion, not promiscuous, but woven together in as natural a harmony as the thoughts in a poem; this mysterious hieroglyphic of the flowers; this running alphabet of tangled vine and bending grass studded with golden paints; this all-embracing perspective of distance rounding altogether into one rainbow-colored sphere, so perfect that the senses and the soul roam abroad over it unsated, feeling the presence and perfection of the whole in each part; this perfect accord of sights, sounds, motions, and fragrance, all tuned to one harmony, out of which run melodies inexhaustible of every mood and measure,— in all this, man first feels that God is without him, as well as within him, that nature too is holy; and can he bear to find himself the sole exception?

Does not the season, then, does not nature, does not the

spontaneous impulse of an open heart, which has held such sublime worship through its senses, more than justify an attempt to show how the religious sentiments may be nourished by a cultivation of the sense of duty?

This should be a part of our religious education. The heart pines and sickens, or grows hard and contracted and unbelieving, when it cannot have beauty. The love of nature ends in the love of God. It is impossible to feel beauty, and not feel that there is a spirit there. The sensualist, the materialist, the worshipper of chance, is cheated of his doubts, the moment this mystery overtakes him in his walks. This surrounding presence of beautiful nature keeps the soul buoyed up forever into its element of freedom, where its action is cheerful, healthful, and unwearied; where duty becomes lovely, and the call to worship, either by prayer or by self-sacrifice, is music to it. He, in whom this sense is open, is put, as it were, in a magnetic communication with a life like his own, which flows in around him, go where he may. In nature we forget our loneliness. In nature we feel the same Spirit, who made it and pervades it, holding *us* up also. Through the open sense of beauty, all we see preaches and prophesies to us. Without it, when no such sensibility exists, how hard a task is faith! How hard to feel that God is here! How unlovely looks religion! As without the air, the body could not breathe; so without beauty, the heart and religious nature seem to want an element to live in. Beauty is the moral atmosphere. The close, unseemly school-house, in which our infancy was cramped, — of how much natural faith did it not rob us! In how unlovely a garb did we first see Knowledge and Virtue! How uninteresting seemed Truth, how unfriendly looked Instruction; with what mean associations were the names of God and Wisdom connected in our memory! What a violation of nature's peace seemed Duty! what an intrusion upon the mind's rights! What rebellion has been nurtured within us by the ugly confinements to which artificial life and education have accustomed us! How insensible and cold it has made us to the expressive features of God's works, always around us, always inviting us to high refreshing converse!

I hold, then, that without a cultivation of the sense of beauty, chiefly to be drunken from the open fountains of nature, there can be no healthy and sound moral development. The man so educated lacks something most essential. He is one-sided, not of

a piece with nature; and however correct, however much master of himself, he will be uninteresting, unencouraging, and uninviting. To the student of ancient history, the warm-hearted, graceful Greek, all alive to nature, who made beauty almost his religion, is a more refreshing object, than the cold, formal Jew. And here around us, resist it as we may, our hearts are always drawn towards the open, graceful children of impulse, in preference to the stiff, insensible patterns of virtue. The latter may be very unexceptionable, but at the same time very unreal. The former, though purposeless and careless they play through life, yet have trusted themselves to nature, and been ravished by her beauty, and nature will not let them become very bad.

Consider a few of the practical effects upon the whole character of a growing love of beauty in the young mind.

It disposes to order. It gives birth in the mind to an instinct of propriety. It suggests imperceptibly, it inclines gently, but irresistibly, to the fit action, to the word in season. The beauty which we see and feel plants its seeds in us. Gazing with delight on nature, our will imperceptibly becomes attuned to the same harmony. The sense of beauty is attended with a certain reverence; we dare not mar what looks so perfect. This sense, too, has a something like conscience contained in it; we feel bound to do and be ourselves something worthy of the beauty we are permitted to admire. This feeling, while it makes alive and quickens, yet is eminently conservative, in the best sense. He, who has it, is always interested on the side of order, and of all dear and hallowed associations. He, who wants it, is as destructive as a Goth. The presence of beauty, like that of nature, as soon as we feel it at all, overcomes us with respect, and a certain sensitive dread of all violence, mischief, or discord. The beautiful ideal piece of architecture bears no mark of wanton pen-knife. The handsome schoolroom makes the children neat. The instinct of obedience, of conciliation, of decorum, reverence, and harmony, flows into the soul with beauty, The calm spirit of the landscape takes possession of the humble, yet soul-exalted admirer. Its harmony compels the jangling chords within himself into smoother undulations. Therefore "walk out," like Isaac, "at even-tide to meditate," and let nature, with her divine stillness, take possession of thee. She shall give thee back to thyself better, more spiritual, more sensible of thy relationship with all things, and that in wronging any, thou but woundest thyself.

Another grace of character, which the sense of beauty gives the mind, is freedom — the freedom of fond obedience, not of loose desire. The man, whose eyes and soul are open to the beauty there is around him, sees everywhere encouragement. To him the touch of nature's hand is warm and genial. The air does not seem to pinch him, as it does most narrow-minded ones, who can see no good in anything but gain; to whose utilitarian vision most that is natural looks hostile. He is not contracted into himself by cautious fear and suspicion, afraid to let his words flow freely, or his face relax in confidence, or his limbs move gracefully, or his actions come out whole and hearty. He trusts nature; for he has kissed her loveliness; he knows that she smiles encouragement to him. Now think what it is that makes virtue so much shunned. Partly, our depravity, if you please. But partly, also, her numerous ungraceful specimens. For it is the instinctive expectation of all minds, that what is excellent shall also be beautiful, lovely, natural, and free. Most of the piety, we see about us, is more or less the product of restraint and fear. It stands there in spectral contrast with nature. Approve it we may; but we cannot love it. It does not bear the divine stamp; it chills, not converts. The love of nature makes in us an ideal of moral beauty, of an elevation in character which shall look free and lovely, something that shall take its place naturally and as matter of course in the centre of nature, as the life of Jesus did.

Again, the love of beauty awakens higher aspirations in us. He, who has felt the beauty of a summer like this, has drunk in an infinite restlessness, a yearning to be perfect, and by obedience free. He can never more rest contented with what he is. And here is the place, to attempt some account of the true significance of beauty, and of what is its office to the soul.

Beauty always suggests the thought of the perfect. The smallest beautiful object is as infinite as the whole world of stars above us. So we feel it. Everything beautiful is emblematic of something spiritual. Itself limited, its meanings and suggestions are infinite. In it we seem to see all in one. Each beautiful thing, each dew-drop, each leaf, each true work of painter's, poet's, or musician's art, seems an epitome of the creation. Is it not God revealed through the senses? Is not every beautiful thing a divine hint thrown out to us? Does not

the soul begin to dream of its own boundless capacities, when it has felt beauty? Does not immortality then, for the first time, cease to be a name, a doctrine, and become a present experience? When the leaves fall in autumn, they turn golden as they drop. The cold winds tell us of coming winter and death; but they tell it in music. All is significant of decay; but the deep, still, harmonious beauty surpasses all felt in summer or spring before. We look on it, and feel that it cannot die. The Eternal speaks to us from the midst of decay. We feel a melancholy; but it is a sweet, religious melancholy, lifting us in imagination above death — since above the grave of the summer so much real beauty lingers.

The beautiful, then, is the spiritual aspect of nature. By cherishing a delicate sensibility to it, we make nature preach us a constant lesson of faith; we find all around an illustration of the life of the spirit. We surround ourselves with a constant cheerful exhortation to duty. We render duty lovely and inviting. We find the soul's deep inexpressible thoughts written around us in the skies, the far blue hills, and swelling waters.

But then to this desirable result one stern condition must be observed. If the sense of beauty disposes to purity of heart; so equally purity of heart is all that can keep the sense of beauty open. All influences work mutually. "One hand must wash the other," said the poet. The world is loveliest to him, who looks out on it through pure eyes.

Sweet is the pleasure,
  Itself cannot spoil!
Is not true leisure
  One with true toil?

Thou that wouldst taste it,
  Still do thy best;
Use it, not waste it,
  Else 'tis no rest.

Wouldst behold beauty
  Near thee? all round?
Only hath duty
  Such a sight found.

Rest is not quitting
  The busy career;
Rest is the fitting
  Of self to its sphere.

'Tis the brook's motion,
  Clear without strife,

Fleeing to ocean
After its life.

Deeper devotion
Nowhere hath knelt;
Fuller emotion
Heart never felt.

'Tis loving and serving
The Highest and Best!
'Tis ONWARDS! unswerving,
And that is true rest.

D.

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE DIAL.

The Editors to the Reader 1
A Short Essay on Critics 5
To the Aurora Borealis 11
Notes from the Journal of a Scholar 13
The Religion of Beauty 17
Brownson's Writings 22
The Last Farewell 47
Ernest the Seeker (Chapter First) 48
The Divine Presence in Nature and in the Soul 58
Sympathy 71
Lines 72
Allston Exhibition 73
Song — To * * * 84
Orphic Sayings 85
Stanzas 98
Channing's Translation of Jouffroy 99
Aulus Persius Flaccus 117
The Shield 121
The Problem 122
Come Morir? 123
The Concerts of the past Winter 124
A Dialogue 134
Richter — The Morning Breeze 135
Dante — Sketches 163

The literary achievements of Transcendentalism are best exhibited in the "Dial," a quarterly "Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion," begun July, 1840, and ending April, 1844. The editors were Margaret Fuller and R. W. Emerson; the contributors were the bright men and women who gave voice in literary form to the various utterances of the transcendental genius. Mr. Emerson's bravest lectures and noblest poems were first printed there. Margaret Fuller, besides numerous pieces of miscellaneous criticism, contributed the article on Goethe, alone enough to establish her fame as a discerner of spirits, and the paper on "The Great Lawsuit; Man versus Men — Woman versus Women," which was afterwards expanded into the book "Woman in the XIXth century." Bronson Alcott sent in chapters the "Orphic Sayings," which were an amazement to the uninitiated and an amusement to the profane. Charles Emerson, younger brother of the essayist, whose premature death was bewailed by the admirers of intellect and the lovers of pure character, proved by his "Notes from the Journal of a Scholar," that genius was not confined to a single member of his family. George Ripley, James Freeman Clarke, Theodore Parker, Wm. H. Channing, Henry Thoreau, Eliot Cabot, John S. Dwight the musical critic, C. P. Cranch the artist-poet, Wm. E. Channing, were liberal of contributions, all in characteristic ways; and unnamed men and women did their part to fill the numbers of this most remarkable magazine. The freshest thoughts on all subjects were brought to the editors' table; social tendencies were noticed; books were received; the newest picture, the last concert, was passed upon; judicious estimates were made of reforms and reformers abroad as well as at home; the philosophical discussions were able and discriminating; the theological papers were learned, broad and fresh. The four volumes are exceedingly rich in poetry, and poetry such as seldom finds a place in popular magazines. The first year's issue contained sixty-six pieces; the second, thirty-five; the third, fifty; the fourth, thirty-three; among these were Emerson's earliest inspirations. The "Problem," "Wood-notes," "The Sphinx," "Saadi," "Ode to Beauty," "To Rhea," first appeared in the "Dial." Harps that had long been silent, unable to make themselves heard amid the din of the later gen-

eration, made their music here. For Transcendentalism was essentially poetical and put its thoughts naturally into song. The poems in the "Dial," even leaving out the famous ones that have been printed since with their authors' names, would make an interesting and attractive volume. How surprised would some of those writers be if they should now in their prosaic days read what then they wrote under the spell of that fine frenzy!

A remarkable feature of the "Dial" were the chapters of "Ethnical Scriptures," seven in all, containing texts from the Veeshnu Sarma, the laws of Menu, Confucius, the Desatir, the Chinese "Four Books," Hermes Trismegistus, the Chaldæan Oracles. Thirty-five years ago, these Scriptures, now so accessible, and in portions so familiar, were known to the few, and were esteemed by none but scholars, whose enthusiasm for ancient literature got the better of their religious faith. To read such things then, showed an enlightened and courageous mind; to print them in a magazine under the sacred title of "Scriptures" argued a most extraordinary breadth of view. In offering these chapters to its readers, without apology and on their intrinsic merits, Transcendentalism exhibited its power to overpass the limits of all special religions, and do perfect justice to all expressions of the religious sentiment.— *From Frothingham's "Transcendentalism in New England."*

"The Dial," the famous organ of the Transcendental movement in New England, was a quarterly, which existed four years, the first number appearing in July, 1840, the last in April, 1844. Good accounts of it are given in the various biographies of Emerson by Cabot, Dr. Holmes, Cooke, Garnett and others; also in the lives of Margaret Fuller, Thoreau, George Ripley, John S. Dwight and Theodore Parker. The most thorough study of its history and influence available to the public is an article "The Dial: an Historical Introduction, with a List of the Contributors," by George Willis Cooke, in the Journal of Speculative Philosophy, July, 1885. Mr. Cooke has recently treated the subject much more fully in a complete volume, accompanying a private reprint by a literary society in Cleveland, Ohio, of the four volumes of The Dial. It is greatly to be hoped that this work may be given to the public. When the Atlantic Monthly was established in 1857, many of the old contributors to The Dial wrote for the new magazine. See list of Emerson's contributions to The Dial in Cabot's Life of Emerson, Appendix C.

Each number of The Dial contained 136 pages, there being almost exactly the same amount of matter on a page that there is on a page of

the Old South Leaflets. Of the first five pieces, here reprinted, "The Editors to the Reader" was written by Emerson, "A Short Essay on Critics" by Margaret Fuller, "To the Aurora Borealis" by C. P. Cranch, "Notes from the Journal of a Scholar" by Emerson's brother Charles, and "The Religion of Beauty" by John S. Dwight.

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Recollections of Emerson.

BY ALEXANDER IRELAND.

Mr. Emerson's Visits to England in 1833, 1847–48, and 1872–73.

It was in the month of August, 1833,— nearly fifty years ago, — that I had the singular good fortune to make the acquaintance of Mr. Emerson, and to enjoy the privilege of several days' intercourse with him. I was then residing in Edinburgh, my native city, and he was on his way home, after his first visit to Europe. He had with him a letter of introduction to a friend of mine, who, luckily for me, was then so much engaged in professional duties that he was unable to spare even a few hours to do the honors of the old Scottish metropolis, so the young American traveller was handed over to me, and I thus became "an entertainer of angels unawares." In those early days Mr. Emerson was about thirty years of age, and his name was then utterly unknown in the world of letters; for the period to which I refer was anterior, by several years, to his delivery of those remarkable addresses which took by surprise the most thoughtful of his countrymen, as well as of cultivated English readers. Neither had he published any of those essays which afterwards stamped him as the most original thinker America had produced. At that time he was still connected with the Unitarian body in New England, although not in full agreement with it on certain matters of doctrine. On Sunday, the 18th of August, 1833, I heard him deliver a discourse in the Unitarian Chapel, Young Street, Edinburgh, and I remember distinctly the effect which he produced on his hearers. It is almost needless to say that nothing like it had ever been heard by them before, and many of them did not know what to make of

it. The originality of his thoughts, and the consummate beauty of the language in which they were clothed, the calm dignity of his bearing, the absence of all oratorical effort, the singular directness and simplicity of his manner, free from the least shadow of dogmatic assumption, made a deep impression on me. Not long before this I had listened to a wonderful sermon by Dr. Chalmers, whose force, and energy, and vehement but rather turgid eloquence carried, for the moment, all before them, his audience becoming like clay in the hands of the potter. But I must confess that the pregnant thoughts and serene self-possession of the young Boston minister had a greater charm for me than all the rhetorical splendors of Chalmers. His voice was the sweetest, the most winning and penetrating of any I ever heard; nothing like it have I listened to since.

> That music in our hearts we bore,
> Long after it was heard no more.

We visited together the courts of law and other places of interest to a stranger, and ascended Blackford Hill, which commands a fine view of the city from the south. There were thus good opportunities for conversation. He spoke on many subjects connected with life, society, and literature, and with an affluence of thought and fulness of knowledge which surprised and delighted me. I had never before met with any one of so fine and varied culture and with such frank sincerity of speech. There was a graciousness and kind encouragement, too, in his manner, inexpressibly winning to one so much younger than himself; and it was with a feeling almost akin to reverence that I listened to and drank in his high thoughts and ripe wisdom. A refined and delicate courtesy, a kind of spiritual hospitality, so to speak,— the like of which, or anything approaching to which, I have never encountered,— seemed to be a part of his very nature, and inseparable from his "daily walk and conversation." It was not therefore extraordinary — rather quite a natural result — that the impression produced on me was intense and powerful.

It is with a feeling of something like pride that I find recorded, in a journal kept at the time, some memoranda of that brief intercourse, written in a strain of youthful, enthusiastic admiration, and of perfectly confident expectancy as to his future,— a strain which might at that time have sounded very

inflated, but which his subsequent career may be said to have rendered almost tame and inadequate. He spoke much about Coleridge, whom he had just visited at Highgate. I happened then to be reading the prose works of that writer, and these formed a fruitful topic of conversation. He spoke of his "Friend" and "Biographia Literaria" as containing many admirable passages for young thinkers, many valuable advices regarding the pursuit of truth and the right methods to be adopted in its investigation, and the importance of having precise and correct notions on moral and intellectual subjects. He considered that there were single sentences in these two works which embodied clearer ideas of some of the most subtle of human speculations than are to be met with in the pages of any other thinker. "Let no one however, expect in these books of Coleridge's anything strictly symmetrical. The works themselves are disjointed, inconsecutive, and totally destitute of all regularity and plan. As Hazlitt, with his usual acuteness, truly said of them, 'They are vast prefaces and projects preliminary to immense productions which he was always contemplating, but could never bring himself to execute.'" He spoke of Dr. Channing, Sir James Mackintosh, Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," and Charles Cotton's translation of Montaigne's "Essays," which he regarded as matchless among translations. "After reading Cotton's racy English," he said, "Montaigne seems to lose if you look into him in the original old French."

I find that in an essay on "Books" published in 1860 he says that he prefers reading the ancients in translation. It was a tenet of Goethe's that whatever is really valuable in any work is translatable. "I should as soon think," says he, "of swimming across Charles River when I want to go to Boston, as of reading all my books in originals when I have them rendered for me in my mother tongue." After Bohn's volumes of translations of the classics made their appearance, he held that they had done for literature what railroads have done for international intercourse.

Some of Walter Savage Landor's "Imaginary Conversations" he greatly admired, particularly those between Bacon and Richard Hooker, Sir Isaac Newton and Isaac Barrow, and Diogenes and Plato. Although not an admirer of the Utilitarian philosophy, he had some of Jeremy Bentham's hair and a scrap of his handwriting. He asked me if I was in the habit of writing down my thoughts. I said I was not; that reading

was my greatest pleasure and solace,— *laborum dulce lenimen.* "I advise you," said he, "and other young men to write down your ideas. I have found my benefit in it. It fixes more firmly in your mind what you know and what you have acquired, and reveals to you unerringly which of your ideas are vague and which solid." Of De Quincey, Wordsworth, and Carlyle he spoke many times,— especially Carlyle, of whom he expressed the warmest admiration. Some of his articles in the "Edinburgh Review" and "Foreign Quarterly Review" had much struck him — one particularly entitled "Characteristics" — and the concluding passages of another on German Literature, regarding which he was desirous of speaking to the author. He wished much to meet both Carlyle and Wordsworth: "Am I who have hung over their works in my chamber at home not to see these men in the flesh, and thank them, and interchange some thoughts with them, when I am passing their very doors?" He spoke of their "rich thoughts, and rare, noble glimpses of great truths, their struggles to reveal their deepest inspirations, and glorious hopes of the future of humanity,— not all at once very apparent, but to be digged out, as it were, reverently and patiently from their works."

There was great and, I remember, almost insuperable difficulty in ascertaining where Mr. Carlyle then lived, and I well remember the pains Mr. Emerson took to get the information. At last, it was obtained from the secretary to the University. "I will be sure to send you, before sailing, an account of my visit to Carlyle and Wordsworth, if I should be fortunate enough to see them." Accordingly, in faithful fulfilment of his promise, he wrote me a letter on the 30th of August, 1833, from Liverpool, giving an account of the interviews he had with both of them. These interviews he has described in his "English Traits," published twenty-three years afterwards, and must be well known to the readers of that best of all books on England. He found that Carlyle had heard of his purpose to visit him from a friend, and, on his arrival he insisted on dismissing the gig which had been hired to carry him from Dumfries to Craigenputtock,— a distance of sixteen or seventeen miles. It was therefore sent back, to return the next day, in time for him to secure his seat in the evening coach for the south. So he spent nearly twenty-four hours with Carlyle and his accomplished wife, who were living in perfect solitude among some desolate hills in the parish of Dunscore,— not a person to speak

to within seven miles. "I found him one of the most simple and frank of men, and became acquainted with him at once. We walked over several miles of hills, and talked upon all the great questions that interest us most. The comfort of meeting a man of genius is that he speaks sincerely; that he feels himself to be so rich that he is above the meanness of pretending to knowledge which he has not, and Carlyle does not pretend to have solved the great problems, but rather to be an observer of their solution as it goes forward in the world. I asked him at what religious development the concluding passage in his piece in the 'Edinburgh Review' upon German literature (say five years ago) and some passages in the piece called "Characteristics' pointed? He replied that he was not competent to state it even to himself,— he waited rather to see. My own feeling was that I had met with men of far less power who had got greater insight into religious truth. He is, as you might guess from his papers, the most catholic of philosophers; he forgives and loves everybody, and wishes each to struggle on in his own place and arrive at his own ends. But his respect for eminent men, or rather his scale of eminence, is about the reverse of the popular scale. Scott, Mackintosh, Jeffrey, Gibbon — even Bacon — are no heroes of his; stranger yet, he hardly admires Socrates, the glory of the Greek world — but Burns, and Samuel Johnson, and Mirabeau, he said interested him, and I suppose whoever else has given himself with all his heart to a leading instinct, and has not *calculated* too much. But I cannot think of sketching even his opinions, or repeating his conversations here. I will cheerfully do it when you visit me in America. He talks finely, seems to love the broad Scotch, and I loved him very much at once. I am afraid he finds his entire solitude tedious, but I could not help congratulating him upon his treasure in his wife, and I hope he will not leave the moors; 'tis so much better for a man of letters to nurse himself in seclusion than to be filed down to the common level by the compliances and imitations of city society. And you have found out the virtues of solitude, I remember, with much pleasure."

The third day afterwards Mr. Emerson called on Wordsworth at Rydal Mount, and was cordially received, the poet remembering up all his American acquaintance. Here is his description of the interview: "He had very much to say about the evils of superficial education, both in this country and in mine.

He thinks that the intellectual tuition of society is going on, out of all proportion, faster than its moral training, which last is essential to all *education.* He does not wish to hear of schools of tuition; it is the education of circumstances which he values, and much more to this point. He says that he is not in haste to publish more poetry, for many reasons, but that what he has written will be at some time given to the world. He led me out into a walk in his grounds, where he said many thousands of his lines were composed, and repeated to me three beautiful sonnets, which he had just finished, upon the occasion of his recent visit to Fingal's Cave, at Staffa. I hope he will print them speedily. The third is a gem. He was so benevolently anxious to impress upon me my social duties as an American citizen, that he accompanied me near a mile from his house, talking vehemently, and ever and anon stopping short to imprint his words. I noted down some of these when I got to my inn, and you may see them in Boston, Massachusetts, when you will. I enjoyed both my visits highly, and shall always esteem your Britain very highly in love for its wise and good men's sake. I remember with much pleasure my visit to Edinburgh, and my short acquaintance with yourself and your good parents. It will give me very great pleasure to hear from you, to know your thoughts. Every man that ever was born has some that are peculiar. Present my respects to your father and family.— Your friend and servant, R. Waldo Emerson."

So much with regard to Mr. Emerson's first visit to England. As every one knows, his name, in a very few years, became celebrated in his own country, exercising a remarkable influence in all thoughtful circles.

Mr. Carlyle edited Emerson's first series of Essays published in this country in 1841. In his preface to them he wrote: "The name of Ralph Emerson is not entirely new in England; distinguished travellers bring us tidings of such a man; fractions of his writings have found their way into the hands of the curious here; fitful hints that there is, in New England, some spiritual notability called Emerson glide through reviews and magazines. Whether these hints were true or not true, readers are now to judge for themselves a little better. . . . Emerson's writings and speakings amount to something; and yet, hitherto, as seems to me, this Emerson is perhaps far less notable for what he has spoken or done than for the many things he has not spoken and has foreborne to do. With

uncommon interest I have learned that this, and in such a never-resting, locomotive country, too, is one of these rare men who have withal the invaluable talent of sitting still! That an educated man, of good gifts and opportunities, after looking at the public arena, and even trying, not with ill success, what its tasks and its prizes might amount to, should retire for long years into rustic obscurity; and amid the all-pervading jingle of dollars and loud chaffering of ambitions and promotions, should quietly, with cheerful deliberateness, sit down to spend *his* life, not in Mammon worship, or the hunt for reputation, influence, place, or any outward advantage whatsoever: this, when we get a notice of it, is a thing worth noting."

The publication in England of this and the second series of Essays, which took place a year or two later, made his name widely known throughout Great Britain, and thinking persons recognized in him an intellectual leader. Many of his friends were desirous that he should come to England, and deliver courses of lectures similar to those he had given with such signal success in various cities of the United States. In this desire I warmly shared. In the autumn of 1846 a very favorable opportunity presented itself of sending a message to him by a common friend — Mr. Lloyd Garrison — who was then sailing from Liverpool to Boston, and who promised to deliver it himself. I gladly availed myself of the occasion, and on the spur of the moment, just before the ship steamed out of the Mersey, I wrote him a hasty note in pencil, urging him to entertain the project of a lengthened visit to England, and which should embrace the delivery of lectures in some of the chief towns. Before long I received a reply, which was more favorable than I expected. It was full of kind words and reminiscences. "Your suggestion is new and unlooked for, yet opens to me at once so many flattering possibilities that I shall cheerfully entertain it, and perhaps we may both see it ripen, one day, to a fact. Certainly it would be much more practicable and pleasing to me to answer an invitation than to come into your cities and challenge an audience." Some months later (28th February, 1847) he wrote: "I owe you new thanks for your friendly and earnest attention to the affair of Lectures which you have put me on, but I had not anticipated so prompt an execution of the project as you suggest. Certainly I cannot think of it for April (1847). For September I will think of it, but cannot at present fix anything. I really have not the means of forming an opinion of

the expediency of such an attempt. I feel no call to make a visit of literary propagandism in England. All my impulses to work of that kind would rather employ me at home. It would be still more unpleasing to me to put upon a few friends the office of collecting an audience for me, by much advertisement and coaxing. At the same time it would be very agreeable to me to accept any good invitation to read lectures from institutions, or from a number of friendly individuals who sympathized with my studies. But though I possess a good many decisive tokens of interest in my pursuits and way of thinking from sundry British men and women, they are widely sundered persons, and my belief is that in no one city, except perhaps in London, could I find any numerous company to whom my name was favorably known. If I were younger, it would give me great pleasure to come to England and collect my own audience, as I have done at home here; and I have that confidence in my favorite topics and in my own habits that I should undertake the affair without the least distrust. But perhaps my ambition does not give to a success of this kind that importance it has had for me. At all events, in England I incline rather to take than to give the challenge. So that you see my project requires great frankness on your part. You must not suffer your own friendly feelings to give the smallest encouragement to the design. . . . You inquire what are the rates of remuneration of lecturers here. . . . I am glad to hear what you tell me of your employments and position. I doubt not life has taught and is teaching us both one lesson. It would be strange, but most agreeable to me, to renew again our brief yet never-forgotten acquaintance of thirteen or fourteen years ago in Edinburgh.— With ever kindest regards."

It was quite characteristic of Mr. Emerson to underestimate the extent to which his name was known and his writings appreciated in England. No sooner was it announced that he had decided to revisit this country and to read lectures than (as has been stated in a previous page) applications from every part of the kingdom began to flow in, and in many cases it was found impossible to comply with the wishes of the requisitionists, from a fear of committing him to engagements which might have become burdensome to him. Speaking of the occasion of his second visit to England in "English Traits," he says: "I did not go very willingly. I am not a good traveller, nor have I found that long journeys yield a fair share of rea-

sonable hours. But the invitation was repeated and pressed at a moment of more leisure, and when I was a little spent by some unusual studies. I wanted a change and a tonic, and England was proposed to me. Besides, there were, at least, the dread attraction and salutary influences of the sea, so I took my berth in the packet ship, 'Washington Irving,' and sailed from Boston on Tuesday, 5th October, 1847."

His friend Carlyle was greatly delighted with the prospect of again seeing Mr. Emerson. A letter from the latter, announcing the probable time of his sailing, had, by accidental negligence at a country post-office, failed to reach Carlyle in due course, and only turned up near the time of Mr. Emerson's expected arrival, thus depriving his friend of the opportunity of responding. The only thing left to be done was to get the reply delivered to Mr. Emerson as soon as he should land. Knowing that I was in communication with him, and certain to be cognizant of the time of his arrival, Mr. Carlyle wrote me on the subject, and his letter is so delightfully characteristic of his high regard for Mr. Emerson, and his earnest desire to free himself from even the slightest appearance of a want of hospitality, that I must give an extract from it. It is dated Chelsea, 15th October, 1847, just ten days after Mr. Emerson had sailed: "By a letter I had very lately from Emerson — which had lain, lost and never missed, for above a month in the treacherous post-office of Buxton, where it was called for and denied — I learned that Emerson intended to sail for this country 'about the 1st of October;' and infer, therefore, that probably even now he is near Liverpool or some other of our ports. Treadmill, or other as emphatic admonition, to that scandalous post-master of Buxton! He has put me in extreme risk of doing one of the most unfriendly and every way unpardonable-looking things a man could do! Not knowing in the least to what port Emerson is tending, when he is expected, or what his first engagements are, I find no way of making my word audible to him in time, except that of entrusting it, with solemn charges, to you, as here. Pray do me the favour to contrive in some sure way that Emerson may get hold of that note the instant he lands in England. I shall be permanently grieved otherwise; shall have failed in a clear duty (were it nothing more) which will never, probably, in my life offer itself again. Do not neglect, I beg much of you; and, on the whole, if you can, get Emerson put safe into the express

train, and shot up hither, as the first road he goes! That is the result we aim at. But the note itself, at all events, I pray you get that delivered duly, and so do me a very great favour, for which I depend on you." I need scarcely say that these solemn injunctions, so characteristic of Carlyle, were faithfully carried out to the very letter.

The ship reached Liverpool on the 22d of October, 1847, and Mr. Emerson at once proceeded to Manchester, where I had the pleasure of receiving him at the Victoria Station. After spending a few hours in friendly talk, he was "shot up," as Carlyle had desired, to Chelsea, and at the end of a week returned to Manchester to commence the first of a series of lecturing engagements which had been arranged for him. In a previous page (Memoir, p. 16) I have endeavored to give the reader some idea (I feel how inadequate it is) of Emerson's manner of reading in public, and its influence on his hearers.

During his stay in Manchester, and just before going to London to pay a round of visits and to lecture, he invited a number of friends from various parts of the country to dine and spend an evening with him at his lodgings in Lower Broughton. His guests were principally young men,— ardent, hopeful, enthusiastic moral and religious reformers and visionaries, gathered together from Birmingham, Sheffield, Nottingham, Liverpool, Huddersfield, Newcastle, and other towns. One of them, a man of erratic genius, and of very straitened means (but nevertheless an inveterate smoker), who not many years ago died in a lunatic asylum in New York, trudged on foot all the way from Huddersfield to be present, and next day performed the same feat homeward. He has left behind him a detailed description of this gathering, written in a rather sarcastic spirit, but curious for its life-like sketches of his fellow-guests. One of the finest spirits assembled on that occasion — Henry Sutton, of Nottingham, whose little volume of poems, in Emerson's opinion, contained pieces worthy of the genius of George Herbert — and who, happily, is still living in our midst, honored and beloved by his friends — says that the impression left on his mind was that the affair went off admirably, and that all seemed delighted to have had such an opportunity of coming into closer contact with Emerson — that no one could but feel gratified by his kindliness and gentle dignity, and that his conduct and manner were perfect. "Any criticism to the contrary could only excite pity for the writer, if it did not too

strongly call forth disgust." It was a memorable symposium. With his fine graciousness of manner and delicate courtesy, Emerson listened with serene amiability and an ineffably sweet smile to everything his young guests had to say, and made them feel, as was his wont, that *he* was the favored one of the party, and that *he* specially was imbibing much wisdom and benefit from their discourse. In the course of the evening, being urgently requested to do so, he read his lecture on Plato, then in MS., but now printed in his "Representative Men."

Among the guests who were present at this motley gathering were two — no longer living — of whom I wish to say a few words. One of them was Dr. W. B. Hodgson, late Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh, who died unexpectedly in Brussels in 1880, lamented by a very large circle of friends. I had known him intimately almost from his boyhood. At the time of Emerson's visit he was proprietor and conductor of the Chorlton High School, Manchester. He was a man of brilliant gifts, a classical scholar of no common mark, and master of several European languages. His kindly nature, extensive knowledge of literature, and conversational powers can never be forgotten by those who knew him. As an after-dinner talker he had few equals. His marvellous memory (for he never forgot anything he had ever read, or heard, or seen) supplied him with an inexhaustible store of witty and humorous stories and anecdotes, sparkling *bon mots*, and an unfailing affluence of apt quotation. No story, however good, could be told by another person in his presence which he was not able to cap on the instant by a better one. In this social field he was *facile princeps*. During his life he rendered most valuable services to the cause of education by his addresses, lectures, and other publications, and by his *vast* (for no other word can in this case be used) correspondence with educational reformers, political economists, and heads of schools and colleges in every part of the kingdom. I may safely say that during forty years he spent on an average two or three hours a day, at least, in correspondence.

The other guest to whom I wish to refer was Joseph Neuberg, whom I knew for more than twenty years, and whose memory I cherish for his many admirable qualities of head and heart. He was a highly cultivated and thoughtful German, born at Würzburg. Mr. Emerson had made his acquaintance at Nottingham, when lecturing there,— was, indeed, his guest.

Neuberg was a successful merchant, and had recently sustained a severe domestic affliction in the death of his wife. At the time I speak of, he was living with a sister as his companion, in a beautiful home, looking down upon the Trent and its green meadows. He had ardent literary tastes, was an enthusiastic admirer of Carlyle's writings, and had long wished to become acquainted with him. The gratification of this desire was brought about by the friendly aid of Emerson, who spoke of him to Carlyle in terms of high commendation. Neuberg afterwards proposed to Carlyle to wind up his business and to reside in London, and live on the modest fortune he had made, devoting himself, heart and soul, to his service. This proposal soon became a reality. He finally left Nottingham, after winding up his affairs, and settled in London. From that period up to the time of his death, about fifteen years ago, he was in almost daily communication with Carlyle. His industry was untiring. He made researches for Carlyle in all quarters, often spending days and weeks in the library of the British Museum, unearthing facts and dates from hundreds of obscure and neglected books, manuscripts, and maps, thus saving his friend an endless amount of distasteful drudgery. He would think nothing of spending a whole day in verifying a single fact or date. During the composition of "The Life of Friedrich" his services were of great value, and were fully appreciated by Carlyle. They proceeded together to Germany, and inspected all the battlefields and places of historical interest described in the Life. He also translated into German the successive volumes of the work. By this arrangement they appeared simultaneously in London and Berlin. Neuberg did not live to translate the last two volumes, which were done by another hand. Carlyle was much grieved when death deprived him of this faithful friend and assistant. In no account of his friend which has yet appeared, has any notice been taken of Neuberg, nor any tribute paid to his memory. In the "Reminiscences" his name once occurs in a parenthesis, but there is no note appended to tell the reader who he was — *Stat nominis umbra.* In "Shooting Niagara; and after?" Carlyle quotes a piece of information furnished to him by Neuberg. Without naming him, he speaks of his informant as "one of the wisest and faithfullest German friends I ever had, a correct observer, and much a lover both of his own country and of mine." In a letter from Carlyle to Mr. Neuberg's

sister, written in April, 1867, he says: "If the bust give you any satisfaction, surely I shall think it, all my days, to have been well worth while! No kinder friend had I in this world; no man of my day, I believe, had so faithful, loyal, and willing a helper as he generously was to me for the last twenty or more years. To look for his like again would be very vain indeed, were I even at the beginning of my course, instead of at the end! A man of fine faculty, too; — decidedly the most intelligent, swift, and skilful, at that kind of work, whom I have ever seen and known of. The memory of him will remain dear and noble to me; — the sudden stroke that has cut away such a friend, in these my otherwise desolate days, may well be sad and heavy to me. But if so to me, what then is it to you and your dear little ones? Alas, on this head I must *say* nothing. I will bid you be of courage, pious *courage*, and in all things try to do as you think he would have ordered and wished; which I believe will daily be your best consolation in this sore trial."

During the fortnight in which Mr. Emerson delivered his course of lectures in London, at the Portman Square Literary and Scientific Institution in the summer of 1848 (referred to at page 15 of the Memoir), I had the honor of being his guest. He had lodgings in the house of Mr. John Chapman in the Strand,— a well-known publisher of those days. As he had been already many weeks in London, he had met a large number of literary and social celebrities, including Rogers, Hallam, Milman, Barry Cornwall, Helps, Clough, Matthew Arnold, Faraday, Owen, Lyell, Carpenter, Mrs. Jameson, Henry Crabb Robinson, Mrs. Somerville, Dickens, Thackeray, Tennyson, and, I believe, Macaulay. He also received invitations from and visited several members of the aristocracy, including the Duchess of Sutherland. Notwithstanding his numerous social engagements, he generally devoted many hours a day to study, retiring to his room immediately after breakfast, and extending the forenoon to three o'clock. The lectures to which I have referred were prepared with much care, as will be seen by his correspondence with myself, prior to my joining him in London. During this visit we went to some of the theatres together, on one evening hearing Jenny Lind, who was then achieving her first triumphs in London. He was very desirous of calling upon Leigh Hunt, and, as I had known the latter for many years, and was in the habit of spending an evening

with him when business carried me to London, it was proposed that I should take him to Hunt's house. The interview lasted, I think, a couple of hours, and evidently gave great pleasure to both. I have already mentioned that he thought the two finest-mannered literary men he had met in England were Leigh Hunt and De Quincey. Hunt charmed him by his sprightly, sparkling conversation, overflowing with anecdote and quotation. His courteous and winning manner was on this occasion tempered by a certain delicate reverence, indicating how deeply he felt the honor of being thus sought out by his distinguished visitor. It is singular that Hunt produced a similar impression upon Hawthorne. I venture to give a portion of his description of him,— one of the most touching sketches that Hawthorne has written: "He was a beautiful old man. In truth, I never saw a finer countenance, either as to the mould of features or the expression, nor any that showed the play of feeling so perfectly. It was like a child's face in this respect. At my first glimpse of him, I discerned that he was old, his long hair being white, and his wrinkles many. It was an aged visage, in short such as I had not at all expected to see, in spite of dates, because his books talk to the reader with the tender vivacity of youth. But when he began to speak, and as he grew more earnest in conversation, I ceased to be sensible of his age; sometimes, indeed, its dusky shadow darkened through the gleam which his sprightly thoughts diffused about his face, but then another flash of youth came out of his eyes, and made an illumination again. I never witnessed such a wonderfully illusive transformation, before or since; and, to this day, trusting only to my recollection, I should find it difficult to decide which was his genuine and stable predicament,— youth or age. I have met no Englishman whose manners seemed to me so agreeable — soft, rather than polished, wholly unconventional, the natural growth of a kindly and sensitive disposition, without any reference to rule, or else obedient to some rule so subtle that the nicest observer could not detect the application of it. I felt that no effect upon my mind of what he uttered, no emotion, however transitory, in myself, escaped his notice,— his faculty of observation was so penetrative and delicate. On matters of feeling, and within a certain depth, you might spare yourself the trouble of utterance, because he already knew what you wanted to say, and perhaps a little more than you would have spoken. There were abun-

dant proofs throughout our interview of an unrepining spirit, resignation, quiet relinquishment of the worldly benefits that were denied him, thankful enjoyment of whatever he had to enjoy, and piety and hope shining onward into the dark,— all of which gave a reverential cast to the feeling with which we parted from him. I wish that he could have had one full draught of prosperity before he died. At our leave-taking he grasped me warmly by both hands, and seemed as much interested in our whole party as if he had known us for years. All this was genuine feeling, a quick, luxuriant growth out of his heart, which was a soil for flower seeds of rich and rare varieties, not acorns, but a true heart, nevertheless." The effect produced upon Emerson by his visit to Leigh Hunt was in most respects the same as in the case of Hawthorne, and could not be expressed in more true and touching words than those I have just quoted. He often recurred to the interview, and spoke of it as one of the most delighful he had ever had with a man of letters.

Many interesting places and persons we saw together in London. An evening spent at the house of John Minter Morgan, a wealthy social reformer and associationist, deserves special mention. This gentleman was an amiable, gentle, and sweet-mannered enthusiast, and had written several works well known in his peculiar field of literature: "Hampden in the Nineteenth Century," "Colloquies on Religion," "The Christian Commonwealth," "Extinction of Pauperism," "The Revolt of the Bees," "The Phœnix Library," a series of works original and reprinted on the Renovation and Progress of Society, in religion, morality, and science. It is only necessary to read the titles of these works in order to know the views and opinions of this worthy moral reformer. He had met Emerson somewhere in London, and obtained the promise of an evening. Thereupon was gathered in his large drawing-room an extraordinary assembly, consisting of many of the leading socialists in London. The first part of the evening was spent in the contemplation of a huge colored revolving view of a series of associated villages and homes, with the most enchanting representations of churches for the cultivation of universal religion, elegant lecture and concert rooms, and theatres,— of ladies and gentlemen walking about in the healthy costumes of the future, their children playing about them, and over all a sky of unclouded blue. Mr. Morgan, with a long rod, explained to his

audience the meaning and significance of all these beautiful objects, and answered many questions put to him by timid believers and admirers, chiefly ladies. After this entertainment the company adjourned to tea and coffee, and after a couple of hours spent in introductions and the conversations naturally flowing therefrom, the party broke up at eleven o'clock. Emerson confessed that he had never before met such a gathering of singular people, and often humorously alluded to it afterwards.

On the day which Mr. Emerson spent in Edinburgh, on his last visit to Europe (May 8th, 1873), he dined at the house of a friend, Dr. William Smith, the translator of many of Fichte's works, and President of the Edinburgh Philosophical Association, who heard him preach in Edinburgh in 1833, and who had listened to his lectures in 1848. At the dinner party he met Lord Neaves,* Dr. W. B. Hodgson, and the widow of Dr. Samuel Brown, who had been his host in 1847–48, and a few other friends. He was greatly delighted with the brilliant fire of repartee and wit which was kept up between Lord Neaves and Dr. Hodgson, as well as of the songs of the former, who sang not a few; and he frequently referred to this "wit combat" on his visit to me a few days later. In a scrap-book of the son of his Edinburgh host he inscribed this memorial of his visit: "After a happy evening with excellent company" — R. Waldo Emerson, 8th May, 1873. On the evening of his arrival (7th May) he met a large party of notabilities in the house of Professor Fraser. A characteristic incident relating to this visit is worth recording. His host, Dr. Smith, thus relates it: "On the 8th I drove him for some time about the city: Miss Emerson, being rather indisposed, remained at the hotel. In the course of our drive we stopped at the shop of a worthy tradesman in Nicholson Street, who is an enthusiastic admirer of E. I had been informed that he had been making anxious inquiries about E.'s place of abode and the probable time of his departure, so that he might have a chance of getting a glimpse of his hero. I alighted and entering the shop said,

* Lord Neaves was a distinguished member of the Scottish bench, and a man of fine culture, a recognized wit and humorist, and of the most genial disposition; he was a general favorite in Edinburgh social circles. He was the author of many songs and verses, social and scientific, contributed to "Blackwood's Magazine." These have been collected, and have gone through several editions. Some of these verses had quite a renown at the time of their publication. Among them may be named "The Origin of Species," "The Permissive Bill," "I'm very fond of Water," "Hilli-onnee," "Stuart Mill on Mind and Matter," "Let us all be unhappy on Sunday," and others.

'Mr. ——, Mr. Emerson is at the door, and will be glad to see you for a few minutes.' You may imagine his delight at this unexpected fulfilment of his wishes. The five minutes were well spent, and I have no doubt are a cherished memory."

He spent the last two days of this his final visit to England under my roof, along with his devoted daughter, Ellen. This afforded an opportunity of bringing together many of his old friends and hearers of 1847–48, whom he was well pleased to meet. To every one he gave a few minutes, and the stream of conversation flowed on for several hours. After all the guests had departed, he indulged in a cigar, and expressed his gratification at having met so many "good people," as he called them. "Would that I could have held converse with each for half an hour!" A capital *bon mot*, related by him on this occasion, must here be recorded. It would have rejoiced the heart of dear Charles Lamb. Speaking of a convivial club, of which he was a member, having ceased and dispersed for many years, it was thought desirable that the survivors should once more assemble, and revive their old recollections. An interval of ten years had meanwhile elapsed. While the wine was circulating, some one proposed that the society should have a gathering every ten years. Mr. Appleton, one of the company, instantly said, "Then it should have the title of a Dutch picture, 'Boors Drinking' after Teniers" (ten years). His last hours in Liverpool, before sailing, were spent with Mr. R. C. Hall, an old friend and admirer.

It has often struck me that the "marble self-possession" of Emerson, his perfect reliance upon his own genius and intuitions, his grand self-dependence, which no passing excitement could disturb or shake for a moment, and his steadfast belief in the ultimate sovereignty of righteousness and truth are well indicated in the following remarkable lines, written by an old English poet early in the seventeenth century, — Samuel Daniel: —

> One who of such a height hath built his mind,
> And reared the dwelling of his thoughts so strong,
> As neither fear nor hope can shake the frame
> Of his resolvèd powers, . . .
> . . . . . nor pierce to wrong
> His settled peace, nor to disturb the same.
> . . . . . .

And with how free an eye doth he look down
Upon these lower regions of turmoil,
Where all these storms of passion vainly beat
On flesh and blood; where honor, power, renown,
Are only gay afflictions, golden toil;
Where greatness stands upon as feeble feet
As frailty doth, and only great doth seem
To little minds, who do it so esteem.
. . . . . who hath prepared
A rest for his desires; and sees all things
Beneath him; and hath learned this book of man,
Full of the notes of frailty; and compared
The best of glory with her sufferings:
. . . . . inured to any hue
The world can cast; that cannot cast that mind
Out of its form of goodness; that doth see
Both what the best and worst of earth can be;
. . . . . .
Which makes, that whatsoever here befalls,
He in the region of himself remains.

Emerson's Speech at the Banquet of the Athenæum, Manchester, England, November, 1847.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is pleasant to me to meet this great and brilliant company, and doubly pleasant to see the faces of so many distinguished persons on this platform. But I have known all these persons already. When I was at home, they were as near to me as they are to you. The arguments of the League and its leader are known to all the friends of free trade. The gayeties and genius, the political, the social, the parietal wit of "Punch" go duly every fortnight to every boy and girl in Boston and New York. Sir, when I came to sea, I found the "History of Europe"† on the ship's cabin table, the property of the captain; — a sort of programme or play-bill to tell the seafaring New Englander what he shall find on his landing here. And as for Dombey, sir, there is no land where paper exists to print on, where it is not found; no man who can read, that does not read it, and, if he cannot, he finds some charitable pair of eyes that can, and hears it.

But these things are not for me to say; these compliments, though true, would better come from one who felt and understood these merits more. I am not here to exchange civilities with you, but rather to speak of that which I am sure interests these gentlemen more than their own praises; of that which is good in holidays and working-days, the same in one century and in another century.

*Sir Archibald Alison presided and made the opening speech, and was followed by Cobden, Cruikshank, and others.

†By Sir A. Alison.

That which lures a solitary American in the woods with the wish to see England, is the moral peculiarity of the Saxon race, — its commanding sense of right and wrong, — the love and devotion to that, — this is the imperial trait, which arms them with the sceptre of the globe. It is this which lies at the foundation of that aristocratic character, which certainly wanders into strange vagaries, so that its origin is often lost sight of, but which, if it should lose this, would find itself paralyzed; and in trade, and in the mechanic's shop, gives that honesty in performance, that thoroughness and solidity of work, which is a national characteristic. This conscience is one element, and the other is that loyal adhesion, that habit of friendship, that homage of man to man, running through all classes, — the electing of worthy persons to a certain fraternity, to acts of kindness and warm and stanch support, from year to year, from youth to age, — which is alike lovely and honorable to those who render and those who receive it; — which stands in strong contrast with the superficial attachments of other races, their excessive courtesy, and short-lived connection.

You will think me very pedantic, gentlemen, but holiday though it be, I have not the smallest interest in any holiday, except as it celebrates real and not pretended joys; and I think it just, in this time of gloom and commercial disaster, of affliction and beggary in these districts, that, on these very accounts I speak of, you should not fail to keep your literary anniversary. I seem to hear you say, that, for all that is come and gone yet, we will not reduce by one chaplet or one oak leaf the braveries of our annual feast. For I must tell you, I was given to understand in my childhood, that the British island from which my forefathers came, was no lotus-garden, no paradise of serene sky and roses and music and merriment all the year round, no, but a cold foggy mournful country, where nothing grew well in the open air, but robust men and virtuous women, and these of a wonderful fibre and endurance; that their best parts were slowly revealed; their virtues did not come out until they quarrelled: they did not strike twelve the first time; good lovers, good haters, and you could know little about them till you had seen them long, and little good of them till you had seen them in action; that in prosperity they were moody and dumpish, but in adversity they were grand. Is it not true, sir, that the wise ancients did not praise the ship parting with flying colors from the port, but only that brave sailer which came back with torn sheets and battered sides, stript of her banners, but having ridden out the storm? And so, gentlemen, I feel in regard to this aged England, with the possessions, honors and trophies, and also with the infirmities of a thousand years gathering around her, irretrievably committed as she now is to many old customs which cannot be suddenly changed; pressed upon by the transitions of trade, and new and all incalculable modes, fabrics, arts, machines, and competing populations, — I see her not dispirited, not

weak, but well remembering that she has seen dark days before; — indeed with a kind of instinct that she sees a little better in a cloudy day, and that in storm of battle and calamity, she has a secret vigor and a pulse like a cannon. I see her in her old age, not decrepit, but young, and still daring to believe in her power of endurance and expansion. Seeing this, I say, All hail! mother of nations, mother of heroes, with strength still equal to the time; still wise to entertain and swift to execute the policy which the mind and heart of mankind requires in the present hour, and thus only hospitable to the foreigner, and truly a home to the thoughtful and generous who are born in the soil. So be it! so let it be! If it be not so, if the courage of England goes with the chances of a commercial crisis, I will go back to the capes of Massachusetts, and my own Indian stream, and say to my countrymen, the old race are all gone, and the elasticity and hope of mankind must henceforth remain on the Alleghany ranges, or nowhere.

Alexander Ireland, the lifelong English friend of Emerson, was born at Edinburgh in 1810. Brought up to a business life, his warm literary interest procured him many intellectual friends, among them the brothers Chambers. His friendship with Dr. John Gairdner, to whom Emerson came with an introduction in 1833, led to his acquaintance with the latter. In 1843 he removed to Manchester, where in 1846 he became publisher of the Manchester *Examiner*, the organ of the advanced liberalism represented by John Bright and his associates. All the arrangements for Emerson's lectures in England in 1847–48 were made by him. As Emerson said, "he approved himself the king of all friends and helpful agents,—the most active, unwearied, imperturbable." He was a member of the committee that organized the Manchester Free Library in 1851. He was a friend of Carlyle and of Leigh Hunt, and prepared a useful bibliography of the writings of Hunt and of Hazlitt, and also memoirs of both. Upon Emerson's death in 1882 he published a biography of him, afterward enlarged, containing the chapter of Recollections which constitutes the present leaflet, and which has never before been published in America. His "Book Lovers' Enchiridion," a rich collection of passages in praise of books, is well known. He died in 1894. A collection of his books, rich in editions of English writers, was presented in 1895 to the Manchester Free Library by Thomas Read Wilkinson, and a special catalogue was issued in 1898. "Ireland," says Richard Garnett in his article upon him in the Dictionary of National Biography, "was an excellent man, generous, hospitable, full of intellectual interests, and persevering in his aid of public causes and private friends."

Garnett's biographies of Emerson and Carlyle contain much of interest concerning Emerson's three visits to England. The former contains a careful Emerson bibliography by John P. Anderson, in which are many references to essays and articles upon Emerson by European authors. Matthew Arnold, John Morley, Augustine Birrell, John Beattie Crozier, George Gilfillan, and W. L. Courtney are among the English writers who have written the most valuable estimates of Emerson. The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle and Froude's Life of Carlyle are of the highest importance in connection. See also the Correspondence of Emerson and John Sterling, the Life of Arthur Hugh Clough, and Conway's "Emerson at Home and Abroad." Edgar Quinet was perhaps the principal lover of Emerson in France in his time; Herman Grimm, in Germany. The Correspondence of Emerson and Grimm has been published. Emerson's "English Traits" was a result of his second visit to England. His lectures on Italy and France have never been published. 1903.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 139.

The American Lyceum,

OR SOCIETY FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF SCHOOLS AND DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.*

THIS Institution consists of Town and County Lyceums, and measures are in progress to organize State Lyceums, and a GENERAL UNION of the whole.

TOWN LYCEUMS.

A TOWN LYCEUM is a voluntary association of individuals disposed to improve each other in useful knowledge, and to advance the interests of their schools. To gain the first object, they hold weekly or other stated meetings, for reading, conversation, discussion, illustrating the sciences, or other exercises designed for their mutual benefit; and, as it is found convenient, they collect a cabinet, consisting of apparatus for illustrating the sciences, books, minerals, plants, or other natural or artificial productions.

To advance the interests of schools, they furnish teachers with a room, apparatus, and other accommodations, for holding meetings, and conducting a course of exercises in relation to their schools, some of the eldest members of which, with other young persons, attend the meetings of Lyceums, where they are exercised and instructed in a manner fitted to their pursuits and wants. It is supposed that Lyceums may aid in furnishing schools with some simple apparatus, juvenile books or other articles, fitted to awaken an interest and communicate instruction to their members.

* Boston: T. R. Marvin, Printer, 32 Congress Street. 1829.

Town Lyceums have conducted their exercises in several different ways, to suit the wishes and acquirements of those who compose them. In some instances these exercises have consisted principally in reading interesting or useful articles from periodicals, a conversation on chemistry or other science, a biographical or historical sketch, communications of intelligence of improvements in education or the arts, or any other subject fitted for the entertainment or instruction of the members. The reading has frequently been accompanied or followed by questions, remarks, or conversation, by any disposed to introduce them.

In other meetings the sciences have been introduced by short and very familiar illustrations by the means of simple apparatus, six or eight, or perhaps ten or twelve, taking a part in the exercises of an evening. Under this plan of exercises, nearly all the members of the Lyceums which have adopted it have not only received, but communicated instruction.

In some Lyceums the instruction has been given principally in the form of lectures or dissertations, in which cases one or perhaps two have occupied the attention of the society during a sitting. The instruction given by lectures or dissertations, like that in a more mutual form, is intended to be of a familiar and practical character, that it may be brought within the comprehension of the most untutored minds.

Besides attending meetings of common interest to both sexes and all classes, females have conducted a course of mutual exercises among themselves, by spending together, during the summer, one afternoon in a week for reading, composition, and improvement in the various branches of an accomplished and enlightened education.

Teachers have also held meetings confined to themselves, in which they have introduced subjects and carried on exercises with particular reference to their schools. At these meetings they have had exercises in reading, giving an opportunity for critical remarks upon pronunciation, emphasis, inflection, modulation, and other points in good reading, all eminently calculated to improve them in this useful accomplishment. Exercises in grammar, composition, geography, arithmetic, illustrations in natural philosophy and chemistry, and sometimes discussions or dissertations upon the modes and principles of teaching, have been introduced at these meetings of teachers, and uniformly and immediately for the benefit of themselves and of the schools under their charge.

Some of the eldest members of the several schools in a town, with other young persons too far advanced or too much occupied to be benefited from the daily instruction of schools within their reach have, by the aid of professional teachers, clergymen, or other individuals (sometimes ladies) competent and disposed to guide them, carried on a course of weekly exercises, which have given them gradually, but certainly and permanently, a development and expansion of mind, and a refined and elevated taste.

Some of the advantages which have already arisen from the Lyceums which have gone into operation are the following, viz.:

1. *The improvement of conversation.* An immediate and uniform effect of a Lyceum, wherever it has been established and whatever the mode of conducting its exercises, is the introduction of good topics of conversation into the daily intercourse of families, neighbors, and friends, and that not among the members merely, but among all who come within the circle of its influence. Subjects of science, or other topics of useful knowledge, take the place of frivolous conversation or petty scandal, frequently indulged, and uniformly deplored, in our country villages. When it is considered that conversation is a constant, and an exhaustless source of information, either good or bad, in every town and among the whole race of mankind, it cannot but be evident that any measures which can give it an intellectual, moral, and of course an elevated character must confer a distinguished benefit upon society.

2. *Directing amusements.* Few subjects are more important, and none perhaps so much neglected, as amusements. Young people always have had, and, it is believed and hoped, they always will have, places of resort for social enjoyment. From the neglect of parents, and other persons of influence, to furnish them with occasions and opportunities to meet for exercises calculated for the instruction and improvement of each other, as well as for the enjoyment of social affections of a generous and elevated character, they resort to those calculated to corrupt and debase their minds, while they afford them no pleasures but those of the most grovelling character. Instead of having placed before them at their meetings books, apparatus, minerals, plants, and other objects calculated to acquaint them with the works and the laws of their Creator, and to lead them to admire the extent, the variety, the richness, and the grandeur of his creation, all designed and fitted for their immediate use and elevated enjoyment, they are presented with shelves of loaded

decanters and sparkling glasses, so richly filled and so neatly arranged, and for *their* enjoyment, too, that to neglect them would be vulgar and unmanly. Experiments are of course made upon their contents, not, however, for their mutual entertainment in conversation, and reflection upon the works and the goodness of their Creator, but in the merry song, the vulgar wit, and the loud laugh.

Parents and others to whom the rising generation look, and upon whom they depend for guidance and support, will you be offended at the question whether your children are most to blame for resorting to such places, and engaging in such exercises, or yourselves for neglecting to furnish them with better?

On the influence of amusements and conversation, always governing and partaking of the character of each other, and always determining the character of villages, communities, and the world, volumes might be written, but the occasion forbids enlarging.

3. *Saving of expense.* No principle in political economy is better established by experience than that a liberal support of religious and literary institutions is calculated to promote the pecuniary as well as the intellectual and moral prosperity of the community. Nor is there any mystery in this uniform result from the unerring hand of experiment. It has already been observed that young people must have occasions for social enjoyment and for recreation; and every one is familiar with the fact that the least useful and the most pernicious amusements are the most expensive. The expense of a year's entertainment and instruction at the meetings and exercises of a Lyceum is from fifty cents to two dollars. The expense of one quarter's instruction in a dancing school, including extra clothes, pocket money, &c., cannot be estimated at less than ten dollars for each pupil. The expense of one evening's entertainment at a ball or assembly is from two to ten times the expense of a year's entertainment at the meetings of a Lyceum. Many young men have paid two dollars for a horse and chaise to ride upon the Sabbath, with too manly a spirit to mention it as an expense, who would be ready to confess themselves too poor to pay the same sum for a weekly course of the most useful instruction, through the year. Military exercises, which can hardly be considered in any other light than as amusements for young men, cost, upon an average, every one who engages in them in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, not less than ten dollars annually.

The average expense for a town is over two thousand dollars a year. All these amusements are attended with an expense of time which it is difficult to calculate, an expense of money for articles which it is impossible to name, and with an expense of intellects and morals which is truly appalling. These expenses it is the tendency of Lyceums to prevent.

4. *Calling into use neglected Libraries, and giving occasion for establishing new ones.* It has been a subject of general regret that public libraries, after a short time, fall into neglect and disuse. Where a course of weekly or other stated exercises has been carried on in connection or in the vicinity of a library, an occasion for this regret has never been known to exist; but, on the contrary, the demands immediately and uniformly created for books by the meetings and exercises of Lyceums have led to the enlargement of public libraries, and induced individuals to procure private libraries for their own use.

5. *Providing a Seminary for Teachers.* In the United States more than 50,000 daily teachers, and from 150 to 200,000 weekly teachers of Sabbath schools, are engaged in forming the character of the rising generation and moulding the destiny of our nation. Raising the qualifications of this responsible and important class of the community is an object of such vast moment to the prosperity of our country that for several years past it has been the frequent theme of conversation, addresses, sermons, and messages and speeches to legislatures. In many places this object has already been attained in a very efficient manner by weekly or other stated meetings of teachers for the improvement of each other. And at a very trifling expense for providing them with a room, apparatus, and other accommodations, for holding their meetings and conducting their exercises, every town in the United States may enable their teachers *immediately* and *constantly* to raise their own characters, and in such a way as *immediately* and *constantly* to raise the characters of their schools. If so, can any one conceive of a more powerful or more efficient seminary to qualify teachers than an institution which shall organize and direct a system of exercises by which they shall be enabled to qualify themselves, and that universally, immediately, and constantly?

6. *Benefiting Academies.* Many Academies, Young Ladies' Seminaries, and other institutions of a similar character have been greatly benefited by the exercises of Lyceums. Regular courses of experimental lectures, procured from experienced

teachers, and the weekly courses of mutual exercises conducted by Lyceums, have usually been offered as a gratuity, or at a small consideration, to the members of Academies and similar institutions for daily instruction. The opportunities of these pupils are consequently increased, not only by providing them with a greater amount of instruction to be received from others, but by leading them to engage in new exercises to instruct themselves. In very many instances, members of Academies have interested others at the meeting of Lyceums; and, in affording an intellectual entertainment to their friends, they have received a tenfold benefit by instructing and improving themselves.

7. *Increasing the advantages and raising the character of District Schools.* Public schools have been benefited, not only by the facilities offered by Lyceums for the improvement of their teachers, but by the opportunities they present directly to some of the eldest members of these schools to receive a course of weekly instruction of a higher character and under better advantages than can be given among the promiscuous assemblage of children, and the great variety of objects which these schools usually embrace. A weekly meeting of a few pupils from all the schools in a town, to be instructed and examined by several teachers, and by their parents or others interested in their welfare, acts almost with the rapidity and the power of electricity on all the teachers and all their schools. They immediately leave the dull monotonous circle in which they have been travelling for years, and commence an onward and upward course. Their energies are awakened and invigorated, their minds are expanded, and they begin in earnest to lay broad and strong a foundation for their future characters and respectability.

8. *Compiling of Town Histories.* Several Lyceums have undertaken to procure histories of the towns where they are placed. In almost every town there remain a few of those patriots who purchased at so dear a rate the independence we now enjoy. And it would perhaps be difficult to determine to whom it would afford the purest and richest entertainment, to themselves in relating the tales of their wrongs, their battles, and their successes, or to their children and grandchildren in listening to them. But that it would afford a mutual entertainment to the old and young to hold a few meetings, to recount and to learn the most interesting incidents in the history of the place of their residence or their birth, especially at this most interesting pe-

riod in the history of our country, no one can deny or doubt. Nor can it be doubted that a historical sketch of every town would furnish interesting and important documents to be preserved for the generations that are to follow.

9. *Town Maps.* A few Lyceums are taking measures to procure maps of their towns. To procure surveys for the purpose has been proposed as an exercise in the art of surveying to those who wish to acquire it. After a survey and draft are made, it is ascertained from artists that 200 lithographic prints can be procured for twenty-five dollars. And what family would not be willing to pay 12½ cents for a correct map of the town where they reside?

10. *Agricultural and Geological Surveys.* Many Lyceums have explored, thoroughly and minutely, the mineral productions, not only of the towns where they are placed, but of the surrounding country. Numerous interesting and useful minerals have been discovered, large collections have been made, and consequently new sources of industry and of wealth have been laid open, and the treasures of science have been enriched. And, when it is considered that the Geology and Mineralogy of our country are intimately connected with agriculture and internal improvements, the importance of having them fully and minutely explored must appear too great and too manifest to require one word to explain or enforce it. And, if time would permit, it might be easily shown that our resources in the mineral kingdom can be more fully and minutely explored, and the consequent knowledge placed more generally and directly in the possession of those who need it, through the agency of Lyceums than by any other method which can be devised.

11. *State Collections of Minerals.* Some of the States have commenced collections of minerals deposited in their capitols. When towns or counties are making surveys and collections for their own use, it will be easy to furnish specimens for a general collection, which might be arranged according to towns or geological divisions. These measures would furnish each State with a complete suite of its own minerals and a general collection of foreign specimens. Such collections would be useful, not only to science, but to agriculture and internal improvements, by placing before legislators and others specimens of their own productions, and a knowledge of their own resources in the mineral kingdom, by which industry would be encouraged and individual and public wealth and prosperity increased.

Such are some of the advantages which have already, either partially or fully, arisen from the mutual efforts of individuals in numerous towns for the improvement of themselves and the advancement of popular education.

COUNTY LYCEUMS.

A COUNTY LYCEUM is a Board of Delegates, consisting of one or more from each town society, who meet semi-annually, and adopt measures to aid the efforts and forward the interests of the several branches which they represent. At their semi-annual meetings public addresses are delivered, and committees appointed, to inquire how books, apparatus, and instruction by lectures, or otherwise, can be procured by the several town Lyceums; and to learn the state of the schools in the several towns where they are placed, and what measures can be taken to improve them. Some of the county Lyceums have proposed owning some articles of apparatus, too expensive to be owned by each branch, such as a telescope, galvanic apparatus, &c., and to employ a lecturer, who should give lectures to the several town Lyceums in succession, and aid them in making geological and agricultural surveys, and in their other efforts for their mutual improvement. They have also proposed to procure maps of the several counties where they are organized, including the topography, geology, &c.

STATE LYCEUMS.

To render the efforts of town and county Lyceums still more efficient, successful, and uniform, they have proposed the formation of State Lyceums, to consist of one or more representatives sent from each county Society. A State Lyceum would be a BOARD OF EDUCATION for the State, where it should be organized, and by the appointment of committees for several specific objects would provide means for advancing the various interests of a popular education. One important object designed to be effected by a State Lyceum is the introduction of a uniform system of books and instruction into our public schools.

The frequent change and the great diversity of books in our district schools have so long been subjects of general and bitter complaints among parents and teachers that no words are necessary to convince them of the evil or of the importance of providing a remedy. But there is another evil in our public

schools, still greater than the variety and change of books. It is the want of a proper selection of branches introduced into our system of popular education, and of uniform and judicious modes of teaching them. Some branches absolutely essential in the ordinary concerns of life are wholly neglected, while others, almost wholly useless, are dwelt upon year after year by numerous children in most of our public schools. A knowledge of the proper mode of writing letters of friendship or business is essential to enable a person to be decent in the social and business relations of life. But it is scarcely introduced in any of our district schools in New England. The theory of grammar, as it is frequently taught in our public schools, is not only useless, but there is too much reason to believe that it is an absolute injury to the intellects of children, by forcing into their minds words which they cannot understand, and consequently giving them a disrelish, not only for the study of grammar, but of other subjects which might otherwise interest them, expand their minds, and fit them for usefulness. A general remedy for this and similar evils cannot be provided except by a general society.

Infant Schools. The success of Infant Schools has been uniform and almost miraculous. They are to form the closing scene in the great and animating drama of the benevolent operations now going on, to rid the world of crime and to fill it with knowledge. They need not be confined to children of the poor and to large cities, but the heavenly blessings which they bestow may be enjoyed by all classes, and in every village and neighborhood, and even in every family of our race. The principles and management which give these schools of *infants* such distinguished success may, and eventually must, be introduced into all public and other schools, when their success will be equally great, and the results equally animating and sublime. But to carry to the door of every mother a school for her infant, as well as to change and elevate the character of all the schools now in operation, a Board of Education seems highly important, if not indispensable. The blessings of Infant Schools, and the extension of those principles and that management which render them the most sublime objects at present upon the earth, a State Lyceum, with the co-operation of County and Town Lyceums, would have great power to hasten in every town, village, and neighborhood.

Agricultural Seminaries. The importance of institutions which shall at once present opportunities for a *liberal*, a *practi-*

cal, and an *economical* education, is extensively and sensibly felt, where by the aid of the plough, the hoe, the turning lathe, the plane and saw, young men may not only fix more deeply in their minds the science acquired in their studies and lecture rooms, and more fully learn its use, but by the practical operations which it directs may *educate themselves.*

The occasion will not permit to enlarge upon the plan or the importance of such institutions, but it may be remarked that, if they should go into operation under the patronage of Lyceums, there could not fail to arise between them a reciprocal, a salutary and a powerful action. The members and friends of Lyceums would furnish pupils to the Seminaries, and the Seminaries would furnish teachers with science and apparatus for illustrating it to Lyceums. The manufactory of apparatus of a simple and practical character, fitted for familiar illustrations in Schools, Academies, and Lyceums, would furnish a most interesting and useful employment for the members of practical Seminaries. It would make them familiar with the principles of science which the various instruments were designed to illustrate, furnish them with an agreeable and healthful exercise, and enable them either partially or wholly to defray the expenses of their education.*

GENERAL UNION.

As "union is strength," no one can doubt the importance of several State Lyceums uniting to forward the great and numerous purposes of a *popular* and a *national education.* Numerous advantages might be expected to arise from an American Lyceum, which time will not permit to mention. But the publication of a Journal of Education,† numerous cheap, familiar, and practical tracts, on the sciences, the arts, biography, history, &c., to be circulated to the branch Lyceums, Schools, Academies, taverns, steamboats, and private families, would be an object worthy of the united efforts of individuals and societies in different parts of the country who wished for a *universal diffusion of knowledge.*

MEASURES TO BE TAKEN.

If the question should be asked, What measures can be taken to forward *universally* throughout our country the interests of

* Several liberal offers have been made for the establishment of a Practical Seminary, in the State of Massachusetts, and arrangements are making to open it, if possible, in April or May next.

† The American Journal of Education is henceforward to be in part devoted to the objects of the Lyceum.

education? the answer is short,— Let every town *begin*. Small and doubtful beginnings have, in numerous instances, ended in great and important institutions. We have all been told that we do not know what we can do until we *try*. This remark is eminently true in the case of Lyceums. Their success, in most cases, has exceeded the highest expectations of their friends. In some of the smallest towns they have been highly interesting and extensively useful. Obstacles have disappeared almost at their commencement. Enough have been found who are able and disposed to conduct their exercises. When it is known that in this country and in Europe many thousands of the members of infant schools are daily and actively employed in amusing, instructing, and improving each other, the confession must be too *humiliating* for the citizens of any town to make, that none among them are capable of conducting the exercises of a Lyceum. And, as every town is interested in the prosperity of their schools and in the enjoyment of an enlightened and moral society, it is hoped that all will unite in the general cause, that they may be partakers of the general benefits it aims to effect.

The first step to form a Lyceum is for a few neighbors or citizens to agree to hold meetings for their *mutual* improvement; the second, to agree upon the place or places where they will meet; the third, to procure a book, a periodical, or a tract, from which they can read; the fourth is to procure a few articles of apparatus to illustrate what is stated in the book. These steps seldom fail to lead to others, and to secure success. These, and the appointment of delegates to consult with delegates from other towns in the county and vicinity, upon the interests of their schools and the general diffusion of knowledge, can cost but little in the experiment, and they may lead to results which will afford a rich and lasting reward. They would at least prepare the way for the formation of a State Lyceum, or a Board of Education, in the spirit, exercises, and benefits of which each town might participate.

CONSTITUTION.

Many Lyceums have adopted the following or similar articles for their Constitution: —

ARTICLE 1. The objects of the Lyceum are the improvement of its members in useful knowledge and the advancement of Popular Education.

ART. 2. To effect these objects, they will hold meetings for reading, conversation, discussions, dissertations, illustrating the sciences, or other exercises which shall be thought expedient, and, as it is found convenient, will procure a cabinet consisting of books, apparatus for illustrating the sciences, plants, minerals, and other natural or artificial productions.

ART. 3. Any person may be a Member of the Lyceum by paying into the treasury annually Two Dollars; and Twenty Dollars paid at any one time will entitle a person, his or her heirs or assigns, to one membership forever. Persons under eighteen years of age will be entitled to all the privileges of the Society, except voting, for one-half the annual sum above named.

ART. 4. The officers of this branch of the Lyceum shall be a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, three or five Curators, and three Delegates, to be appointed by ballot on the first Wednesday of September annually.

ART. 5. The President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and Secretaries will perform the duties usually implied in those offices. The Curators will have charge of the cabinet and all other property of the Lyceum not appertaining to the treasury, and will be the general agents to do any business for the Society under their direction. The delegates will meet delegates from other branches of the Lyceum in this county semi-annually, to adopt regulations for their general and mutual benefit, or to take measures to introduce uniformity and improvements into common schools, and to diffuse useful and practical knowledge generally through the community, particularly to form and aid a BOARD OF EDUCATION.

ART. 6. To raise the standard of common education, and to benefit the juvenile members of the Lyceum, a portion of the books procured shall be fitted to young minds; and teachers of schools may be permitted to use for the benefit of their pupils who are members of the Lyceum the apparatus and minerals under such restrictions as the association shall prescribe.

ART. 7. The President or any five members will have power at any time to call a special meeting, which meeting shall be legal if notice shall be given according to the direction of the By-laws.

ART. 8. The Lyceum will adopt such Regulations and By-laws as shall be necessary for the management and use of the Cabinet, for holding meetings, or otherwise for their interest.

ART. 9. The foregoing articles may be altered or amended by vote of two-thirds present at any legal meeting, said alteration or amendment having been proposed at a meeting not less than four weeks previous to the one at which it is acted upon.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

The undersigned hereby express their opinion that popular educa-

tion would be greatly advanced by measures to concentrate the views and efforts of those disposed to act in its behalf to different parts of the country.

That the formation of a Society would be the most direct and efficient measure to concentrate such views and efforts.

That the institution denominated the AMERICAN LYCEUM embraces in its plan the important objects of a National Society, for the advancement of popular education.

That it is highly desirable that an auxiliary to this Society, or a branch Lyceum, should be established in every town.

That some simple articles of apparatus are important to render Lyceums interesting, useful, and permanent, and that the articles proposed by Mr. HOLBROOK are fitted to this object, and that a portion of them would be useful in district and other schools.

That a weekly meeting of teachers for using apparatus, and other exercises in relation to their schools, would have a tendency to raise their qualifications and to increase the value of their services.

HENRY WARE. [*Acting President of Harvard University.*
WILLIAM JENKS. [*Pastor of Green Street Church, Boston.*
WARREN FAY. [*Pastor of First Church, Charlestown.*
CHARLES LOWELL. [*Pastor of West Church, Boston.*
EDWARD EVERETT. [*Member of Congress.*
JOHN FARRAR. [*Prof. of Math. and Nat. Philosophy, Cambridge.*
ASA RAND. [*Ed. Boston Recorder.*
DANIEL SHARP. [*Pastor of Third Baptist Church, Boston.*
HOWARD MALCOM. [*Pastor of Federal Street Baptist Church.*
WILLIAM RUSSELL. [*Editor Am. Journal of Education.*
B. B. WISNER. [*Pastor of Old South Church.*
ENOCH POND. [*Ed. Spirit of the Pilgrims.*
SAMUEL GREEN. [*Pastor Union Church, Boston.*

At a meeting of the citizens of Boston, of which Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER was chairman, the following, among other resolutions in relation to the Lyceum, was unanimously adopted: —

"*Resolved*, That this meeting consider the institution denominated the AMERICAN LYCEUM as comprehending the chief objects of a general association for popular improvement and for the aid and advancement of common education in primary and other schools."

The Lyceum System in America, with a Consideration of its Applicability to Mechanics' Institutions in England.

From an article by Thomas Wyse, M.P., in the Publications of the Central Society of Education, London, vol. ii. 1838.

Like almost everything in America, the LYCEUM system, as it is called, sprang from humble beginnings. The first proposal made to the public was in the 10th number of the American Journal of Education, in the year 1826. At this time not even a designation by which it should be known had been adopted. A few weeks afterwards, the system was more formally proposed to the citizens of Milbury (Massachusetts); and a society organized by thirty or forty farmers and mechanics, under the name of "*The Milbury branch of the American Lyceum*," was established. Twelve or fifteen towns in the same vicinity promptly followed their example, and united by delegates in forming "*The Worcester County Lyceum*." During the same season several societies with similar titles and objects were constituted in the county of Windham (Connecticut); and so rapid was the progress that already in 1831 there existed not less than eight hundred or one thousand town Lyceums, fifty or sixty county Lyceums, and a general union of the whole, under the denomination of "*The National Lyceum*." The object of these institutions is in no important particular different from ours. It has, as the report of "The National Lyceum" in 1831 expresses it, for its object, the "UNIVERSAL DIFFUSION OF KNOWLEDGE. It aims at universal education, by inducing and enabling all whom it embraces to educate themselves: it wishes to encircle within its influence all classes,—the farmer, the mechanic, not less than the scholar and the philosopher; all ages,—early childhood, mature life, and declining years." The organization by which this is proposed to be attained is well adapted to the purpose, There are three classes of Lyceums, as has been already stated, one subordinate to the other: 1st, "Town Lyceums"; 2d, "County Lyceums"; 3d, "State Lyceums"; finally, "the National Lyceum," to which, as to a great National Board for the management of subsidiary education, is intrusted the direction and control of the entire system. The "Town Lyceums," which also assume the designation of "Branches of the American Lyceum," are usually composed of the principal inhabitants of the town: the life subscription is twenty, the annual, two dollars, three-fourths of which are applied to the purchase of apparatus, books, tools, &c., for the use of the Town Lyceum, and the remaining one-fourth is forwarded to the County Lyceum, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of county libraries,

apparatus, and collections too heavy for the Town Lyceums,— of maps and agents for town and county surveys, statistical inquiries, &c. They hold meetings for lectures and essay discussions, in literature and science, at stated periods, and establish classes in various courses, under the superintendence of their lecturers, for the education of their junior members, and the greater improvement of the instruction pursued in schools.

The "County Lyceums" propose the same objects (though on a larger scale) as the Town Lyceums, promote the interests of Lyceums generally throughout the country, and co-operate with the State and National Lyceum in the same manner as the Town Lyceums do with them in all measures recommended for the advancement of national education and the general diffusion of knowledge. The members consist of delegates from the several Town Lyceums in the county, each Lyceum having the right of sending three. The County Lyceum holds semi-annual meetings, for the purpose of hearing reports or statements from the Town Lyceums, supporting discussions, and pronouncing addresses, or reading papers upon any subject relative to the theory or practice of education. They procure, moreover, in proportion to the amount of their funds, a county library, apparatus, collection in natural history, mineralogy, models, &c.; appoint a supervisor, or civil engineer, to aid in surveys for town or county maps, &c., agents for statistical inquiries, &c.; and finally carry into execution any other arrangements for the general or special objects of the Lyceum system throughout their jurisdiction. The formation of these collections is shared equally (as far as the labor is in question) by all. It is the result of the active and unceasing research in which the Town Lyceums especially are engaged.

Thousands of children, of not more than eight or ten years old know now more of geology, mineralogy, botany, statistical facts, &c.,— in fine, of what immediately concerns their daily interests and occupations,— than was probably known thirty years ago by any five individuals in the United States. Indeed, so universally and to such excellent profit is this taste diffused that in some sections of the country the majority of the school-houses are furnished with collections procured by the children themselves. Town, County, and State Lyceums are thus fitted out, at a trifling expense, with very excellent elementary museums; and a general deposit and distributing office for their more perfect and uniform supply is established by common co-operation at New York, under the direction of the National department of the institution.

Another object, scarcely inferior to the preceding, is the formation of a good series of town, county, and state maps, with accompanying illustrations and explanations, delineating minutely and comprehensively the physical and moral features and resources, the geography, geology, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and statistics of each district. To forward this great national object, a

committee was appointed by the National Lyceum to determine in the first instance a judicious and uniform mode of delineation. The plan determined on was then forwarded to all the Lyceums; and maps filled up in pursuance to this plan have been sent up in return, from time to time, from several Lyceums to the committee. When sufficiently tested and approved of, they are published as "*Model Maps*," and in such numbers, and at so cheap a price, that every individual member of every Lyceum is enabled to procure a copy. These model maps form the basis for new geographical, geological, or statistical additions which are likely to be communicated by individuals to the Lyceum, and from one Lyceum to the other. Thus, it is hoped, there will ultimately be a very complete series of town, county, and state atlases, in reference to all these important subjects, on a plan and scale which will be perfectly intelligible, and within the reach of every American from one extremity of the Union to the other. The mental exercise attending these researches is not less important than the researches themselves.

The third class, immediately superior to the County Lyceums, are the "State Lyceums." They are composed of delegates from the County Lyceums, as the County Lyceums are of delegates from the Town. They hold annual meetings, as the counties semi-annual, to hear reports from the County Lyceums on the progress of education in every part of the state, to collect and combine facts of a useful character, to publish results and statements of former experiments, to suggest new ones, to confer and propose prizes and rewards,—in a word, to act in every particular as a sort of Provincial Board in aid of the National one (as the National Lyceum may be called) for the promotion of general education.

The "National Lyceum," which forms the fourth and crowning department of the institution, is composed of delegates from the State Lyceums. Where State Lyceums are not established, the National Lyceum invites delegates from the County or Town Lyceums, as the case may be, or, where they have not yet appeared, from the several classes of public teachers. The National Lyceum meets once a year, in May, to receive reports from all the State Lyceums, to discuss subjects connected with the general objects and interests of the institution, especially the advancement of Lyceum and Common School education, and in general to determine the best means which may be devised to insure the general diffusion of useful knowledge. The minutes of their meetings state the subjects which have been discussed. Several are of the highest interest and utility, such as "The most eligible plan of promoting education by legislative enactments:" "Ought Manual-labor schools to be encouraged, and upon what general plan?" "What are the greatest desiderata for the improvement of Common Schools?" Some of these questions were argued at great length: others merely suggested, after a brief outline, for future argument; and members of the Lyceum appointed

to collect information, and to prepare reports thereon for the next annual meeting. Ladies, as well as gentlemen, (and who have better claim than they have to be consulted, especially on early education?) the most experienced professors as well as the most distinguished statesmen, theorists and practical men, were all equally engaged — all with an equal zeal and benevolence — in these most useful pursuits. Professor C. Dewey was appointed to prepare a report or address "On the Introduction of the Natural Sciences into Common Schools"; the Honorable Mr. Everett, "On Systems of Education, with a special reference to the promotion of national unity and elevation of character"; Miss C. Beecher, "On the appropriate branches of Female education, and the appropriate organization of Female schools." To collect, consolidate, and perpetuate these advantages, "Corresponding" and "Recording" Secretaries were appointed. The Corresponding Secretaries have each their particular department: to the first is assigned the department of "Colleges, and their connection with Common Schools"; to the second, that of "books, apparatus, and branches of study"; to the third, "legislative provisions and arrangements for schools, public institutions," &c. They are required during the year to collect details on each of these heads, to report thereon at the annual meeting, and to furnish copies and all accompanying documents relating thereto to the Recording Secretary. The Recording Secretary, on his side, has to digest and arrange these materials in a practical form; and to publish them, when approved, for the general benefit of the members and friends of the institution. Nor are these aids confined to pupils: in addition, there are periodical meetings, in the counties, states, and finally at New York, of public Teachers,— one of the best means yet devised to keep instruction up to the existing standard of civilization.

The result of this organization in every department has far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of its founders. It has extended and improved schools, not only by offering infinitely greater facilities and exciting a greater desire for their establishment, but also by elevating the character of their instruction. "By the simplest means," adds the Report, "entirely within the reach of every town in the United States, the character of a vast number of schools has been *entirely changed*, and that, too, without any additional expense of time or money. Numerous towns are now realizing double from their appropriations to schools of what they received two years since. The same teachers and the same pupils do twice the work but very recently performed by them, in consequence of the management and aid received by them from Lyceums. These institutions virtually constitute a *Seminary for Teachers*, already enjoyed by thousands, and capable of being so extended as to embrace every teacher in our Union, and under such circumstances as to improve him immediately, constantly, and without expense."— *Report*,

p. 11. Indeed, so efficient has such influence been that to it, in a great degree, has been ascribed the Convention of Teachers assembled in Boston in May, 1830, consisting of several hundred persons, principally of this profession, from eleven different states in the Union, for the purpose of forming a society of teachers, under the name of the "*American Institute of Instruction.*" To judge from their constitution, and the lectures delivered on the occasion, the project was attended with no small degree of success. "To elevate the standard of popular instruction, to obtain by co-operation a knowledge of its actual condition, to diffuse it still more widely, and to raise the standard of the qualification of its instructors, so that the business of teaching shall not be the last resort of dulness and indolence," were objects well worthy the attention of a state whose first principle is "that the wise and continued exercise of their free institutions can only be secured by the universal diffusion of education"; and, as a consequence, "that the state" — I still quote the Report — "is bound to provide for, and compel, the education of all its citizens." But, lofty as these objects may be, proportionate zeal and ability have been evinced in carrying them out into execution. The discourses of Professor Weyland, Mr. Carter, and Mr. Colburn especially, evince the superiority of American teachers as a body to our own,— a superiority not ascribable to any pre-eminence of intellect or position, but chiefly, in addition to their own exertions, to their far greater spirit of union and co-operation, favored, as we have seen, by the existence of something like a national system to carry such a feeling into practical effect. But the ameliorations are not limited to the improvement of teachers. It has established, materially enlarged, and extended the sphere and utility of libraries, museums, &c. "Many, before the Lyceum had been established, consisted of not more than a dozen or two of books, and even these few were without readers. The communication of knowledge has infinitely increased the thirst for more. It has formed everywhere not only the nucleus of useful collections, but roused (what is infinitely more valuable) a curiosity and desire of literary and scientific acquisition in every class, which will, at no distant period, by its exercise and operation add immeasurably to the ample accumulation already acquired of national and individual wealth and prosperity. It has developed talents before unknown even to the possessors themselves or their friends." It is still further emphatically observed by the Report "that in numerous instances some of the most valuable communications have been made by those from whom nothing was anticipated, and that not unfrequently in the hands of mechanics and farmers they are found to be conducted with more spirit and energy than when intrusted wholly or principally to men of literary pursuits. This of itself is a most encouraging mental revolution, and distinctly points out the opening of a new era. Everywhere its spirit is visible in the improved habits, moral and intellectual, of the population.

New and absorbing occupations have been substituted for the old; idleness yields to industry, intemperance to sobriety, turbulence to order, barbarism and brutality to civilization and refinement. Wherever Lyceums have been established, these results are to a degree uniform; the whole tone and character of society are almost instantaneously changed and elevated; the daily intercourse of neighbors and friends is diverted into a new and better channel; it continues to flow with increased beauty and energy, and to enliven, purify, and bless everything in its course. In a word, from the Lyceum Institution America seems destined yet to receive a remarkable alteration in the whole frame of her society. It will be, at the same time, the humanizer of her manners, the guardian of her institutions, and the best assurance she can desire of her future civilization, prosperity, and peace."— *Report*, pp. 11, 12.

Such is the American system: it is vast, and perhaps a long period must elapse before it can be put into complete operation. Like most American organizations, it contemplates a comprehensive future, and seems designed by a broad original plan to avoid all those numerous incoherencies to which, from a different principle and conduct, all English administration and legislation are eminently subject. This difference is radical, and results from the different manner in which the two states were founded. Our laws and institutions have come to us fragment by fragment, the immediate effect of some urgent necessity, without much reference to past or future America looks out from her vantage ground over a great community and creates calmly and deliberately for a still mightier posterity She already sees, though faintly, the outlines of a great nation,— the village preluding to the town, and the log house to the village,— and prepares for this expanding size and strength accordingly. In the interval, whatever is done will be done on system; there will be nothing to waste or thwart future effort; each part will be in harmony with the whole and with each other.

Emerson once said, "My pulpit is the Lyceum platform." When he retired from the pulpit, in 1832, he simply transferred his ministry from the church to the platform. It was on the lecture platform above all other places that he was at home. He was *par excellence* Emerson the Lecturer. Some one has said that he created a new profession, that of the lecturer; and another has said that he gave to the Lyceum in this country its form and character, and made it the efficient instrument of instruction and reform which it was for the third of a century and more during which he occupied the platform. Almost everything that he wrote after "Nature" was written originally for the platform. It is of great significance in the career of Emerson that the Lyceum movement in New England was started just before he needed precisely such opportunities as this organization afforded.

The first outline of such work as the Lyceum did in America for a generation in the middle of the nineteenth century was contained in a letter published in the *American Journal of Education* for October, 1826, under the title of "Associations of Adults for Mutual Education." The letter is anonymous; but an editorial note states that it is "from an individual whose attention has been long and peculiarly directed to the subject on which he writes, and who has contributed extensive and efficient service to associations modelled on a

plan similar to that which is now presented to our readers." The pamphlet reprinted in the present leaflet, first published in Boston in 1829, is the earliest pamphlet concerning the movement, which it shows to have been already well under way at that time. A similar pamphlet was published in Boston in 1831, much fuller than that of 1829, giving a history of the work up to date, and an account of a recent convention in New York to federate the various Lyceums of the country in a "National Lyceum." The passage in the English article, printed above, draws largely upon this pamphlet report of 1831. The American Lyceum affected very greatly the development of the Mechanics' Institutes in England. It will be remembered that it was to lecture before various of these Mechanics' Institutes that Emerson went to England in 1847. See Alexander Ireland's Recollections of Emerson, in Old South Leaflet No. 138. See lecture on "Lyceums and Societies for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," by Nehemiah Cleaveland, before the American Institute of Instruction, Boston, 1830, published in the Institute's annual volume; also lecture "On the Usefulness of Lyceums," by S. C. Phillips, before the same, 1831. The importance of the Lyceum in the improvement and development of popular education in New England can hardly be over-estimated. The Massachusetts State Board of Education was created in 1837; but the pamphlet of 1829, reprinted in the present leaflet, shows that the promoters of the Lyceum movement from the first looked to the development of State Boards of Education from their movement. The movement was coincident with the great educational work in Massachusetts of James Gordon Carter and Horace Mann. See Carter's Account of the Schools of Massachusetts in 1824, in Old South Leaflet No. 135.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 140.

Samuel Hoar's Expulsion from Charleston.

A Reprint of Senate Document No. 4, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1845.

Message.

To the House of Representatives.

In March, 1843, the Legislature of this Commonwealth passed resolves authorizing the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, to appoint agents in the city of Charleston, in the State of South Carolina, and New Orleans, in the State of Louisiana, to collect and transmit accurate information as to the number and names of citizens of Massachusetts who may have been imprisoned in either of those cities without the allegation of any crime; and those resolutions authorized the agent to bring one or more suits in behalf of persons thus imprisoned, at the expense of the Commonwealth.

Under those Resolves, my predecessor appointed two persons successively in the city of New Orleans, and one in the city of Charleston, all of whom declined serving as agents under their appointments.

In March, 1844, an additional resolve was passed, authorizing the appointment of agents to reside in the cities above named for the purpose of carrying out the object of the first named Resolves. After the adjournment of the Legislature, an agent living in each of those cities was appointed, and commissions were sent them. They both declined the trust. In compliance with what was deemed to be the intention and direction of the Legislature, that agents should be appointed, I

nominated the Hon. Samuel Hoar, of Concord, to the agency in South Carolina, and the Hon. Henry Hubbard, of Pittsfield, to the agency in Louisiana. Their nominations having been confirmed by the Council, they were appointed and commissioned accordingly.

In November Mr. Hoar left the Commonwealth and proceeded to Charleston in the discharge of the duties of his agency. On reaching Charleston he addressed a note to the Governor of the State, in respectful terms informing him of his appointment, and the nature of the duties he had to perform.

How this agent of the Commonwealth was regarded and treated by the authorities of South Carolina will be shown by the official proceedings of her Legislature, embodied in a report and a series of Resolutions, which I have since received from the Governor of the State, and which I herewith transmit to you. I also communicate to you a report from Mr. Hoar, giving an account of his attempt to execute the trust committed to him, and of his treatment by the citizens of Charleston.

In the second section of an act of the Legislature of South Carolina, passed on the 29th day of December, 1835, it is enacted " That it shall not be lawful for any free negro, or person of color, to come into this State, on board any vessel, as a cook, steward or mariner, or in any other employment, on board such vessel; and in case any vessel shall arrive in any port or harbor of this State, from any other State or foreign port, having on board any free negro or person of color, employed on board such vessel as a cook, steward or mariner, or in any other employment, it shall be the duty of the sheriff of the district, in which such port or harbor is situated, immediately on the arrival of such vessel to apprehend such free negro or person of color, so arriving contrary to this act, and to confine him or her closely in jail, until such vessel shall be hauled off from the wharf, and ready to proceed to sea. And that when said vessel is ready to sail, the captain of the said vessel shall be bound to carry away the said free negro, or person of color, and to pay the expenses of his or her commitment."

Under this extraordinary law many of our colored citizens, who have entered the port of Charleston, on board our vessels, in the pursuit of a lawful commerce, and complying with all the provisions of the laws of the United States, regulating

commerce among the States, have been from time to time seized by the officers of that State, taken from their ships and confined in the public prisons until their vessels were ready to depart, when they were compelled to pay the expense of their detention. The color of their skin was the only offence which subjected those citizens to a felon's treatment.

The Legislature and people of Massachusetts believe that law of South Carolina to be in direct and palpable violation of that clause of the Constitution of the United States which declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States," and also of that part of the Constitution which confers upon *Congress* the power "to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the several *States*, and with the Indian tribes." With a view to prevent the repetition of these wrongs upon her own citizens, under what she considered the harsh and unconstitutional law of a sister State, Massachusetts wished, in the manner pointed out in the Resolves of her Legislature, and which she considered perfectly respectful to that sister State, to bring the question of the constitutionality of that law before the Supreme Court of the United States, the appointed tribunal of this Union to settle questions of this kind.

The late William Wirt, when he was Attorney General of the United States, was called upon by the Secretary of State for his opinion of a law of the State of South Carolina, which in principle and in its essential features was the same as the present law. In that opinion he said, "*it seems very clear to me that this section of the law of South Carolina is incompatible with the national Constitution, and the laws passed under it, and is therefore void.*"

A subject of the British government was imprisoned in Charleston, under this law of South Carolina, and his case was brought before the late learned and distinguished William Johnson, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, for his adjudication and decision. Judge Johnson was then a citizen of South Carolina, and a resident of Charleston. He was familiar with this remarkable law, the circumstances under which it was passed, and the reason urged in its favor by its supporters. No one could charge him, any more than they could Mr. Wirt, with hostility to the domestic institutions of the State.

In a very able and elaborate opinion pronounced in that

case, he said, "but it is not necessary to give this candid exposé of the grounds which this law assumes; for it is a subject of positive proof that it is altogether irreconcilable with the powers of the general government; that it necessarily compromits the public peace, and tends to embroil us with, if not separate us from, our sister States; in short that it leads to a dissolution of the Union, and implies a direct attack upon the sovereignty of the United States." And farther he says, "Upon the whole I am decidedly of opinion that the third section of the State Act, now under consideration, is unconstitutional and void, and that every arrest made under it subjects the parties making it to an action of trespass."

Under a law thus characterized by these eminent jurists the citizens of Massachusetts have been imprisoned in the jails of South Carolina. To prevent a continuance of this injustice to her unoffending and peaceful citizens, she sought by the means pointed out in the Resolves above referred to, to aid them to bring their case before the common judicial tribunal of the Union for its decision. For pursuing this course, every step of which has been friendly, constitutional, and respectful to the State of South Carolina and her authorities, the Legislature of that State has seen fit to denounce her in no measured terms, and to ascribe to her motives entirely foreign from the real and avowed ones under which she acted, and to say that "our agent came there, not as a citizen of the United States, but as the emissary of a foreign government, *hostile to their domestic institutions*, and with the *sole* purpose of subverting their internal police," and then proceed to pass resolutions expelling that agent from their State. There is nothing in any part of the proceedings of Massachusetts that can be tortured into the evidence of any such purpose as is unjustly ascribed to them, and the conduct, the private and public character of that agent, who was compelled to leave the State by the demonstration of popular violence in the city of Charleston, was a pledge that he was incapable of interfering with the domestic institutions of another State. The conduct of Mr. Hoar under the circumstances seems to me to have been marked by that prudence, firmness, and wisdom which have distinguished his character through his life. Who can fail to perceive that this course of South Carolina to sustain and enforce such a law, directly leads to what her own eminent jurist, with judicial and prophetic wisdom, declared would be its consequences?

In a report made by a committee of the House of Representatives of the United States upon this subject some two or three years since, the committee say, "It seems to be understood that the application of these laws to foreign vessels has of late years been suspended." If this is the case, what reason can be assigned for this discrimination between the vessels of sister States coming into their ports under the laws of Congress regulating commerce among the States, and foreign vessels coming into the same ports under the laws regulating commerce with foreign nations? Can it be doubted that, if the authorized Agent of a foreign government, sent to Charleston to procure the liberation, by peaceful and legal means, of a subject imprisoned under this law of South Carolina, had received such treatment as the agent of Massachusetts met with, that government would have been justified by the usages of nations in sending a ship of war to seek redress, by battering down the walls of the prison that held their injured subject? In the report adopted by her Legislature it is said that South Carolina, by entering into the Union, "yielded the right to keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, without the consent of Congress." Did it not occur to the Legislature of that State, during the progress of those extraordinary proceedings, that their sister States had also "yielded their right to keep troops and ships of war in time of peace," and that their hands were tied, by their obligations to that Union, from pursuing that course to obtain redress for indignities offered to themselves, and wrongs done to their citizens, which is open to all foreign States and Nations? Such a reflection would seem naturally to suggest itself to the people of a brave and high-minded State.

What course it becomes Massachusetts to pursue under the circumstances of this case will be for her Legislature to decide. I have no doubt she will with firmness and dignity maintain all her constitutional rights; and whilst she holds herself bound to respect the rights of her sister States, and to discharge towards them and the Union all her obligations, she will claim from them the fulfilment of all their obligations to her. In the unyielding pursuit of these objects, I am sure she will do nothing unworthy of herself or derogatory to the character of the Confederacy of which she is a member.

The papers from South Carolina and the letter of Mr. Hoar being transmitted in the original, I respectfully request that

they, together with this Message, may be communicated by the honorable House to the other branch of the Legislature.

GEORGE N. BRIGGS.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, *January 6th*, 1845.

I.

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

GOVERNOR'S MESSAGE No. III.

Executive Department,
Columbia, 30th November, 1844.

Gentlemen of the Senate
and House of Representatives:

The accompanying communication was received by the last mail, and I deem it proper that it should be laid before you for your information. It will be seen that the State of Massachusetts has appointed a Special Agent to reside in this State, for the purpose of contesting, by a series of law suits, a long standing law of a peculiar character, which is deemed of vital importance to the security of our property and the peace of our citizens. She has also appropriated a fund for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the litigation. These facts I gather only from the communication of her Agent, which is transmitted to you. I have received no notification from the Authorities of the State. It is for you to determine whether any and what measures should be taken to maintain the police regulations of this State within her limits.

J. H. HAMMOND.

CHARLESTON, 28th Nov. 1844.

SIR: — Your Excellency is already informed of remonstrances made by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against the arrest and imprisonment of her citizens in South Carolina, against whom the commission of no crime is alleged. The Legislature of Massachusetts has recently passed a Resolve, authorizing the Governor of that State to appoint an agent "for the purpose of collecting and transmitting accurate information respecting the number and the names of citizens of Massachusetts who have heretofore been, or may be, during the period of the engagement of the agent, imprisoned without the allegation of any crime." The agent is also authorized to bring and prosecute one or more suits in behalf of any citizen that

may be so imprisoned, at the expense of Massachusetts, for the purpose of having the legality of such imprisonment tried and determined in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Governor of Massachusetts has appointed me agent of that State, to execute the purposes above mentioned; and I arrived in this city this morning for that purpose. I do not know that your Excellency will consider it proper in any way to notice this subject, yet propriety seemed to require the communication.

With great respect, your Excellency's ob. st.,

SAMUEL HOAR.

To His Excellency,

J. H. HAMMOND, Gov. of South Carolina.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Dec. 5, 1844.

Mr. De Saussure, from the Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred Message No. 3 of His Excellency the Governor, and the Communication of Samuel Hoar, submitted the following Report, which was read, and ordered to be considered immediately:

The Committee on Federal Relations, to whom was referred the Communication of His Excellency the Governor, transmitting a letter addressed to him by Samuel Hoar, an agent of the State of Massachusetts for certain purposes, submit the following Report:

By an act passed on the 19th day of December, 1835, the General Assembly endeavored to guard against the introduction of free negroes and persons of color into this State, upon principles of public policy, affecting her safety and her most vital interests. The right of excluding from their territories conspirators against the public peace, and disaffected persons whose presence may be dangerous to their safety, is essential to every government. It is everywhere exercised by independent States, and there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States which forbids to South Carolina the right, or relieves this Legislature from the duty, of providing for the public safety.

Massachusetts has seen fit to contest this right, and has sent an agent to reside in the midst of us, whose avowed object is to defeat a police regulation essential to our peace. This agent

comes here, not as a citizen of the United States, but as the emissary of a Foreign Government, hostile to our domestic institutions, and with the sole purpose of subverting our internal police. We should be insensible to every dictate of prudence if we consented to the residence of such a missionary, or shut our eyes to the consequences of his interference with our domestic concerns.

The Union of these States was formed for the purpose, among other things, of ensuring domestic tranquillity, and providing for the common defence, and in consideration thereof this State yielded the right to keep troops or ships of war, in time of peace, without the consent of Congress; but, while thus consenting to be disarmed, she has, in no part of the constitutional compact, surrendered her right of internal government and police, and, on the contrary thereof, has expressly reserved all powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the States.

The State of Massachusetts denominates as citizens those persons for whose protection her tender solicitude has devised this extraordinary mission. Yet, if it were admitted that they are citizens of that State, your Committee cannot suppose that she will challenge for them greater rights, immunities, and privileges, within our territories, than are enjoyed by persons of the same class in South Carolina. But your Committee deny that they are citizens, within the meaning of the Constitution; nor did Massachusetts herself treat as citizens persons of this class residing within her limits, either at the adoption of the Constitution or since, but, on the contrary, they were subjected to various disabilities, from which her other inhabitants were exempt.

Your Committee cannot but regard this extraordinary movement as part of a deliberate and concerted scheme to subvert the domestic institutions of the Southern States, in plain violation of the terms of the national compact, and of the good faith which ought to subsist between the parties thereto, and to which they stand solemnly pledged.

Your Committee recommend the adoption of the following Resolutions:

Resolved, That the right to exclude from their territories seditious persons or others whose presence may be dangerous to their peace is essential to every independent State.

Resolved, That free negroes and persons of color are not cit-

izens of the United State within the meaning of the Constitution, which confers upon the citizens of one State the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Resolved, That the emissary sent by the State of Massachusetts to the State of South Carolina, with the avowed purpose of interfering with her institutions and disturbing her peace, is to be regarded in the character he has assumed, and to be treated accordingly.

Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to expel from our territory the said agent, after due notice to depart; and that the Legislature will sustain the Executive authority in any measures it may adopt for the purpose aforesaid.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit forthwith to the Governors of the several States and Territories a copy of his Message, No. 3, to this Legislature, communicating the letter of Samuel Hoar, Agent from the State of Massachusetts, and also a copy of the Report and Resolutions of the Committee on Federal Relations of the House thereon, which has been agreed to by both branches of the Legislature.

I hereby certify that the above Resolution was agreed to in the Senate and concurred in by the House of Representatives.

THOMAS W. GLOVER, *Clerk H. R.*

House of Representatives, Dec. 6, 1844.

Executive Department,
Columbia, South Carolina, Dec. 6, 1844.

Sir:—I have been requested by the Legislature of this State to transmit you the above Message, and Report and Resolutions.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,
J. H. HAMMOND.

His Excellency Thos. N. Briggs.

II.

Sir,— I transmit to you, to be presented to the Governor of the Commonwealth, the following account of my proceedings in my agency in Charleston, S.C., under the Resolves of the Legislature of Massachusetts, of March 24th, 1843, and March 16th, 1844.

I arrived in Charleston about six o'clock on the morning of the 28th of November. In the course of the forenoon of the same day, in pursuance of instructions from His Excellency the Governor, I addressed a letter to the Governor of South Carolina of which the following is a copy: — [*see letter on pp. 6–7.*]

On the next morning, which was Friday, I called on Mr. Eggleston, the gentleman who had received before me an appointment to this agency by the Governor of Massachusetts, and requested him to introduce me to the Mayor of the city of Charleston. This I did for the purpose of procuring access to the records of orders on sentences to imprisonment of our colored seamen, or other citizens. Mr. Eggleston readily acceded to my request, but observed that, in his opinion, it would be best that he should first see the Mayor and explain to him my purposes, before I should go to his office to be introduced to him. To this I assented, and he left me in his office to await his return. He was absent a considerable time, and on his return he informed me that the Mayor was at Columbia, where the Legislature was in session; that he had been conversing with the gentleman who temporarily discharged the duties of Mayor, and that they both concluded it would be best for me to await the return of the Mayor before attempting to do anything relating to the business on which I was sent. I accordingly passed the remainder of the time, the Mayor not having returned, awaiting his arrival, till Monday afternoon, without meeting any occurrence worth relating.

On the afternoon of Monday I was informed that Governor Hammond had communicated my letter to the Legislature at Columbia, and that it had raised a great commotion. After conversing some time on the subject, I walked out from my lodgings some distance, and on returning at dark I met at the hotel where I lodged three gentlemen, standing in the piazza near the door. As soon as I ascended the steps, one of them stepped forward and said, "Is your name Hoar, sir?" I answered yes. He then said, "I am the sheriff of Charleston District, and I have some business with you, sir." This he

uttered with great warmth and earnestness. He then introduced to me one of the other gentlemen as the acting Mayor of the city and one of the aldermen, and the other as another alderman. I invited them to walk up into a common sitting-room of the house.

When seated, the sheriff inquired of me what my business was in Charleston. I answered that I had communicated my business to the Governor of South Carolina, and stated to him in substance what my business was. He then said, "It is suspected that you are an abolitionist, and have come here to accomplish some of their measures." I hesitated a little, doubting whether it would be proper to say whether I was an abolitionist or not, but soon concluded that I would endeavor to remove all pretence of that kind, and informed him that I was no abolitionist, that I had been for many years a member of the colonization society, between whom and the abolitionists there was not much harmony. He then said, "Some suspect that this is all a hoax: you have sent no credentials." This was true. Not having any negotiations with the Governor, I had not thought it necessary to send to him a copy of my commission. I answered that I had supposed the Governor would take my word for the facts I had stated to him, but that I had a commission from the Governor of Massachusetts, which I was willing to exhibit to any one who desired to see it. He desired to see it, and I went to my room, brought and delivered it to him. I am uncertain whether I offered to let him take a copy of it, or whether he first requested permission to take a copy, but I gave permission to have made a copy of the commission and of the Resolves of the Legislature on which it was founded. He then said, "It is considered a great insult on South Carolina by Massachusetts to send an agent here on such business. This city is highly incensed. You are in great danger, and you had better leave the city as soon as possible." I answered that I had been sent there by the Government of Massachusetts on lawful business, and that I could not leave the city until I had at least attempted to perform that business. He then produced a letter, which he said he had received from the Attoney General of that State, and read to me a part of it, in which the writer urged the avoidance of a resort to *lynching*, saying that it would disgrace the city, and adding that he did not know on whom he could call with more propriety than on the sheriff to prevent this process. After reading this part of the

letter, he said it was unnecessary to read the rest; that he should endeavor, at the hazard of his life, to defend me, but he added either that he doubted whether he could do it or that he did not think he could do it. He repeated several times, and with great earnestness, that the citizens regarded my mission as a great insult from Massachusetts; that they were in a state of great excitement, and that, as a friend, he would advise me, as the only means of safety, to leave the city as soon as possible. I gave him substantially the same answer as above stated, and after one of the aldermen had offered to give me a receipt for the papers if I desired it, which I told him was unnecessary, they left me, saying, the papers should be returned by nine o'clock the next morning.

On Tuesday morning I waited at my lodgings until about ten o'clock, and not hearing from the sheriff I walked out and soon met him on horseback, coming, as he said, to return my papers. After delivering them to me, he repeated the remarks he had made on the preceding evening on the danger I incurred by remaining in the city. After stating in strong terms, and in an earnest manner, the excited state of the city, and my danger, he said, What do you expect? You can never get a verdict, and, if you should, the Marshal would need all the troops of the United States to enforce the judgment. I answered that that was not my business; that my business was, if I could, to procure a judgment. We then separated, and I returned soon to my lodgings.

In the course of the forenoon four or five gentlemen called on me as friends, professing, and I have no doubt truly, to disapprove of the threatened violence of the citizens, but confirming what the sheriff had told me respecting the commotion in the city. They informed me of the various plans in agitation for ridding the city of my presence. The mildest and most lenient measure which they mentioned was that I should be taken, carried on board one of the New York packets, and sent to New York. I told them that, if that was the manner in which I was to be disposed of, I should prefer being sent by the Wilmington boat and the land route by which I had come to the city, but that I could not voluntarily leave the city until I had performed the business on which I was sent. Their statements did not materially differ in anything else from those made by the sheriff.

In the evening of the same day a gentleman, to whom I had

received a letter of introduction from a friend in Boston, called on me, and said that the sheriff had offered, if I would leave the city, that he would, to use his expression, agree a case, to be submitted to the Circuit Court of the United States first, and then carried to the Supreme Court for final decision. I told him that I would do it; that I had no desire to remain in the city after my business should be accomplished; and the sheriff having before informed me that he had then no citizen of Massachusetts in his custody, I observed that, if we could agree on a statement of facts, it would very much expedite my departure.

I had procured in Boston a number of the names of colored seamen who had been taken out of Massachusetts vessels at Charleston, and there imprisoned under the law in question, in the name of either of two of whom I felt authorized to commence a suit. It was agreed between my informant and me that I should meet a number of gentlemen at the sheriff's office the next morning at nine o'clock, for the purpose of attempting to make this arrangement. At about nine o'clock the next morning, which was Wednesday, I accordingly went to the sheriff's office, but found neither the sheriff nor any other of the gentlemen mentioned there. I was informed by one of the sheriff's clerks that he had stepped out on some business, but would probably return in a few minutes. I waited probably half or three-quarters of an hour, and, he not returning, I was about to leave the office, and the clerk said that, if I would name an hour when I would be there, he would inform the sheriff, and he probably would then meet me. I named twelve o'clock, and at that time returned to the office, and there found the sheriff. On stating to him the arrangement which was made on the preceding evening, he said that the gentleman had represented correctly his proposal, but that on further reflection and consultation he must retract the offer; that he might by that course thwart the purposes of the State; and, besides, that he had not been long in office, and he did not know that there was any case which would properly present the question to be tried, but, however that might be, he could not execute the agreement. At this meeting he informed me that Governor Hammond had given some assurances at Columbia, which removed all personal objections to me, but repeated in substance what he had before said of the insult by Massasetts in sending any person there on such business, and their determination to rid themselves of me by some means.

On leaving the sheriff's office, I was going to a house more dis-

tant from my lodgings than the office. When I had proceeded not more than one or two rods from the door, a man decently dressed and of middle age, with a cane or a club grasped firmly in his hand, came up to me and said, "Is your name Hoar?" I answered yes. He then said, "You had better be travelling, and the sooner the better for you, I can tell you; if you stay here until to-morrow morning, you will feel something you will not like, I'm thinking." He did not strike, nor offer to strike, but his manner was even more insolent than his language. I made no reply, but walked on to the place for which I had started. On my return by the office, a short time after, I did not see this man. A number of young men were assembled on the opposite corner of the street, by whom I passed without any molestation.

About two or half-past two o'clock on the same day, Dr. Whitredge, to whom I had been introduced by a letter from a friend of his in Boston, with whom I had conversed several times, and who, when the excitement first commenced, had said he did not think the citizens would proceed to acts of violence, called on me at my lodgings. This gentleman, not yet an old man, had been in the army during nearly the whole of the late war with England, and for some time after its close; now, as I was informed, at the head of his profession as a physician in the city, and sustaining as high and pure a character as any man in Charleston. I mention his character and standing to show the ground of confidence in him. He requested me to go where we might be by ourselves, and seemed anxious lest we should be overheard. When by ourselves, I observed that he was much agitated. He once or twice attempted to speak, but failed, and averted his face from me. When he did speak, he said that he felt unutterable mortification in making the communication which he felt bound to make to me; that a state of things actually existed which he had not thought possible in Charleston; that he had been round in different parts of the city, and had just then come from the city council; that my danger was not only great, but imminent; that the people were assembled and assembling in groups; that nothing seemed wanting but some one to say, "Now is your time," to bring on the attack; that he thought it probable, should I start soon, that I might get safely out of the city. He informed me where I could procure a carriage, and go to his plantation about twenty miles from the city, where his family

then were, where he said I should be hospitably received, and where I might remain until I could fix on further measures. He said that the roads were muddy; that I could not arrive at his house before dark; and mentioned a tavern where he thought I might lodge in safety that night, and proceed on my journey in the morning. He added that, if I desired it, he would accompany me. It occurred to me that my daughter, who had accompanied me, though in the same house, was fortunately lodged in a room quite remote from mine and in the vicinity of a number of women; that no odium had been excited toward her, and that she probably would be as safe as the other women in the house. After a moment's reflection, I answered Dr. Whitredge that, if I should then leave the city, I could not afterward return to it; that to return after thus leaving it would place me in a worse situation than was the present; that I should not know where to go from his house, for, should I run away from duty, I should be ashamed to return to Massachusetts; that I must decline the acceptance of his kind offer, and that, whatever might happen, I must abide the event. He did not urge me to change my determination, but after a little more conversation left me.

I expected the attack during the following night. One gentleman, unsolicited, assured me that he would make common cause, and take his chance with me. The night passed without any riotous proceeding about the house. I did not then know what prevented the outbreak, but afterward understood that it was by the spread of the information that the conductors of the affair had resolved on the milder measure of removing me to the boat.

On Thursday I told a friend, with whom I often conversed, of the assault on me near the sheriff's office, and described to him, as well as I could, the person of the assailant. He told me he believed the assailant to be one of the sheriff's officers.

About noon, on Thursday, three men, Mr. Rose, the president of one of the Charleston banks, Mr. Mazyck, and Mr. Magrath, the two last, lawyers in the city, called at my lodgings. I had not seen either of them before. They told me their names, and said they had come to see if they could induce me to leave the city. I answered them as I had before answered the sheriff and others who had made a similar proposal. They entered into an argument to convince me that, as the state of things then was in the city, I ought to depart from it. I answered

them as well as I was able, stating the lawful nature of my business, and the necessity I was under of endeavoring to perform it. After perhaps half an hour spent in conversation, Mr. Rose said that a number of gentlemen would call on me about two o'clock, and either *conduct* me or *escort* me to the boat. I am uncertain which expression he used. I told him I was well aware that fighting on my part would be foolish; that I should attempt nothing of that kind, that I was too old to run, and that they would find me there to be disposed of as they should think proper. They said that I should have time to prepare for my departure, as the boat would not leave Charleston till about three o'clock. When they were about to leave the room, I told them I had a daughter with me. Mr. Rose answered, "It is that which creates or created our embarrassment." They left me at about one o'clock.

These men used no violent or harsh language. Their style and demeanor were gentlemanly. But they indicated that their purpose was determined.

My daughter and I then prepared for our departure, and awaited the arrival of those who were to remove me till two o'clock, and till three o'clock, but no one came. I did not then know the reason of this, but learned before night that an accident had prevented the arrival of the boat at the usual hour. She did arrive and depart, however, before dark, but I heard nothing more that day from my morning visitors.

In the evening of Thursday the sheriff called on me. I was sitting in a common parlor where there were several others, and, supposing that he had some special business with me, I arose to attend him to some more private apartment. On observing this, he said, "I have no special business with you, I merely called to see you," or something of that kind. We then sat down and conversed a few minutes on some common subject. He then said, "The city is now quiet, and I am going to leave it in the morning." I then related to him the occurrence at the door of his office. "Oh," said he, "an officer of mine witnessed the transaction, immediately informed me of it, and I went out." He probably might have gone out, but I did not see him. I inquired of the sheriff the name of the man who made the assault. He said it was not best to expose him, and declined giving me his name. He then left me, and I have not since seen him.

On Friday, about noon, Dr. Whitredge called on me, and

informed me that the keeper of the hotel where I lodged had presented to the city government a request that they would take measures to remove me from his house, to preserve it from the impending danger. He had never requested me to leave his house, nor in any way intimated to me such a desire. That he should not wish to have his house subjected to the management of a mob could be easily understood; but why he should apply to the city government to remove me, without mentioning the subject to me, I do not know.

This presented to me a subject of some difficulty. That I could not stay longer in that house was quite certain. I believed that there were two gentlemen either of whom would receive me into his house, should I request it. But whether I ought to ask it, or even to accept the offer, if made, appeared to me by no means certain. Should I enter any private house to reside there, it would be in more danger than the hotel where I was; and that it would expel all the females and children from the house, and subject the owner, should he remain there, to equal danger with myself, seemed to be necessary consequences.

I had not settled this question with myself or determined what course I should pursue, when a waiter informed me that some gentlemen wished to see me in the hall below. I went down into the hall, and found there Mr. Rose and his associates, surrounded by a considerable number of men in the hall, and an assembly about the door, in the piazza, and on the side of the street. There were a number of carriages, I know not how many, standing by the house. Mr. Rose announced the purpose for which he had come, to conduct me to the boat.

On the preceding evening a gentleman informed me that a story was in circulation in the city, that I had consented to leave the city. I told him there was not the least foundation in truth for the report. He said he had so understood before, and had told his informant that he did not believe it. I told him that I should prevent any misunderstanding on that point.

As soon as Mr. Rose had mentioned the purpose for which they had come, I mentioned the information I had received, and added that I should put that matter beyond doubt; that I had given no such consent, and that, if I left the city, it would be because I *must*, not because I *would*. Mr. Rose answered, if this were so, there was a misunderstanding; that he had understood that for the sake of *preserving* the peace of the city, or of

restoring the peace of the city, I am uncertain which, I had consented to leave it; that *he* or that *they* had no power to order me away; that all they could do was to point out to me, or warn me of, what would follow, should I not go. I then repeated to him with precision the language I used to him as stated above, viz. that I was well aware that fighting on my part would be foolish; that I should attempt nothing of that kind, that I was too old to run, and that they would therefore find me there, to be disposed of as they should think proper. This was the only language I had used from which such an inference could be drawn. He did not deny that I had stated the conversation correctly, nor did he say that I used any other expression which had led him to his conclusion, but said he did understand that I had consented to leave the city.

As soon as he had done speaking or before, Mr. Eggleston, who had been appointed to this agency before me, and was standing between Mr. Rose and me, addressed me, saying I ought then to go; that it was impossible for me to remain longer in the city; that I had done all that I could, with many more remarks of a similar purport. Mr. Chadwick, one of the gentlemen to whom I carried letters from Boston, followed Mr. Eggleston with remarks of similar import.

It seemed then that there was but one question for me to settle, which was whether I should walk to a carriage or be dragged to it. Unless I disregarded the statements of friends as well as foes, and also the preparation which I then saw about me, this, I must conclude, was the only alternative. I could perceive no use to any State, cause, or person in choosing the latter, and I then, and for the first time, said that I would go. I stepped to the bar a few feet from me, settled a small bill for board which remained unpaid, one of the men present pointed out the carriage into which I was to enter, my daughter was called downstairs, we entered the carriage, and a moment after either the man who pointed out the carriage or some one else in the crowd, ordered the driver to drive on. We proceeded to the boat without any tumult or further abuse.

After arriving at the boat, a gentleman from Philadelphia who witnessed the transaction offered to point out to me a man, whose name he said was Vincent, and who, he said, he believed had some agency in the management of the line of boats between Charleston and Wilmington, whom he heard in the crowd announce himself as one who had offered himself as

a leader of a tar and feather gang to have been called into the service of the city on the occasion.

I did not then, and do not now, suppose that the company who visited me on Thursday noon, or the assembly at the hotel on Friday, intended to employ tar and feathers, brickbats, clubs, or any other violence dangerous to lives or limbs. Indeed, nearly all danger of anything more than the indignity of the application of so much force as should be necessary to place me in the boat had passed, even when the managers of the affair had finally resolved on this mode of removing me.

This, sir, I believe is as exact a narrative of the material facts in this case as I am able to give. In relating the several conversations which I had with different persons, I may not, and probably have not, always used their precise words. It would not have been easy to have recorded the transactions as they passed, and I have written this account since I returned to Massachusetts. I believe, however, that I have stated all the material facts substantially as they occurred.

It would be improper for me in this report to make many remarks on the relation which now exists between the several States of the Union, especially between Massachusetts and South Carolina. This report of facts, submitted for the use of his Excellency the Governor, would be an improper place for commentary. Besides, I may well be suspected of entertaining some feelings toward the latter State which, were there no other reason, would deprive remarks of mine of a claim to much regard.

Some questions, however, of a grave character force themselves on the mind. Has the Constitution of the United States the least practical validity or binding force in South Carolina, excepting where she thinks its operation favorable to her? She prohibits the trial of an action in the tribunals established under the Constitution for determining such cases, in which a citizen of Massachusetts complains that a citizen of South Carolina has done him an injury; saying that she has herself already tried that cause, and decided against the plaintiff. She prohibits, not only by her mobs, but by her Legislature; the residence of a free white citizen of Massachusetts within the limits of South Carolina, whenever she thinks his presence there inconsistent with her policy. Are the other States of the Union to be regarded as the conquered Provinces of South Carolina?

But I forbear. Those who are more competent than I am will consider these questions and others growing out of them, and, I trust, correctly decide them.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL HOAR.

December 20, 1844.

JOHN G. PALFREY, D.D., LL.D.,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

Samuel Hoar was born in Lincoln, Mass., in 1778. His father, both grandfathers, and two uncles were at Concord Bridge on the 19th of April, 1775, in the Lincoln Company. His father, Samuel Hoar, was a Revolutionary officer and served many years in the Massachusetts legislature. The son was graduated at Harvard in 1802, was for two years a private tutor in Virginia, then studied law, and began practice in Concord, which was his home for the rest of his life: he died in 1856. He became one of the most eminent lawyers in the State. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1820, three times a member of the State Senate, and in 1835–37 a member of Congress. In 1844 he was sent by the legislature to South Carolina to test the constitutionality of acts of that State authorizing the imprisonment of free colored persons who entered it. The excitement which his appearance caused and his expulsion from Charleston constitute one of the most stirring chapters of the anti-slavery struggle. His own account of this and Governor Briggs's message concerning it, with other papers, are printed in the present leaflet. Charles Francis Adams was the chairman of the legislative committee which prepared the report on the matter; and that very able report is Senate Document 31, 1845.

Samuel Hoar married a daughter of Roger Sherman; and among their sons were Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and George Frisbie Hoar. The latter has written the best memoir of his father, in the Memorial Biographies of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, vol. iii. This contains a list of other biographical accounts and tributes from Governor Andrew, Charles Sumner, Winthrop, Lyman Beecher, and others. Starr King said of him that "he lived all the beatitudes daily." "But," said Senator Hoar, "the best memorial of Samuel Hoar will be found in the two sketches by Ralph Waldo Emerson, noble and faithful as faces of Vandyke." One of these was published in *Putnam's Monthly*, December, 1856; the other in the *Monthly Religious Magazine*, January, 1857. Both appear in Emerson's "Lectures and Biographical Sketches." 1903.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 141.

On National Literature.

BY WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

First printed in the Christian Examiner, 1830.

By national literature we mean the expression of a nation's mind in writing. We mean the production among a people of important works in philosophy, and in the departments of imagination and taste. We mean the contributions of new truths to the stock of human knowledge. We mean the thoughts of profound and original minds, elaborated by the toil of composition, and fixed and made immortal in books. We mean the manifestation of a nation's intellect in the only forms by which it can multiply itself at home, and send itself abroad. We mean that a nation shall take a place, by its authors, among the lights of the world. It will be seen that we include under literature all the writings of superior minds, be the subjects what they may. We are aware that the term is often confined to compositions which relate to human nature and human life; that it is not generally extended to physical science; that mind, not matter, is regarded as its main subject and sphere. But the worlds of matter and mind are too intimately connected to admit of exact partition. All the objects of human thought flow into one another. Moral and physical truths have many bonds and analogies, and, whilst the former are the chosen and noblest themes of literature, we are not anxious to divorce them from the latter, or to shut them up in a separate department. The expression of superior mind in writing we regard, then, as a nation's literature. We regard its gifted men, whether devoted to the exact sciences, to mental and ethical philosophy, to history and legislation, or to fiction and poetry, as forming a

noble intellectual brotherhood; and it is for the purpose of quickening all to join their labors for the public good that we offer the present plea in behalf of a national literature.

To show the importance which we attach to the subject, we begin with some remarks on what we deem the distinction which a nation should most earnestly covet. We believe that more distinct apprehensions on this point are needed, and that, for want of them, the work of improvement is carried on with less energy, consistency, and wisdom, than may and should be brought to bear upon it. The great distinction of a country, then, is, that it produces superior men. Its natural advantages are not to be disdained. But they are of secondary importance. No matter what races of animals a country breeds, the great question is, Does it breed a noble race of men? No matter what its soil may be, the great question is, How far is it prolific of moral and intellectual power? No matter how stern its climate is, if it nourish force of thought and virtuous purpose. These are the products by which a country is to be tried, and institutions have value only by the impulse which they give to the mind. It has sometimes been said that the noblest men grow where nothing else will grow. This we do not believe, for mind is not the creature of climate or soil. But were it true, we should say that it were better to live among rocks and sands than in the most genial and productive region on the face of the earth.

As yet the great distinction of a nation on which we have insisted has been scarcely recognized. The idea of forming a superior race of men has entered little into schemes of policy. Invention and effort have been expended on matter much more than on mind. Lofty piles have been reared; the earth has groaned under pyramids and palaces. The thought of building up a nobler order of intellect and character has hardly crossed the most adventurous statesman. We beg that we may not be misapprehended. We offer these remarks to correct what we deem a disproportioned attention to physical good, and not at all to condemn the expenditure of ingenuity and strength on the outward world. There is a harmony between all our great interests, between inward and outward improvements; and by establishing among them a wise order all will be secured. We have no desire to shut up man in his own spiritual nature. The mind was made to act on matter, and it grows by expressing itself in material forms. We believe, too, that in proportion as

it shall gain intellectual and moral power it will exert itself with increased energy and delight on the outward creation; will pour itself forth more freely in useful and ornamental arts; will rear more magnificent structures, and will call forth new beauties in nature. An intelligent and resolute spirit in a community perpetually extends its triumphs over matter. It can even subject to itself the most unpromising region. Holland, diked from the ocean,— Venice, rising amidst the waves,— and New England, bleak and rock-bound New England, converted by a few generations from a wilderness into smiling fields and opulent cities,— point us to the mind as the great source of physical good, and teach us that, in making the culture of man our highest end, we shall not retard, but advance the cultivation of nature.

The question which we most solicitously ask about this country is, what race of men it is likely to produce. We consider its liberty of value only as far as it favors the growth of men. What is liberty? The removal of restraint from human powers. Its benefit is that it opens new fields for action and a wider range for the mind. The only freedom worth possessing is that which gives enlargement to a people's energy, intellect, and virtues. The savage makes his boast of freedom. But what is its worth? Free as he is, he continues for ages in the same ignorance, leads the same comfortless life, sees the same untamed wilderness spread around him. He is indeed free from what he calls the yoke of civil institutions. But other and worse chains bind him. The very privation of civil government is in effect a chain; for, by withholding protection from property, it virtually shackles the arm of industry, and forbids exertion for the melioration of his lot. Progress, the growth of power, is the end and boon of liberty; and, without this, a people may have the name, but want the substance and spirit of freedom.

We are the more earnest in enlarging on these views because we feel that our attachment to our country must be very much proportioned to what we deem its tendency to form a generous race of men. We pretend not to have thrown off national feeling; but we have some stronger feelings. We love our country much, but mankind more. As men and Christians, our first desire is to see the improvement of human nature. We desire to see the soul of man wiser, firmer, nobler, more conscious of its imperishable treasures, more beneficent and powerful, more

alive to its connection with God, more able to use pleasure and prosperity aright, and more victorious over poverty, adversity, and pain. In our survey of our own and other countries, the great question which comes to us is this, Where and under what institutions are men most likely to advance? Where are the soundest minds and the purest hearts formed? What nation possesses, in its history, its traditions, its government, its religion, its manners, its pursuits, its relations to other communities, and especially in its private and public means of education, the instruments and pledges of a more resolute virtue and devotion to truth than we now witness? Such a nation, be it where it may, will engage our warmest interest. We love our country, but not blindly. In all nations we recognize one great family, and our chief wish for our native land is that it may take the first rank among the lights and benefactors of the human race.

These views will explain the vast importance which we attach to a national literature. By this, as we have said, we understand the expression of a nation's mind in writing. It is the action of the most gifted understandings on the community. It throws into circulation through a wide sphere the most quickening and beautiful thoughts which have grown up in men of laborious study or creative genius. It is a much higher work than the communication of a gifted intellect in discourse. It is the mind giving to multitudes, whom no voice can reach, its compressed and selected thoughts in the most lucid order and attractive forms which it is capable of inventing. In other words, literature is the concentration of intellect for the purpose of spreading itself abroad and multiplying its energy.

Such being the nature of literature, it is plainly among the most powerful methods of exalting the character of a nation, of forming a better race of men; in truth, we apprehend that it may claim the first rank among the means of improvement. We know nothing so fitted to the advancement of society as to bring its higher minds to bear upon the multitude; as to establish close connections between the more or less gifted; as to spread far and wide the light which springs up in meditative, profound, and sublime understandings. It is the ordinance of God, and one of his most benevolent laws, that the human race should be carried forward by impulses which originate in a few minds, perhaps in an individual; and in this way the most interesting relations and dependencies of life are framed. When a great truth is to be revealed, it does not flash at once on the

race, but dawns and brightens on a superior understanding, from which it is to emanate and to illuminate future ages. On the faithfulness of great minds to this awful function, the progress and happiness of men chiefly depend. The most illustrious benefactors of the race have been men who, having risen to great truths, have held them as a sacred trust for their kind and have borne witness to them amid general darkness, under scorn and persecution, perhaps in the face of death. Such men, indeed, have not always made contributions to literature, for their condition has not allowed them to be authors; but we owe the transmission, perpetuity, and immortal power of their new and high thoughts to kindred spirits, which have concentrated and fixed them in books.

The quickening influences of literature need not be urged on those who are familiar with the history of modern Europe, and who of course know the spring given to the human mind by the revival of ancient learning. Through their writings the great men of antiquity have exercised a sovereignty over these later ages not enjoyed in their own. It is more important to observe that the influence of literature is perpetually increasing; for, through the press and the spread of education, its sphere is indefinitely enlarged. Reading, once the privilege of a few, is now the occupation of multitudes, and is to become one of the chief gratifications of all. Books penetrate everywhere, and some of the works of genius find their way to obscure dwellings which, a little while ago, seemed barred against all intellectual light. Writing is now the mightiest instrument on earth. Through this the mind has acquired a kind of omnipresence. To literature we then look as the chief means of forming a better race of human beings. To superior minds, which may act through this, we look for the impulses by which their country is to be carried forward. We would teach them that they are the depositaries of the highest power on earth, and that on them the best hopes of society rest.

We are aware that some may think that we are exalting intellectual above moral and religious influence. They may tell us that the teaching of moral and religious truth, not by philosophers and boasters of wisdom, but by the comparatively weak and foolish, is the great means of renovating the world. This truth we indeed regard as "the power of God unto salvation." But let none imagine that its chosen temple is an uncultivated mind, and that it selects, as its chief organs, the lips of the un-

learned. Religious and moral truth is indeed appointed to carry forward mankind, but not as conceived and expounded by narrow minds, not as darkened by the ignorant, not as debased by the superstitious, not as subtilized by the visionary, not as thundered out by the intolerant fanatic, not as turned into a drivelling cant by the hypocrite. Like all other truths, it requires for its full reception and powerful communication a free and vigorous intellect. Indeed, its grandeur and infinite connections demand a more earnest and various use of our faculties than any other subject. As a single illustration of this remark, we may observe that all moral and religious truth may be reduced to one great and central thought, perfection of mind, a thought which comprehends all that is glorious in the divine nature, and which reveals to us the end and happiness of our own existence. This perfection has as yet only dawned on the most gifted human beings, and the great purpose of our present and future existence is to enlarge our conceptions of it without end, and to embody and make them manifest in character and life. And is this sublime thought to grow within us, to refine itself from error and impure mixture, to receive perpetual accessions of brightness from the study of God, man, and nature, and especially to be communicated powerfully to others, without the vigorous exertion of our intellectual nature? Religion has been wronged by nothing more than by being separated from intellect, than by being removed from the province of reason and free research into that of mystery and authority, of impulse and feeling. Hence it is that the prevalent forms or exhibitions of Christianity are comparatively inert, and that most which is written on the subject is of little or no worth. Christianity was given not to contradict and degrade the rational nature, but to call it forth, to enlarge its range and its powers. It admits of endless development. It is the last truth which should remain stationary. It ought to be so explored and so expressed as to take the highest place in a nation's literature, as to exalt and purify all other literature. From these remarks it will be seen that the efficacy which we have ascribed to literary or intellectual influence in the work of human improvement is consistent with the supreme importance of moral and religious truth.

If we have succeeded in conveying the impressions which we have aimed to make, our readers are now prepared to inquire with interest into the condition and prospects fo litera-

ture among ourselves. Do we possess, indeed, what may be called a national literature? Have we produced eminent writers in the various departments of intellectual effort? Are our chief resources of instruction and literary enjoyment furnished from ourselves? We regret that the reply to these questions is so obvious. The few standard works which we have produced, and which promise to live, can hardly, by any courtesy, be denominated a national literature. On this point, if marks and proofs of our real condition were needed, we should find them in the current apologies for our deficiencies. Our writers are accustomed to plead in our excuse our youth, the necessities of a newly settled country, and the direction of our best talents to practical life. Be the pleas sufficient or not, one thing they prove, and that is, our conciousness of having failed to make important contributions to the interests of the intellect. We have few names to place by the side of the great names in science and literature on the other side of the ocean. We want those lights which make a country conspicuous at a distance. Let it not be said that European envy denies our just claims. In an age like this, when the literary world forms a great family, and the products of mind are circulated more rapidly than those of machinery, it is a nation's own fault if its name be not pronounced with honor beyond itself. We have ourselves heard, and delighted to hear, beyond the Alps, our country designated as the land of Franklin. This name had scaled that mighty barrier, and made us known where our institutions and modes of life were hardly better understood than those of the natives of our forests.

We are accustomed to console ourselves for the absence of a commanding literature by urging our superiority to other nations in our institutions for the diffusion of elementary knowledge through all classes of the community. We have here just cause for boasting, though perhaps less than we imagine. That there are gross deficiencies in our common schools, and that the amount of knowledge which they communicate, when compared with the time spent in its acquisition, is lamentably small, the community begin to feel. There is a crying need for a higher and more quickening kind of instruction than the laboring part of society have yet received, and we rejoice that the cry begins to be heard. But, allowing our elementary institutions to be ever so perfect, we confess that they do not satisfy us. We want something more. A dead level of intellect,

even if it should rise above what is common in other nations, would not answer our wishes and hopes for our country. We want great minds to be formed among us,— minds which shall be felt afar, and through which we may act on the world. We want the human intellect to do its utmost here. We want this people to obtain a claim on the gratitude of the human race by adding strength to the foundation, and fulness and splendor to the development of moral and religious truth; by originality of thought, by discoveries of science, and by contributions to the refining pleasures of taste and imagination.

With these views, we do and must lament that, however we surpass other nations in providing for and spreading elementary instruction, we fall behind many in provision for the liberal training of the intellect, for forming great scholars, for communicating that profound knowledge, and that thirst for higher truths, which can alone originate a commanding literature. The truth ought to be known. There is among us much superficial knowledge, but little severe, persevering research; little of that consuming passion for new truth which makes outward things worthless; little resolute devotion to a high intellectual culture. There is nowhere a literary atmosphere, or such an accumulation of literary influence, as determines the whole strength of the mind to its own enlargement, and to the manifestation of itself in enduring forms. Few among us can be said to have followed out any great subject of thought patiently, laboriously, so as to know thoroughly what others have discovered and taught concerning it, and thus to occupy a ground from which new views may be gained. Of course, exceptions are to be found. This country has produced original and profound thinkers. We have named Franklin, and we may name Edwards, one of the greatest men of his age, though unhappily his mind was lost, in a great degree, to literature, and we fear to religion, by vassalage to a false theology. His work on the Will throws, indeed, no light on human nature, and, notwithstanding the nobleness of the subject, gives no great or elevated thoughts; but, as a specimen of logical acuteness and controversial power, it certainly ranks in the very highest class of metaphysical writings. We might also name living authors who do honor to their country. Still, we may say we chiefly prize what has been done among us as a promise of higher and more extensive effort. Patriotism, as well as virtue, forbids us to burn incense to national vanity. The truth should be

seen and felt. In an age of great intellectual activity, we rely chiefly for intellectual excitement and enjoyment on foreign minds; nor is our own mind felt abroad. Whilst clamoring against dependence on European manufactures, we contentedly rely on Europe for the nobler and more important fabrics of the intellect. We boast of our political institutions, and receive our chief teachings, books, impressions, from the school of monarchy. True, we labor under disadvantages. But, if our liberty deserves the praise which it receives, it is more than a balance for these. We believe that it is. We believe that it does open to us an indefinite intellectual progress. Did we not so regard it, we should value it little. If hereditary governments minister most to the growth of the mind, it were better to restore them than to cling to a barren freedom. Let us not expose liberty to this reproach. Let us prove, by more generous provisions for the diffusion of elementary knowledge, for the training of great minds, and for the joint culture of the moral and intellectual powers, that we are more and more instructed by freedom in the worth and greatness of human nature, and in the obligation of contributing to its strength and glory.

We have spoken of the condition of our literature. We now proceed to the consideration of the causes which obstruct its advancement; and we are immediately struck by one so prevalent as to deserve distinct notice. We refer to the common doctrine that we need, in this country, useful knowledge rather than profound, extensive, and elegant literature, and that this last, if we covet it, may be imported from abroad in such variety and abundance as to save us the necessity of producing it among ourselves. How far are these opinions just? This question we purpose to answer.

That useful knowledge should receive our first and chief care we mean not to dispute. But in our views of utility we may differ from some who take this position. There are those who confine this term to the necessaries and comforts of life, and to the means of producing them. And is it true that we need no knowledge but that which clothes and feeds us? Is it true that all studies may be dispensed with but such as teach us to act on matter, and to turn it to our use? Happily, human nature is too stubborn to yield to this narrow utility. It is interesting to observe how the very mechanical arts, which are especially designed to minister to the necessities and comforts

of life, are perpetually passing these limits,— how they disdain to stop at mere convenience. A large and increasing proportion of mechanical labor is given to the gratification of an elegant taste. How simple would be the art of building, if it limited itself to the construction of a comfortable shelter! How many ships should we dismantle, and how many busy trades put to rest, were dress and furniture reduced to the standard of convenience! This "utility" would work a great change in town and country, would level to the dust the wonders of architecture, would annihilate the fine arts and blot out innumerable beauties which the hand of taste has spread over the face of the earth. Happily human nature is too strong for the ultilitarian. It cannot satisfy itself with the convenient. No passion unfolds itself sooner than the love of the ornamental. The savage decorates his person, and the child is more struck with the beauty than the uses of its raiment. So far from limiting ourselves to convenient food and raiment, we enjoy but little a repast which is not arranged with some degree of order and taste; and a man who should consult comfort alone in his wardrobe would find himself an unwelcome guest in circles which he would very reluctantly forego. We are aware that the propensity to which we have referred often breaks out in extravagance and ruinous luxury. We know that the love of ornament is often vitiated by vanity, and that, when so perverted, it impairs, sometimes destroys, the soundness and simplicity of the mind and the relish for true glory. Still it teaches, even in its excesses, that the idea of beauty is an indestructible principle of our nature, and this single truth is enough to put us on our guard against vulgar notions of utility.

We have said that we prize, as highly as any, useful knowledge. But by this we mean knowledge which answers and ministers to our complex and various nature; we mean that which is useful, not only to the animal man, but to the intellectual, moral, and religious man,— useful to a being of spiritual faculties, whose happiness is to be found in their free and harmonious exercise. We grant that there is primary necessity for that information and skill by which subsistence is earned and life is preserved; for it is plain that we must live in order to act and improve. But life is the means; action and improvement the end; and who will deny that the noblest utility belongs to that knowledge by which the chief purpose of our creation is accomplished? According to these views, a people

should honor and cultivate, as unspeakably useful, that literature which corresponds to and calls forth the highest faculties; which expresses and communicates energy of thought, fruitfulness of invention, force of moral purpose, a thirst for the true, and a delight in the beautiful. According to these views we attach special importance to those branches of literature which relate to human nature, and which give it a consciousness of its own powers. History has a noble use, for it shows us human beings in various and opposite conditions, in their strength and weakness, in their progress and relapses, and thus reveals the causes and means by which the happiness and virtue of the race may be enlarged. Poetry is useful, by touching deep springs in the human soul; by giving voice to its more delicate feelings; by breathing out and making more intelligible the sympathy which subsists between the mind and the outward universe; by creating beautiful forms of manifestations for great moral truths. Above all, that higher philosophy, which treats of the intellectual and moral constitution of man, of the foundation of knowledge, of duty, of perfection, of our relations to the spiritual world, and especially to God,— this has a usefulness so peculiar as to throw other departments of knowledge into obscurity; and a people among whom this does not find honor has little ground to boast of its superiority to uncivilized tribes. It will be seen from these remarks that utility with us has a broad meaning. In truth, we are slow to condemn as useless any researches or discoveries of original and strong minds, even when we discern in them no bearing on any interests of mankind; for all truth is of a prolific nature, and has connections not immediately perceived; and it may be that what we call vain speculations may, at no distant period, link themselves with some new facts or theories, and guide a profound thinker to the most important results. The ancient mathematician, when absorbed in solitary thought, little imagined that his theorems, after the lapse of ages, were to be applied by the mind of Newton to the solution of the mysteries of the universe, and not only to guide the astronomer through the heavens, but the navigator through the pathless ocean. For ourselves, we incline to hope much from truths which are particularly decried as useless; for the noblest and most useful truth is of an abstract or universal nature: and yet the abstract, though susceptible of infinite application, is generally, as we know, opposed to the practical.

We maintain that a people which has any serious purpose of taking a place among improved communities should studiously promote within itself every variety of intellectual exertion. It should resolve strenuously to be surpassed by none. It should feel that mind is the creative power through which all the resources of nature are to be turned to account, and by which a people is to spread its influence, and establish the noblest form of empire. It should train within itself men able to understand and to use whatever is thought and discovered over the whole earth. The whole mass of human knowledge should exist among a people not in neglected libraries, but in its higher minds. Among its most cherished institutions should be those which will ensure to it ripe scholars, explorers of ancient learning, profound historians and mathematicians, intellectual laborers devoted to physical and moral science, and to the creation of a refined and beautiful literature.

Let us not be misunderstood. We have no desire to rear in our country a race of pedants, of solemn triflers, of laborious commentators on the mysteries of a Greek accent or a rusty coin. We would have men explore antiquity, not to bury themselves in its dust, but to learn its spirit and so to commune with its superior minds as to accumulate on the present age the influences of whatever was great and wise in former times. What we want is, that those among us whom God has gifted to comprehend whatever is now known, and to rise to new truths, may find aids and institutions to fit them for their high calling, and may become at once springs of a higher intellectual life to their own country, and joint workers with the great of all nations and times in carrying forward their race.

We know that it will be said that foreign scholars, bred under institutions which this country cannot support, may do our intellectual work, and send us books and learning to meet our wants. To this we have much to answer. In the first place we reply that, to avail ourselves of the higher literature of other nations, we must place ourselves on a level with them. The products of foreign machinery we can use without any portion of the skill that produced them. But works of taste and genius, and profound investigations of philosophy, can only be estimated and enjoyed through a culture and power corresponding to that from which they sprung.

In the next place we maintain that it is an immense gain to a people to have in its own bosom, among its own sons, men of

distinguished intellect. Such men give a spring and life to a community by their presence, their society, their fame; and what deserves remark, such men are nowhere so felt as in a republic like our own; for here the different classes of society flow together and act powerfully on each other, and a free communication, elsewhere unknown, is established between the gifted few and the many. It is one of the many good fruits of liberty that it increases the diffusiveness of intellect; and accordingly a free country is, above all others, false to itself in withholding from its superior minds the means of enlargement.

We next observe — and we think the observation important — that the facility with which we receive the literature of foreign countries, instead of being a reason for neglecting our own, is a strong motive for its cultivation. We mean not to be paradoxical, but we believe that it would be better to admit no books from abroad than to make them substitutes for our own intellectual activity. The more we receive from other countries, the greater the need of an original literature. A people into whose minds the thoughts of foreigners are poured perpetually, needs an energy within itself to resist, to modify this mighty influence, and without it will inevitably sink under the worst bondage, will become intellectually tame and enslaved. We have certainly no desire to complete our restrictive system by adding to it a literary non-intercourse law. We rejoice in the increasing intellectual connection between this country and the Old World; but sooner would we rupture it than see our country sitting passively at the feet of foreign teachers. It were better to have no literature than form ourselves unresistingly on a foreign one. The true sovereigns of a country are those who determine its mind, its modes of thinking, its tastes, its principles; and we cannot consent to lodge this sovereignty in the hands of strangers. A country, like an individual, has dignity and power only in proportion as it is self-formed. There is a great stir to secure to ourselves the manufacturing of our own clothing. We say, Let others spin and weave for us, but let them not think for us. A people whose government and laws are nothing but the embodying of public opinion should jealously guard this opinion against foreign dictation. We need a literature to counteract and to use wisely the literature which we import. We need an inward power proportionate to that which is exerted on us as the

means of self-subsistence. It is particularly true of a people whose institutions demand for their support a free and bold spirit that they should be able to subject to a manly and independent criticism whatever comes from abroad. These views seem to us to deserve serious attention. We are more and more a reading people. Books are already among the most powerful influences here. The question is, Shall Europe, through these, fashion us after its pleasure? Shall America be only an echo of what is thought and written under the aristocracies beyond the ocean?

Another view of the subject is this. A foreign literature will always in a measure be foreign. It has sprung from the soul of another people, which, however like, is still not our own soul. Every people has much in its own character and feelings which can only be embodied by its own writers, and which, when transfused through literature, makes it touching and true, like the voice of our earliest friend.

We now proceed to an argument in favor of native literature which, if less obvious, is, we believe, not less sound than those now already adduced. We have hitherto spoken of literature as the expression, the communication of the higher minds in a community. We now add that it does much more than is commonly supposed to *form* such minds, so that without it a people wants one of the chief means of educating or perfecting talent and genius. One of the great laws of our nature, and a law singularly important to social beings, is that the intellect enlarges and strengthens itself by expressing worthily its best views. In this as in other respects it is more blessed to give than to receive. Superior minds are formed, not merely by solitary thought, but almost as much by communication. Great thoughts are never fully possessed till he who has conceived them has given them fit utterance. One of the noblest and most invigorating labors of genius is to clothe its conceptions in clear and glorious forms, to give them existence in other souls. Thus literature creates, as well as manifests, intellectual power, and without it the highest minds will never be summoned to the most invigorating action.

We doubt whether a man ever brings his faculties to bear with their whole force on a subject until he writes upon it for the instruction or gratification of others. To place it clearly before others, he feels the necessity of viewing it more vividly himself. By attempting to seize his thoughts and fix them in

an enduring form, he finds them vague and unsatisfactory to a degree which he did not suspect, and toils for a precision and harmony of views of which he had never before felt the need. He places his subject in new lights,— submits it to a searching analysis, compares and connects with it his various knowledge, seeks for it new illustrations and analogies, weighs objections, and through these processes often arrives at higher truths than he at first aimed to illustrate. Dim conceptions grow bright. Glorious thoughts which had darted as meteors through the mind are arrested, and gradually shine with a sun-like splendor, with prolific energy on the intellect and heart. It is one of the chief distinctions of a great mind that it is prone to rush into twilight regions, and to catch faint glimmerings of distant and unbounded prospects; and nothing perhaps aids it more to pierce the shadows which surround it than the labor to unfold to other minds the indistinct conceptions which have dawned on its own. Even where composition yields no such fruits, it is still a great intellectual help. It always favors comprehensive and systematical views. The laborious distribution of a great subject, so as to assign to each part or topic its just position and due proportion, is singularly fitted to give compass and persevering force of thought.

If we confine ourselves simply to the consideration of style, we shall have reason to think that a people among whom this is neglected wants one important intellectual aid. In this great power is exerted, and by exertion increased. To the multitude, indeed, language seems so natural an instrument that to use it with clearness and energy seems no great effort. It is framed, they think, to the writer's hand, and so continually employed as to need little thought or skill. . But in nothing is the creative power of a gifted writer seen more than in his style. True, his words may be found in the dictionary. But there they lie disjointed and dead. What a wonderful life does he breathe into them by compacting them into his sentences! Perhaps he uses no term which has not yet been hackneyed by ordinary writers; and yet with these vulgar materials what miracles does he achieve! What a world of thought does he condense into a phrase! By new combinations of common words what delicate hues or what a blaze of light does he pour over his subject! Power of style depends very little on the structure or copiousness of the language which the writer of genius employs, out chiefly, if not wholly, on his own mind. The words ar-

ranged in his dictionary are no more fitted to depict his thoughts than the block of marble in the sculptor's shop to show forth the conceptions which are dawning in his mind. Both are inert materials. The power which pervades them comes from the soul; and the same creative energy is manifested in the production of a noble style as in extracting beautiful forms from lifeless stone. How unfaithful, then, is a nation to its own intellect in which grace and force of style receive no culture!

The remarks now made on the importance of literature as a means of educating talent and genius, we are aware, do not apply equally to all subjects or kinds of knowledge. In the exact or physical sciences a man may acquire much without composition, and may make discoveries without registering them. Even here, however, we believe that by a systematic development of his views in a luminous style, he will bring great aid to his own faculties as well as to others. It is on the vast subjects of morals and human nature that the mind especially strengthens itself by elaborate composition; and these, let it be remembered, form the staple of the highest literature. Moral truth, under which we include everything relating to mind and character, is of a refined and subtile as well as elevated nature, and requires the joint and full exercise of discrimination, invention, imagination, and sensibility, to give it effectual utterance. A writer who would make it visible and powerful must strive to join an austere logic to a fervent eloquence; must place it in various lights; must create for it interesting forms; must wed it to beauty; must illuminate it by similitudes and contrasts; must show its correspondence with the outward world, perhaps must frame for it a vast machinery of fiction. How invigorating are these efforts! Yet it is only in writing, in elaborate composition, that they are deliberately called forth and sustained, and without literature they would almost cease. It may be said of many truths, that greater intellectual energy is required to express them with effect than to conceive them, so that a nation which does not encourage this expression impoverishes so far its own mind. Take, for example, Shakespeare's Hamlet. This is a development of a singularly interesting view of human nature. It shows us a mind to which life is a burden; in which the powers of meditation and feeling are disproportioned to the active powers; which sinks under its own weight, under the

consciousness of wanting energies commensurate with its visions of good, with its sore trials, and with the solemn task which is laid upon it. To conceive clearly this form of human nature shows indeed the genius of the writer. But what a new power is required to bring it out in such a drama as Shakespeare's; to give it life and action; to invent for it circumstances and subordinate characters fitted to call it forth; to give it tones of truth and nature; to show the hues which it casts over all the objects of thought! This intellectual energy we all perceive; and this was not merely *manifested* in Shakespeare's work, but without such a work it would not have been awakened. His invention would have slumbered, had he not desired to give forth his mind in a visible and enduring form. Thus literature is the nurse of genius. Through this, genius learns its own strength, and continually accumulates it; and of course, in a country without literature, genius, however liberally bestowed by the Creator, will languish, and will fail to fulfil its great duty of quickening the mass amidst which it lives.

We come now to our last — and what we deem a weighty — argument in favor of a native literature. We desire and would cherish it, because we hope from it important aids to the cause of truth and human nature. We believe that a literature springing up in this new soil would bear new fruits, and, in some respects, more precious fruits than are elsewhere produced. We know that our hopes may be set down to the account of that national vanity which, with too much reason, is placed by foreigners among our besetting sins. But we speak from calm and deliberate conviction. We are inclined to believe that, as a people, we occupy a position from which the great subjects of literature may be viewed more justly than from those which most other nations hold. Undoubtedly we labor under disadvantages. We want the literary apparatus of Europe,— her libraries, her universities, her learned institutions, her race of professed scholars, her spots consecrated by the memory of sages, and a thousand stirring associations which hover over ancient nurseries of learning. But the mind is not a local power. Its spring is within itself, and under the inspiration of liberal and high feeling it may attain and worthily express nobler truth than outward helps could reveal.

The great distinction of our country is, that we enjoy some peculiar advantages for understanding our own nature. Man is the great subject of literature, and juster and profounder

views of man may be expected here than elsewhere. In Europe political and artificial distinctions have, more or less, triumphed over and obscured our common nature. In Europe we meet kings, nobles, priests, peasants. How much rarer is it to meet *men;* by which we mean human beings conscious of their own nature, and conscious of the utter worthlessness of all outward distinctions compared with what is treasured up in their own souls. Man does not value himself as man. It is for his blood, his rank, or some artificial distinction, and not for the attributes of humanity, that he holds himself in respect. The institutions of the Old World all tend to throw obscurity over what we most need to know, and that is, the worth and claims of a human being. We know that great improvements in this respect are going on abroad. Still, the many are too often postponed to the few. The mass of men are regarded as instruments to work with, as materials to be shaped for the use of their superiors. That consciousness of our own nature which contains, as a germ, all nobler thoughts, which teaches us at once self-respect and respect for others, and which binds us to God by filial sentiment and hope,— this has been repressed, kept down by establishments founded in force; and literature, in all its departments, bears, we think, the traces of this inward degradation. We conceive that our position favors a juster and profounder estimate of human nature. We mean not to boast, but there are fewer obstructions to that moral consciousness, that consciousness of humanity, of which we have spoken. Man is not hidden from us by so many disguises as in the Old World. The essential equality of all human beings, founded on the possession of a spiritual, progressive, immortal nature, is, we hope, better understood; and nothing more than this single conviction is needed to work the mightiest changes in every province of human life and of human thought.

We have stated what seems to us our most important distinction. But our position has other advantages. The mere circumstance of its being a new one gives reason to hope for some new intellectual activity, some fresher views of nature and life. We are not borne down by the weight of antiquated institutions, time-hallowed abuses, and the remnants of feudal barbarism. The absence of a religious establishment is an immense gain, as far as originality of mind is in question; for an establishment, however advantageous in other respects, is, by its nature, hostile to discovery and progress. To keep the mind

where it is, to fasten the notions of one age on all future time, is its aim and proper business; and if it happened, as has generally been the case, to grow up in an age of strife and passion, when, as history demonstrates, the church was overrun with error, it cannot but perpetuate darkness and mental bondage. Among us, intellect, though far from being free, has broken some of the chains of other countries, and is more likely, we conceive, to propose to itself its legitimate object, truth,— everlasting and universal truth.

We have no thought of speaking contemptuously of the literature of the Old World. It is our daily nutriment. We feel our debt to be immense to the glorious company of pure and wise minds which in foreign lands have bequeathed us in writing their choicest thoughts and holiest feelings. Still, we feel that all existing literature has been produced under influences which have necessarily mixed with it much error and corruption; and that the whole of it ought to pass, and must pass, under rigorous review. For example, we think that the history of the human race is to be rewritten. Men imbued with the prejudices which thrive under aristocracies and state religions cannot understand it. Past ages, with their great events and great men, are to undergo, we think, a new trial, and yield new results. It is plain that history is already viewed under new aspects, and we believe that the true principles for studying and writing it are to be unfolded here, at least as rapidly as in other countries. It seems to us that in literature an immense work is yet to be done. The most interesting questions to mankind are yet in debate. Great principles are yet to be settled in criticism, in morals, in politics; and, above all, the true character of religion is to be rescued from the disguises and corruptions of ages. We want a reformation. We want a literature in which geuius will pay supreme, if not undivided, homage to truth and virtue; in which the childish admiration of what has been called greatness will give place to a wise moral judgment, which will breathe reverence for the mind and elevating thoughts of God. The part which this country is to bear in this great intellectual reform we presume not to predict. We feel, however, that, if true to itself, it will have the glory and happiness of giving new impulses to the human mind. This is our cherished hope. We should have no heart to encourage native literature, did we not hope that it would become instinct with a new spirit. We cannot admit the

thought that this country is to be only a repetition of the Old World. We delight to believe that God, in the fulness of time, has brought a new continent to light, in order that the human mind should move here with a new freedom, should frame new social institutions, should explore new paths and reap new harvests. We are accustomed to estimate nations by their creative energies; and we shall blush for our country if, in circumstances so peculiar, original, and creative, it shall satisfy itself with a passive reception and mechanical reiteration of the thoughts of strangers.

We have now completed our remarks on the importance of a native literature. The next great topic is the means of producing it. And here our limits forbid us to enlarge; yet we cannot pass it over in silence. A primary and essential means of the improvement of our literature is, that, as a people, we should feel its value, should desire it, should demand it, should encourage it, and should give it a hearty welcome. It will come if called for; and, under this conviction, we have now labored to create a want for it in the community. We say that we must call for it, by which we mean not merely that we must invite it by good wishes and kind words, but must make liberal provision for intellectual education. We must enlarge our literary institutions, secure more extensive and profound teaching, and furnish helps and resources to men of their superior talent for continued laborious research. As yet intellectual labor, devoted to a thorough investigation and a full development of great subjects, is almost unknown among us; and without it we shall certainly rear few lasting monuments of thought. We boast of our primary schools. We want universities worthy of the name, where a man of genius and literary zeal may possess himself of all that is yet known, and may strengthen himself by intercourse with kindred minds. We know it will be said that we cannot afford these. But it is not so. We are rich enough for ostentation, for intemperance, for luxury. We can lavish millions on fashion, on furniture, on dress, on our palaces, on our pleasures; but we have nothing to spend for the mind. Where lies our poverty? In the purse or in the soul?

We have spoken of improved institutions as essential to an improved literature. We beg, however, not to be misunderstood, as if these were invested with a creating power, or would necessarily yield the results which we desire. They are the

means, not causes, of advancement. Literature depends on individual genius, and this, though fostered, cannot be created by outward helps. No human mechanism can produce original thought. After all the attempts to explain by education the varieties of intellect, we are compelled to believe that minds, like all the other products of nature, have original and indestructible differences, that they are not exempted from that great and beautiful law which joins with strong resemblances as strong diversities; and, of consequence, we believe that the men who are to be the lights of the world bring with them their commission and power from God. Still, whilst institutions cannot create, they may and do unfold genius; and, for want of them, great minds often slumber or run to waste, whilst a still larger class, who want genius, but possess admirable powers, fail of that culture through which they might enjoy and approach their more gifted brethren.

A people, as we have said, are to give aid to literature by founding wise and enlarged institutions. They may do much more. They may exert a nobler patronage. By cherishing in their own breasts the love of truth, virtue, and freedom, they may do much to nurse and kindle genius in its favored possessors. There is a constant reaction between a community and the great minds which spring up within it, and they form one another. In truth, great minds are developed more by the spirit and character of the people to which they belong than by all other causes. Thus a free spirit, a thirst for new and higher knowledge in a community, does infinitely more for literature than the most splendid benefactions under despotism. A nation under any powerful excitement becomes fruitful of talent. Among a people called to discuss great questions, to contend for great interests, to make great sacrifices for the public weal, we always find new and unsuspected energies of thought brought out. A mercenary, selfish, luxurious, sensual people, toiling only to secure the pleasures of sloth, will often communicate their own softness and baseness to the superior minds which dwell among them. In this impure atmosphere the celestial spark burns dim; and well will it be if God's great gift of genius be not impiously prostituted to lust and crime.

In conformity with the views now stated, we believe that literature is to be carried forward, here and elsewhere, chiefly by some new and powerful impulses communicated to society; and it is a question naturally suggested by this discussion from

what impulse, principle, excitement, the highest action of the mind may now be expected. When we look back, we see that literature has been originated and modified by a variety of principles,— by patriotism and national feeling, by reverence for antiquity, by the spirit of innovation, by enthusiasm, by scepticism, by the passion for fame, by romantic love, and by political and religious convulsions. Now we do not expect from these causes any higher action of the mind than they have yet produced. Perhaps most of them have spent their force. The very improvements of society seem to forbid the manifestation of their former energy. For example, the patriotism of antiquity and the sexual love of chivalrous ages, which inspired so much of the old literature, are now seen to be feverish and vicious excesses of natural principles, and have gone, we trust, never to return.

Are we asked, then, to what impulse or power we look for a higher literature than has yet existed? We answer, To a new action or development of the religious principle. This remark will probably surprise not a few of our readers. It seems to us that the energy with which this principle is to act on the intellect is hardly suspected. Men identify religion with superstition, with fanaticism, with the common forms of Christianity; and seeing it arrayed against intellect, leagued with oppression, fettering inquiry, and incapable of being blended with the sacred dictates of reason and conscience, they see in its progress only new encroachments on free and enlightened thinking. Still, man's relation to God is the great quickening truth, throwing all other truths into insignificance, and a truth which, however obscured and paralyzed by the many errors which ignorance and fraud have hitherto linked with it, has ever been a chief spring of human improvement. We look to it as the true life of the intellect. No man can be just to himself — can comprehend his own existence, can put forth all his powers with an heroic confidence, can deserve to be the guide and inspirer of other minds — till he has risen to communion with the Supreme Mind; till he feels his filial connection with the Universal Parent; till he regards himself as the recipient and minister of the Infinite Spirit; till he feels his consecration to the ends which religion unfolds; till he rises above human opinion, and is moved by a higher impulse than fame.

From these remarks it will be seen that our chief hopes of an improved literature rest on our hopes of an improved religion.

From the prevalent theology which has come down to us from the dark ages, we hope nothing. It has done its best. All that can grow up under its sad shade has already been brought forth. It wraps the divine nature and human nature in impenetrable gloom. It overlays Christianity with technical, arbitrary dogmas. True faith is of another lineage. It comes from the same source with reason, conscience, and our best affections, and is in harmony with them all. True faith is essentially a moral conviction; a confidence in the reality and immutableness of moral distinctions; a confidence in disinterested virtue or in spiritual excellence as the supreme good; a confidence in God as its fountain and Almighty Friend, and in Jesus as having lived and died to breathe it into the soul; a confidence in its power, triumphs, and immortality; a confidence through which outward changes, obstructions, disasters, sufferings, are overcome, or rather made instruments of perfection. Such a faith, unfolded freely and powerfully, must "work mightily" on the intellect as well as on practice. By revealing to us the supreme purpose of the Creator, it places us, as it were, in the centre of the universe, from which the harmonies, true relations, and brightest aspect of things are discerned. It unites calmness and enthusiasm, and the concord of these seemingly hostile elements is essential to the full and healthy action of the creative powers of the soul. It opens the eye to beauty and the heart to love. Literature, under this influence, will become more ingenuous and single-hearted; will penetrate farther into the soul; will find new interpretations of nature and life; will breathe a martyr's love of truth, tempered with a never-failing charity; and, whilst sympathizing with all human suffering, will still be pervaded by a helpful cheerfulness, and will often break forth in tones of irrepressible joy, responsive to that happiness which fills God's universe.

We cannot close our remarks on the means of an improved literature without offering one suggestion. We earnestly recommend to our educated men a more extensive acquaintance with the intellectual labors of continental Europe. Our reading is confined too much to English books, and especially to the more recent publications of Great Britain. In this we err. We ought to know the different modes of viewing and discussing great subjects in different nations. We should be able to compare the writings of the highest minds in a great variety of circumstances. Nothing can favor more our own intellectual indepen-

dence and activity. Let English literature be ever so fruitful and profound, we should still impoverish ourselves by making it our sole nutriment. We fear, however, that at the present moment English books want much which we need. The intellect of that nation is turned now to what are called practical and useful subjects. Physical science goes forward; and, what is very encouraging, it is spread with unexampled zeal through all classes of the community. Abuses of government, of the police, of the penal code, of charity, of poor-laws, and corn-laws, are laboriously explored. General education is improved. Science is applied to the arts with brilliant success. We see much good in progress. But we find little profound or fervid thinking expressed in the higher forms of literature. The noblest subjects of the intellect receive little attention. We see an almost total indifference to intellectual and moral science. In England there is a great want of philosophy, in the true sense of that word. If we examine her reviews, in which much of the intellectual power of the nation is expended, we meet perpetually a jargon of criticism, which shows a singular want of great and general principles in estimating works of art. We have no ethical work of any living English writer to be compared with that of Degerando, entitled "Du Pertectionnement Moral"; and, although we have little respect for the rash generalizations of the bold and eloquent Cousin, yet the interest which his metaphysics awaken in Paris is, in our estimation, a better presage than the lethargy which prevails on such topics in England. In these remarks we have no desire to depreciate the literature of England, which, taken as a whole, we regard as the noblest monument of the human mind. We rejoice in our descent from England, and esteem our free access to her works of science and genius as among our high privileges. Nor do we feel as if her strength were spent. We see no wrinkles on her brow, no decrepitude in her step. At this moment she has authors, especially in poetry and fiction, whose names are "familiar in our mouths as household words," and who can never perish but with her language. Still, we think that at present her intellect is laboring more for herself than for mankind, and that our scholars, if they would improve our literature, should cultivate an intimacy not only with that of England, but of continental Europe.

We have now finished our remarks on the importance and means of an improved literature among ourselves. Are we

asked what we hope in this particular? We answer, Much. We see reasons for anticipating an increased and more efficient direction of talent to this object. But on these we cannot enlarge. There is, however, one ground of expectation to which we will call a moment's attention. We apprehend that literature is to make progress through an important change in society, which civilization and good institutions are making more and more apparent. It seems to us that, through these causes, political life is less and less regarded as the only or chief sphere for superior minds, and that influence and honor are more and more accumulated in the hands of literary and thinking men. Of consequence, more and more of the intellect of communities is to be drawn to literature. The distinction between antiquity and the present times, in respect to the importance attached to political life, seems to us striking; and it is not an accidental difference, but founded on permanent causes which are to operate with increased power. In ancient times everything, abroad and at home threw men upon the public, and generated an intense thirst for political power. On the contrary, the improvement of later periods inclines men to give importance to literature. For example, the instability of the ancient republics, the unsettled relations of different classes of society, the power of demagogues and orators, the intensity of factions, the want of moral and religious restraints, the want of some regular organ for expressing the public mind, the want of precedents and precise laws for the courts of justice,— these and other circumstances gave to the ancient citizen a feeling as if revolutions and convulsions were inseparable from society, turned his mind with unremitting anxiety to public affairs, and made a participation of political power an important, if not an essential, means of personal safety. Again, the ancient citizen had no home, in our sense of the word. He lived in the market, the forum, the place of general resort, and of course his attention was very much engrossed by affairs of state. Again, religion, which now more than all things throws a man upon himself, was in ancient times a public concern, and turned men to political life. The religion of the heart and closet was unknown. The relation of the gods to particular states was their most prominent attribute; and, to conciliate their favor to the community, the chief end of worship. Accordingly, religion consisted chiefly in public and national rites. In Rome the highest men in the state presided at the altar, and, adding to their other titles that of Supreme

Pontiff, performed the most solemn functions of the priesthood. Thus the whole strength of the religious principle was turned into political channels. The gods were thought to sustain no higher office than a political one, and of consequence this was esteemed the most glorious for men. Once more, in ancient times political rank was vastly more efficient, whether for good or for evil, than at present, and of consequence was the object of a more insatiable ambition. It was almost the only way of access to the multitude. The public man held a sway over opinion, over his country, perhaps over foreign states, now unknown. It is the influence of the press and of good institutions to reduce the importance of the man of office. In proportion as private individuals can act on the public mind; in proportion as a people read, think, and have the means of expressing and enforcing their opinions; in proportion as laws become fixed, known, and sanctioned by the moral sense of the community; in proportion as the interest of the state, the principles of administration, and all public measures are subjected to free and familiar discussion,— government becomes a secondary influence. The power passes into the hands of those who think, write, and spread their minds far and wide. Accordingly, literature is to become more and more the instrument of swaying men, of doing good, of achieving fame. The contrast between ancient and modern times in the particulars now stated is too obvious to need illustration, and our great inference is equally clear. The vast improvements which in the course of ages have taken place in social order, in domestic life, in religion, in knowledge, all conspire to one result, all tend to introduce other and higher influences than political power, and to give to that form of intellectual effort which we call literature dominion over human affairs. Thus truth, we apprehend, is more and more felt; and from its influence, joined with our peculiar condition and free institutions, we hope for our country the happiness and glory of a pure, deep, rich, beautiful, and ennobling literature.

Turning to Channing as a man of letters, it is of prime importance that we get the appropriate point of view. Neglecting this, we may well find ourselves astonished at the estimation in which he was held in his lifetime as a literary character

and at his own literary self-consciousness. His purely literary output, or what was then considered so, was limited to three or four articles in the *Christian Examiner*, which were published between the years 1825 and 1830. I say "three or four," because the two Napoleon articles were one article in two parts. In our own time for a distinguished clergyman to drop into literature flutters nobody. He may drop to the depth of a short story or a novel, or into poetry, and we are not surprised. But Dr. Channing's *Examiner* articles were great events in Boston and beyond when they appeared. Dr. Furness tells us that he was surprised to find Dr. Channing making the Milton venture. In the Unitarian circle, after the first doubt of its propriety had subsided, it was probably thought superior to Macaulay's "Milton," which had appeared a year earlier in the *Edinburgh Review*. Something must be pardoned, Dr. Furness says, to the admiration of the small new sect for what was done by its own chief. More must be pardoned to the state of literature at that time in the United States. About 1830 Channing wrote certain elaborate "Remarks on National Literature," which should go to the account of his literary achievement. The article was written in the future tense. The writer was no *laudator temporis acti*. He calls no honored names except those strangely contrasted ones of Edwards and Franklin. A better illustration of the *lucus a non lucendo* it would be hard to find. And yet in 1830 there were some brave beginnings of the century's literature which a less abstract method than Channing's would have interwoven with the texture of his prophetical discourse. That he was kin with Allston and Dana may have made him less than kind to them, but Bryant had already written his best pieces, "Thanatopsis" and "A Forest Hymn," still unexcelled; Pierpont, some admirable things; while, if Charles Brockden Brown's chamber of horrors did not invite him, Irving's "Sketch Book" should have done so, and Cooper's likeness to Scott should not have been sufficient to obscure the rugged strength of his own proper face. But, when Channing's articles appeared, there was no such "mob of gentlemen who write with ease" and write extremely well as we have now. Judged by purely literary standards, hundreds of these write better than Channing. But, "in the country of the blind, the one-eyed man is king," and it is not strange that under the general conditions that prevailed from 1825 to 1830 Channing's literary product earned for him the enthusiastic

admiration of his co-religionists and of many who were not joined to their assembly.— *Chadwick.*

When Channing wrote his famous paper on National Literature in 1830, we had very little original American literature of importance. Dwight, Trumbull, and Barlow had long before written their pretentious epics, Franklin had written, Charles Brockden Brown had published his stories, Marshall had written his Life of Washington, and John Quincy Adams his Lectures on Rhetoric. The *North American Review* had been established in 1815, and two years later had published the youthful Bryant's "Thanatopsis." Irving and Cooper were doing their best work. This was the background. The great satisfaction as we read Channing's noble prophecy and plea is in seeing what has resulted from the outburst of American genius which immediately followed. See the sections upon Channing's literary work in the lives of Channing by W. H. Channing and Chadwick. For notice of Channing's influence upon Emerson, see the various lives of Emerson. See also Emerson's own tribute to Channing's intellectual influence, in his "Historic Notes of Life and Letters in New England."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 142.

Words of John Robinson.

ROBINSON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PILGRIMS UPON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM HOLLAND, 1620. THE ACCOUNT BY EDWARD WINSLOW IN HIS "HYPOCRISIE UNMASKED," PRINTED IN 1646.

"In the next place, for the wholsome counsell Mr. *Robinson* gave that part of the Church whereof he was Pastor, at their departure from him to begin the great worke of Plantation in *New England*, amongst other wholeome Instructions and Exhortations, hee used these expressions, or to the same purpose: We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again: but whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed Angels, to follow him no further then he followed Christ. And if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry: For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewaile the state and condition of the Reformed churches, who were come to a period in Religion, and would goe no further then the instruments of their Reformation: As for example, the *Lutherans* they could not be drawne to goe beyond what *Luther* saw, for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die then embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them: A misery much to bee lamented; For though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them: And were they now living, saith hee, they would bee as ready and willing to embrace further

light, as that they had received. Here also he put us in mind of our Church-Covenant (at least that part of it) whereby wee promise and covenant with God and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written Word: but withall exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth, before we received it; For, saith he, *It is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darknesse, and that full perfection of knowledge should breake forth at once.*

"Another thing hee commended to us, was, that wee should use all meanes to avoid and shake off the name of *Brownist*, being a meer nickname and brand to make Religion odious, and the professors of it [odious] to the Christian world; and to that end, said hee, I should be glad if some godly Minister would goe over with you, or come to you, before my coming; For, said hee, there will bee no difference between the unconformable [Noncomformist] Ministers and you, when they come to the practice of the Ordinances out of the Kingdome: And so advised us by all meanes to endeavour to close with the godly party of the Kingdome of *England*, and rather to study union then division; *viz.* how neare we might possibly, without sin close with them, then in the least measure to affect division or separation from them. And be not loath to take another Pastor or Teacher, saith hee, for that flock that hath two shepheards is not indangered, but secured by it.

"Many other things there were of great and weighty consequence which he commended to us, but these things I thought good to relate, at the request of some well-willers to the peace and good agreement of the godly, (so distracted at present about the settling of Church-government in the Kingdom of *England*) that so both sides may truly see what this poor despised Church of Christ now at *New-Plymouth* in *New-England*, but formerly at *Leyden* in *Holland*, was and is; how far they were and still are from separation from the Churches of *Christ*, especially those that are Reformed."

Robinson's Disputes with the Arminians at Leyden. Bradford's Account.

In these times allso were y^e^ great troubls raised by y^e^ Arminians, who, as they greatly molested y^e^ whole state so this citie in particuler, in which was y^e^ cheefe universitie; so as

ther were dayly & hote disputs in ye schooles ther aboute; and as ye studients & other lerned were devided in their oppinions hearin, so were ye 2. proffessors or devinitie readers them selves; the one daly teaching for it, ye other against it. Which grew to that pass, that few of the discipls of ye one would hear ye other teach. But Mr. Robinson, though he taught thrise a weeke him selfe, & write sundrie books, besids his manyfould pains otherwise, yet he went constantly to hear ther readings, and heard ye one as well as ye other; by which means he was so well grounded in ye controversie, and saw ye force of all their arguments, and knew ye shifts of ye adversarie, and being him selfe very able, none was fitter to buckle with them then him selfe, as appered by sundrie disputs; so as he begane to be terrible to ye Arminians; which made Episcopius (ye Arminian professor) to put forth his best stringth, and set forth sundrie Theses, which by publick dispute he would defend against all men. Now Poliander ye other proffessor, and ye cheefe preachers of ye citie, desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him; but he was loath, being a stranger; yet the other did importune him, and tould him yt such was ye abilitie and nimblnes of ye adversarie, that ye truth would suffer if he did not help them. So as he condesended, & prepared him selfe against the time; and when ye day came, the Lord did so help him to defend ye truth & foyle this adversarie, as he put him to an apparent nonplus, in this great & publike audience. And ye like he did a 2. or 3. time, upon such like occasions. The which as it caused many to praise God yt the trueth had so famous victory, so it procured him much honour & respecte from those lerned men & others which loved ye trueth.

Seven Articles which the Church of Leyden sent to the Council of England to be considered of, in respect of their Judgements: occasioned about their going to Virginia. [*Date before Nov., 1617; spelling modernized.*]

1. To the Confession of Faith published in the name of the Church of England, and to every *Article* thereof; we do (with the Reformed Churches where we live, and also elsewhere) assent wholly:

2. As we do acknowledge the Doctrine of Faith there taught; so do we, the fruits and effects of the same Doctrine, to the begetting of saving faith in thousands in the land, Conformists

and Reformists, as they are called: with whom also, as with our brethren, we do desire to keep spiritual communion in peace; and will practice in our parts all lawful things.

3. The King's Majesty we acknowledge for Supreme Governor in his Dominions in all causes, and over all persons: and that none may decline or appeal from his authority or judgement in any cause whatsoever: but that in all things obedience is due unto him; either active, if the thing commanded be not against GOD'S Word; or passive, if it be, except pardon can be obtained.

4. We judge it lawful for His Majesty to appoint Bishops Civil Overseeers or Officers in authority under him in the several Provinces, Dioceses, Congregations, or Parishes, to oversee the Churches, and govern them civilly according to the laws of the land: unto whom, they are, in all things, to give an account; and by them, to be ordered according to godliness.

5. The authority of the present Bishops in the land, we do acknowledge so far forth as the same is indeed derived from His Majesty unto them; and as they proceed in his name: whom we will also therein honour in all things; and him, in them.

6. We believe that no Synod, Classes, Convocation, or Assembly of Ecclesiastical Officers hath any power or authority at all but as the same by the Magistrate given unto them.

7. Lastly, we desire to give unto all Superiors due honour, to preserve the unity of the Spirit with all that fear GOD, to have peace with all men what in us lieth, and wherein we err to be instructed by any.

Subscribed by JOHN ROBINSON and WILLIAM BREWSTER.

LETTER TO SIR EDWIN SANDYS.

Righte Worpl:

Our humble duties remembered, in our owne, our messengers, and our churches name, with all thankfull acknowledgmente of your singuler love, expressing itselfe, as otherwise, so more spetially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our good in this weightie bussines aboute Virginia, which ye less able we are to requite, we shall thinke our selves the more bound to comend in our prayers unto God for recompense; whom as for ye presente you rightly behould in our indeavors, so shall we not be wanting on our parts (the same God assisting us) to returne all answerable fruite, and respecte unto ye

labour of your love bestowed upon us. We have with y^e^ best speed and consideration withall that we could, sett downe our requests in writing, subscribed, as you willed, w^th^ the hands of y^e^ greatest parte of our congregation, and have sente y^e^ same unto y^e^ Counsell by our agente, & a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adyone him selfe; to the care & discretion of which two, we doe referr y^e^ prosecuting of y^e^ bussines. Now we perswade our selves Right Wor^pp^: that we need not provoke your godly & loving minde to any further or more tender care of us, since you have pleased so farr to interest us in your selfe, that, under God, above all persons and things in the world, we relye upon you, expecting the care of your love, counsell of your wisdome, & the help & countenance of your authority. Notwithstanding, for your encouragmente in y^e^ worke, so farr as probabilities may leade, we will not forbeare to mention these instances of indusmente.

1. We veryly beleeve & trust y^e^ Lord is with us, unto whom & whose service we have given our selves in many trialls; and that he will graciously prosper our indeavours according to y^e^ simplicitie of our harts therin.

2^ly^. We are well weaned from y^e^ delicate milke of our mother countrie, and enured to y^e^ difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in a great parte we have by patience overcome.

3^ly^. The people are for the body of them, industrious, & frugall, we thinke we may safly say, as any company of people in the world.

4^ly^. We are knite togeather as a body in a most stricte & sacred bond and covenante of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by vertue whereof we doe hould our selves straitly tied to all care of each others good, and of y^e^ whole by every one and so mutually.

5. Lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish them selves at home againe. We knowe our entertainmente in England, and in Holland; we shall much prejudice both our arts & means by removall; who, if we should be driven to returne, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed looke ever, for our selves, to attaine unto y^e^ like in any other place during our lives, w^ch^ are now drawing towards their periods.

These motives we have been bould to tender unto you, which you in your wisdome may also imparte to any other our worpp: freinds of ye Counsell with you; of all whose godly dispossition and loving towards our despised persons, we are most glad, and shall not faile by all good means to continue & increase ye same. We will not be further troublesome, but doe, with ye renewed remembrance of our humble duties to your Worpp: and (so farr as in modestie we may be bould) to any other of our wellwillers of the Counsell with you, we take our leaves, comiting your persons and counsels to ye guidance and direction of the Almighty.

Yours much bounden in all duty,

Leyden, Desem: 15. JOHN ROBINSON,
Ano: 1617. WILLIAM BREWSTER.

LETTER TO SIR JOHN WOLSTENHOLME.

Right Worpll: with due acknowledgmente of our thankfullnes for your singular care & pains in the bussines of Virginia, for our, &, we hope, the comone good, we doe remember our humble dutys unto you, and have sent inclosed, as is required, a further explanation of our judgments in the 3. points specified by some of his majesties Honbl Privie Counsell; and though it be greevious unto us that such unjust insinuations are made against us, yet we are most glad of ye occasion of making our just purgation unto so honourable personages. The declarations we have sent inclosed, the one more breefe & generall, which we thinke ye fitter to be presented; the other something more large, and in which we express some smale accidentall differences, which if it seeme good unto you and other of our worpl freinds, you may send in stead of ye former. Our prayers unto God is, yt your Worpp may see the frute of your worthy endeaours, which on our parts we shall not faile to furder by all good means in us. And so praing yt you would please with ye convenientest speed yt may be, to give us knowledge of ye success of ye bussines with his majesties Privie Counsell, and accordingly what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in ye same, so we rest

Your Worpp in all duty,

Leyden, Jan: 27. JOHN ROBINSON,
Ano: 1617. old stile. [1618] WILLIAM BREWSTER.

The first breefe note was this.

Touching ye Ecclesiasticall ministrie, namly of pastores for teaching, elders for ruling, & deacons for distributing ye churches contribution, as allso for ye too Sacrements, baptisme, and ye Lords supper, we doe wholy and in all points agree with ye French reformed churches, according to their publick confession of faith.

The oath of Supremacie we shall willingly take if it be required of us, and that conveniente satisfaction be not given by our taking ye oath of Alleagence.

John Rob:
William Brewster.

Ye 2. was this.

Touching ye Ecclesiasticall ministrie, &c. as in ye former, we agree in all things with the French reformed churches, according to their publick confession of faith; though some small differences be to be found in our practices, not at all in ye substance of the things, but only in some accidentall circumstances.

1. As first, their ministers doe pray with their heads covered; ours uncovered.

2. We chose none for Governing Elders but such as are able to teach; which abilitie they doe not require.

3. Their elders & deacons are anūall, or at most for 2. or 3. years; ours perpetuall.

4. Our elders doe administer their office in admonitions & excommunications for publick scandals, publickly & before ye congregation; theirs more privately, & in their consistories.

5. We doe administer baptisme only to such infants as whereof ye one parente, at ye least, is of some church, which some of ther churches doe not observe; though in it our practice accords with their publick confession and ye judgmente of ye most larned amongst them.

Other differences, worthy mentioning, we know none in these points. Then aboute ye oath, as in ye former.

Subscribed, John R.
W. B.

ROBINSON'S SERMON UPON THE CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT TO REMOVE TO NEW ENGLAND. BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT.

Upon y^e^ receite of these things by one of their messengers, they had a sollemne meeting and a day of humiliation to seeke y^e^ Lord for his direction; and their pastor tooke this texte, 1. *Sam.* 23, 3, 4. *And David's men said unto him, see, we be afraid hear in Judah, how much more if we come to Keilah against y^e^ host of the Philistines? Then David asked counsell of y^e^ Lord againe, &c.* From which texte he taught many things very aptly, and befitting ther present occasion and condition, strengthing them against their fears and perplexities, and incouraging them in their resolutions. After which they concluded both what number and what persons should prepare themselves to goe with y^e^ first; for all y^t^ were willing to have gone could not gett ready for their other affairs in so shorte a time; neither if all could have been ready, had ther been means to have trāsported them alltogeather. Those that staied being y^e^ greater number required y^e^ pastor to stay with them; and indeede for other reasons he could not then well goe, and so it was y^e^ more easilie yeelded unto. The other then desired y^e^ elder, M^r^. Brewster, to goe with them, which was also condescended unto. It was also agreed on by mutuall consente and covenante, that those that went should be an absolute church of them selves, as well as those y^t^ staid; seing in such a dangrous vioage, and a removall to such a distance, it might come to pass they should (for y^e^ body of them) never meete againe in this world; yet with this proviso, that as any of y^e^ rest came over to them, or of y^e^ other returned upon occasion, they should be reputed as members without any further dismission or testimoniall. It was allso promised to those y^t^ wente first, by y^e^ body of y^e^ rest, that if y^e^ Lord gave them life, & meās, & opportunitie, they would come to them as soone as they could.

ROBINSON'S SERMON TO THE PILGRIMS ON THEIR DEPARTURE FROM LEYDEN,* AND THE FAREWELL AT DELFTHAVEN. BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT.

So being ready to departe, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor taking his texte from Ezra 8. 21. *And ther*

* Some scholars consider this the sermon referred to by Winslow; others place that "wholesome counsel" at Delfthaven.

at y^e river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance. Upon which he spente a good parte of y^e day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion. The rest of the time was spente in powering out prairs to y^e Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears. And y^e time being come that they must departe, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of y^e citie, unto a towne sundrie miles of called Delfes-Haven, wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they lefte y^t goodly & pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12. years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to y^e heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits. When they came to y^e place they found y^e ship and all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with litle sleepe by y^e most, but with freindly entertainmente & christian discourse and other reall expressions of true christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was y^e sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praires did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of y^e Dutch strangers y^t stood on ye key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable & sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear & unfained love. But y^e tide (which stays for no man) caling them away y^t were thus loath to departe, their Reu̅e̅d: pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheeks co̅mended them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be y^e last leave to many of them.

Farewell Letter to the Pilgrims.

Lovinge Christian friends, I doe hartily & in y^e Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am presente in my best affection, and most ernest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absente from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly, & much rather then

otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessitie held back for ye present. Make accounte of me in ye mean while, as of a man devided in my selfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds set a side) having my beter parte with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms, you both foresee & resolve upon yt which concerneth your presente state & condition, both severally & joyntly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some furder spurr of provocation unto them, who rune allready, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love & dutie. And first, as we are daly to renew our repentance with our God, espetially for our sines known, and generally for our unknowne trespasses, so doth ye Lord call us in a singuler maner upon occasions of shuch difficultie & danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search & carefull reformation of your ways in his sight; least he, calling to remembrance our sines forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, & in judgmente leave us for ye same to be swalowed up in one danger or other; wheras, on the contrary, sine being taken away by ernest repentance & ye pardon therof from ye Lord sealed up unto a mans conscience by his spirite, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comforts in all distreses, with hapie deliverance from all evill, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God & our owne consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth, espetially with our associats, & for yt watchfullnes must be had, that we neither at all in our selves doe give, no nor easily take offence being given by others. Woe be unto ye world for offences, for though it be necessarie (considering ye malice of Satan & mans corruption) that offences come, yet woe unto ye man or woman either by whom ye offence cometh, saith Christ, Mat. 18. 7. And if offences in ye unseasonable use of things in them selves indifferent, be more to be feared then death itselfe, as ye Apostle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply evill, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded. Neither yet is it sufficiente yt we keepe our selves by ye grace of God from giveing offence, excepte withall we be armed against ye taking of them when they be given by others. For how unperfect & lame is ye work of grace in yt person, who wants charitie to cover a multitude of offences, as ye scriptures

speake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon ye comone grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either wante charitie, to cover offences, or wisdome duly to waigh humane frailtie; or lastly, are grosse, though close hipocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Mat. 7. 1, 2, 3, as indeed in my owne experience, few or none have bene found which sooner give offence, then shuch as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound & profitable members in societies, which have nurished this touchey humor. But besides these, ther are diverse motives provoking you above others to great care & conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to ye persons, so to ye infirmities one of another, & so stand in neede of more watchfullnes this way, least when shuch things fall out in men & women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdome & charitie for ye covering & preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civill comunitie will minister continuall occasion of offence, & will be as fuell for that fire, excepte you dilligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causlesly or easilie at mens doings be so carefuly to be avoyded, how much more heed is to be taken yt we take not offence at God him selfe, which yet we certainly doe so oftē as we doe murmure at his providence in our crosses, or beare impatiently shuch afflictions as wherwith he pleaseth to visite us. Store up therefore patience against ye evill day, without which we take offence at ye Lord him selfe in his holy & just works.

A 4. thing ther is carfully to be provided for, to witte, that with your comone imployments you joyne comone affections truly bente upon ye generall good, avoyding as a deadly plague of your both comone & spetiall comfort all retirednes of minde for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any maner of way; let every man represe in him selfe & ye whol body in each person, as so many rebels against ye comone good, all private respects of mens selves, not sorting with ye generall conveniencie. And as men are carfule not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well setled & ye parts firmly knite, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more carfull, yt the house of God which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessarie novelties or other oppositions at ye first setling therof.

Lastly, wheras you are become a body politik, using amongst your selves civill govermente, and are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above ye rest, to be chosen by you into office of goverment, let your wisdome & godlines appeare, not only in chusing shuch persons as doe entirely love and will promote ye comone good, but also in yeelding unto them all due honour & obedience in their lawfull administrations; not behoulding in them ye ordinarinesse of their persons, but Gods ordinance for your good, not being like ye foolish multitud who more honour ye gay coate, than either ye vertuous minde of ye man, or glorious ordinance of ye Lord. But you know better things, & that ye image of ye Lords power & authoritie which ye magistrate beareth, is honourable, in how meane persons soever. And this dutie you both may ye more willingly and ought ye more conscionably to performe, because you are at least for ye present to have only them for your ordinarie governours, which your selves shall make choyse of for that worke.

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in minde of, and of those before mentioned, in more words, but I will not so farr wrong your godly minds as to thinke you heedless of these things, ther being also diverce among you so well able to admonish both them selves & others of what concerneth them. These few things therfore, & ye same in few words, I doe ernestly comend unto your care & conscience, joyning therwith my daily incessante prayers unto ye Lord, yt he who hath made ye heavens & ye earth, ye sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his workes, espetially over all his dear children for good, would so guide & gard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirite, so outwardly by ye hand of his power, as yt both you & we also, for & with you, may have after matter of praising his name all ye days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

An unfained wellwiller of your hapie
success in this hopefull voyage,
JOHN ROBINSON.

LETTER TO JOHN CARVER.

My dear Brother,— I received inclosed in your last leter ye note of information, wch I shall carefuly keepe & make use of as ther shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexitie of mind & toyle of body, but I hope that you who have

allways been able so plentifully to administer comforte unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for your selfe as that farr greater difficulties then you have yet undergone (though I conceive them to have been great enough) cannot oppresse you, though they press you, as ye Apostle speaks. The spirite of a man (sustained by ye spirite of God) will sustaine his infirmitie, I dout not so will yours. And ye beter much when you shall injoye ye presence & help of so many godly & wise bretheren, for ye bearing of part of your burthen, who also will not admitte into their harts ye least thought of suspition of any ye least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, what so ever they thinke in others. Now what shall I say or write unto you & your goodwife my loving sister? even only this, I desire (& allways shall) unto you from ye Lord, as unto my owne soule; and assure your selfe yt my harte is with you, and that I will not forslowe my bodily coming at ye first oppertunitie. I have writen a large leter to ye whole, and am sorie I shall not rather speak then write to them; & the more, considering ye wante of a preacher, which I shall also make sume spurr to my hastening after you. I doe ever comend my best affection unto you, which if I thought you made any doubte of, I would express in more, & ye same more ample & full words. And ye Lord in whom you trust & whom you serve ever in this bussines & journey, guid you with his hand, protecte you with his winge, and shew you & us his salvation in ye end, & bring us in ye mean while togeather in ye place desired, if shuch be his good will, for his Christs sake. Amen.

Yours, &c.

July 27. 1620. Jo: R.

To the Church of God, at Plymouth, in New England.— [*Spelling modernized.*]

Much beloved brethren, neither the distance of place, not distinction of body, can at all either dissolve or weaken that bond of true Christian affection in which the Lord by his spirit hath tied us together. My continual prayers are to the Lord for you; my most earnest desire is unto you; from whom I will not longer keep (if God will) than means can be procured to bring with me the wives and children of divers of you and the rest of your brethren, whom I could not leave behind me without great both injury to you and them, and offence to God and all men. The death of so many our dear friends and

brethren; oh! how grievous hath it been to you to bear, and to us to take knowledge of, which, if it could be mended with lamenting, could not sufficiently be bewailed; but we must go unto them and they shall not return unto us: And how many even of us God hath taken away here, and in England, since your departure, you may elsewhere take knowledge. But the same God has tempered judgment with mercy, as otherwise, so in sparing the rest, especially those by whose godly and wise government, you may be, and (I know) are so much helped. In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die; it is thought well for a side, if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many or too great. God, I hope, hath given you the victory, after many difficulties, for yourselves and others; though I doubt not, but many do and will remain for you and us all to strive with. Brethren, I hope I need not exhort you to obedience unto those whom God hath set over you, in church and commonwealth, and to the Lord in them. It is a Christian's honour, to give honour according to men's places; and his liberty, to serve God in faith, and his brethren in love orderly and with a willing and free heart. God forbid, I should need to exhort you to peace, which is the bond of perfection, and by which all good is tied together, and without which it is scattered. Have peace with God first, by faith in his promises, good conscience kept in all things, and oft renewed by repentance; and so, one with another, for his sake, who is, through three, one; and for Christ's sake who is one, and as you are called by one spirit to one hope. And the God of peace and grace and all goodness be with you, in all the fruits thereof, plenteously upon your heads, now and forever. All your brethren here remember you with great love, a general token whereof they have sent you.

Yours ever in the Lord,

JOHN ROBINSON.

LEYDEN, June 30, Anno 1621.

LETTER TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

My loving & much beloved freind, whom God hath hithertoo preserved, preserve and keepe you still to his glorie, and y^e^ good of many; that his blessing may make your godly and wise endeavours answerable to y^e^ valuation which they ther have, & set upon y^e^ same. Of your love too and care for us here, we never doubted; so are we glad to take knowledg of it in that fullnes

we doe. Our love & care to and for you, is mutuall, though our hopes of coming unto you be small, and weaker then ever. But of this at large in Mr Brewsters letter, with whom you, and he with you, mutually, I know, communicate your letters, as I desire you may doe these, &c.

Concerning ye killing of those poor Indeans,* of which we heard at first by reporte, and since by more certaine relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any; besids, wher bloud is onc begune to be shed, it is seldome stanched of a long time after. You will say they deserved it. I grant it; but upon what provocations and invitments by those heathenish Christians? † Besids, you, being no magistrats over them, were to consider, not what they deserved, but what you were by necessitie constrained to inflicte. Necessitie of this, espetially of killing so many, (and many more, it seems, they would, if they could,) I see not. Methinks on or tow principals should have been full enough, according to that approved rule, The punishmente to a few, and ye fear to many. Upon this occasion let me be bould to exhorte you seriouly to consider of ye dispossition of your Captaine, whom I love, and am perswaded ye Lord in great mercie and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you, and towards all in ordinarie course. But now if this be meerly from an humane spirite, ther is cause to fear that by occasion, espetially of provocation, ther may be wanting yt tendernes of ye life of man (made after Gods image) which is meete. It is also a thing more glorious in mens eyes, then pleasing in Gods, or conveniente for Christians, to be a terrour to poore barbarous people; and indeed I am afraid least, by these occasions, others should be drawne to affecte a kind of rufling course in the world. I doubt not but you will take in good part these things which I write, and as ther is cause make use of them. It were to us more comfortable and convenient, that we comunicated our mutuall helps in presence, but seeing that canot be done, we shall always long after you, and love you, and waite Gods apoynted time. The adventurers it seems have neither money nor any great mind of us, for ye most parte. They deney it to be any part of ye covenants betwixte us, that they should trāsporte us, neither doe I looke for any further help from them, till means come from you. We

* At Wessaguscus, in March, 1622–3; it appears that the lives of seven Indians were taken in that encounter.

† Mr. Weston's men.

hear are strangers in effecte to y^e^ whole course, and so both we and you (save as your owne wisdoms and worths have intressed you further) of principals intended in this bussines, are scarce accessaries, &c. My wife, with me, resaluts you & yours. Unto him who is y^e^ same to his in all places, and nere to them which are farr from one an other, I comend you and all with you, resting,

Yours truly loving,

Leyden, Des: 19. 1623. JOHN ROBINSON.

LETTER TO ELDER BREWSTER.

Loving and dear freind and brother: That which I most desired of God in regard of you, namly, y^e^ continuance of your life and health, and the safe coming of these sent unto you, that I most gladly hear of, and praise God for the same. And I hope M^rs^. Brewsters weake and decayed state of body will have some reparing by the coming of her daughters,* and the provissions in this and former ships, I hear is made for you; which maks us with more patience bear our languishing state, and y^e^ deferring of our desired trāsportation; w^ch^ I call desired, rather than hoped for, whatsoever you are borne in hand by any others. For first, ther is no hope at all, that I know, or can conceive of, of any new stock to be raised for that end; so that all must depend upon returns from you, in which are so many uncertainties, as that nothing with any certaintie can thence be concluded. Besids, howsoever for y^e^ presente the adventurers aledg nothing but want of money, which is an invincible dificulty, yet if that be taken away by you, others without doubte will be found. For the beter clearing of this, we must dispose y^e^ adventurers into 3. parts; and of them some 5. or 6. (as I conceive) are absolutly bent for us, above any others. Other 5. or 6. are our bitter professed adversaries. The rest, being the body, I conceive to be honestly minded, & loveingly also towards us; yet such as have others (namly y^e^ forward preachers) nerer unto them, then us, and whose course so farr as ther is any differance, they would rather advance then ours. Now what a hanck† these men have over y^e^ professors, you know. And I perswade my selfe, that for me, they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, espetially such of them as have an eye that way them selves; as thinking if I come ther, ther market will be mard in many regards. And for these adversaries, if

* Fear and Patience, who came in the Anne, in 1623.
† Hank, influence.

they have but halfe y^e^ witte to their malice, they will stope my course when they see it intended, for which this delaying serveth them very opportunly. And as one restie jade can hinder, by hanging back, more then two or 3. can (or will at least, if they be not very free) draw forward, so will it be in this case. A notable experimente of this, they gave in your messengers presence, constraining y^e^ company to promise that none of the money now gathered should be expended or imployed to y^e^ help of any of us towards you. Now touching y^e^ question propounded by you, I judg it not lawfull for you, being a ruling Elder, as Rom. 12. 7. 8. & 1. Tim. 5. 17. opposed to the Elders that teach & exhorte and labore in ye word and doctrine, to which ye sacrements are anexed, to administer them, nor convenient if it were lawfull. Whether any larned man will come unto you or not, I know not; if any doe, you must *consiliū capere in arena.* Be you most hartily saluted, & you^r^ wife with you, both from me & mine. Your God & ours, and y^e^ God of all his, bring us together if it be his will, & keep us in the mean while, and allways to his glory, and make us servisable to his majestie, and faithfull to the end. Amen.

Your very loving brother,

Leyden, Des: 20. 1623. JOHN ROBINSON.

BRADFORD'S ACCOUNT OF ROBINSON'S DEATH, WITH LETTER FROM ROGER WHITE.

About y^e^ begining of Aprill [1626] they heard of Captain Standish his arrivall, and sent a boat to fetch him home, and y^e^ things he had brought. Welcome he was, but y^e^ news he broughte was sadd in many regards; not only in regarde of the former losses, before related, which their freinds had suffered, by which some in a maner were undon, others much disabled from doing any further help, and some dead of y^e^ plague, but also y^t^ M^r^. Robinson, their pastor, was dead, which struck them with much sorrow & sadnes, as they had cause. His and their adversaries had been long & continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither, but y^e^ Lord had appointed him a better place; concerning whose death & the maner therof, it will appere by these few lines write to y^e^ Gov^r^ & M^r^. Brewster.

Loving & kind frinds, &c. I know not whether this will ever come to your hands, or miscarie, as other my letters have done; yet in regard of y^e^ Lords dealing with us hear, I have had a great desire to write unto you, knowing your desire to bear a

parte with us, both in our joyes, & sorrows, as we doe w^th^ you. These are therfore to give you to understand, that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vaell of tears, your and our loving & faithfull pastor, and my dear & Reve^d^ brother, M^r^. John Robinson, who was sick some 8. days. He begane to be sick on Saturday in y^e^ morning, yet y^e^ next day (being the Lords day) he taught us twise. And so ye weeke after grew weaker, every day more then other; yet he felt no paine but weaknes all y^e^ time of his sicknes. The phisick he tooke wrought kindly in mans judgmente, but he grew weaker every day, feeling litie or no paine, and sensible to y^e^ very last. He fell sicke y^e^ 22. of Feb: and departed this life y^e^ 1. of March. He had a continuall inwarde ague, but free from infection, so y^t^ all his freinds came freely to him. And if either prayers, tears, or means, would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his worke which y^e^ Lord had appointed him here to doe, he now resteth with y^e^ Lord in eternall hapines. We wanting him & all Church Gov^rs^, yet we still (by y^e^ mercie of God) continue & hould close togeather, in peace and quietnes; and so hope we shall doe, though we be very weake. Wishing (if such were y^e^ will of God) that you & we were againe united togeather in one. either ther or here; but seeing it is y^e^ will of y^e^ Lord thus to dis pose of things, we must labour w^th^ patience to rest contented, till it please y^e^ Lord otherwise to dispose. For news, is here not much; only as in England we have lost our old king James, who departed this life aboute a month agoe, so here they have lost y^e^ old prince, Grave Mourise; who both departed this life since my brother Robinson. And as in England we have a new-king Charls, of whom ther is great hope, so hear they have made prince Hendrick Generall in his brothers place, &c. Thus with my love remembred, I take leave & rest,

Your assured loving freind,

ROGER WHITE.

Leyden, Aprill 28.
An^o^: 1625.

Thus these too great princes, and their pastor, left this world near aboute one time. Death maks no difference. . . .

Their other freinds from Leyden writ many leters to them full of sad laments for ther heavie loss; and though their wills were good to come to them, yet they saw no probabilitie of

means, how it might be effected, but concluded (as it were) that all their hopes were cutt of; and many, being aged, begane to drop away by death.

Bradford's Tributes to Robinson.

Yea such was ye mutuall love, & reciprocall respecte that this worthy man had to his flocke, and his flocke to him, that it might be said of them as it once was of yt famouse Emperour Marcus Aurelious, and ye people of Rome, that it was hard to judge wheather he delighted more in haveing shuch a people, or they in haveing such a pastor. His love was greate towards them, and his care was all wayś bente for their best good, both for soule and body; for besids his singuler abilities in devine things (wherin he excelled), he was also very able to give directions in civill affaires, and to foresee dangers & inconveniences; by wch means he was very helpfull to their outward estats, & so was every way as a commone father unto them. And none did more offend him then those that were close and cleaving to them selves, and retired from ye commõe good; as also such as would be stiffe & riged in matters of outward order, and invey against ye evills of others, and yet be remisse in them selves, and not so carefull to express a vertuous conversation. They in like maner had ever a reverente regard unto him, & had him in precious estimation, as his worth & wisdom did deserve; and though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived & laboured amongst them, yet much more after his death, when they came to feele ye wante of his help, and saw (by woefull experience) what a treasure they had lost, to ye greefe of their harts, and wounding of their sowls; yea such a loss as they saw could not be repaired; for it was as hard for them to find such another leader and feeder in all respects, as for ye Taborits to find another Ziska.* And though they did not call themselves orphans, as the other did, after his death, yet they had cause as much to lamente, in another regard, their present condition, and after usage.— *From Bradford's Journal.*

Mr. John Robinson was pastor of that famous church of Leyden, in Holland; a man not easily to be paralleled for all things, whose singular virtues we shall not take upon us here to describe. Neither need we, for they so well are known both by friends and enemies. As he was a man learned and of solid

* John Ziska, the Hussite, the blind general and leader of the Bohemian insurgents, who was never defeated.

judgment and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he also of a tender conscience and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation, and towards his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than any of the university. He was never satisfied in himself until he had searched any cause or argument he had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom. And we have heard him sometimes say to his familiars that many times, both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently answered others, but many times not himself; and was ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned, and holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much esteemed and reverenced of all that knew him, and his abilities (were acknowledged) both of friends and strangers.— *From Bradford's First Dialogue; spelling modernized.*

The words of John Robinson here brought together are chiefly the letters, messages, and reports of addresses preserved by Bradford and Winslow, the words not embodied in the three-volume edition of Robinson's works. Those volumes, published in 1851, were edited with a memoir by Robert Ashton, secretary of the Congregational Board, London. They contain Robinson's more important theological and controversial works,— "Defence of the Doctrine propounded by the Synod of Dort," "A Justification of Separation from the Church of England," "The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy," etc., and also the essays written during the last part of Robinson s life, and published in the year of his death, 1625, republished in 1628 and 1642. These essays, far too little read, are sixty-two in number, upon a great variety of subjects,— Man's Knowledge of God, Authority and Reason, Heresy and Schism, Wisdom and Folly, Books and Writings, Riches and Poverty, Marriage, Youth and Old Age, etc.

John Robinson, the pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers, who, more than any other, influenced and formed the founders of Plymouth, has until this latest time been very inadequately treated by our historical scholars, although having due recognition in the general histories of the Pilgrim Fathers. Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter devoted a careful chapter to his services in his invaluable work on "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature"; and Edward Arber reprinted various important words of his, especially showing his kind feeling toward the Church of England, in his "Story of the Pilgrim Fathers." Just as this leaflet is prepared, however (1903), there is published the scholarly and thorough volume, "John Robinson, the Pilgrim Pastor," by Rev. Ozora S. Davis, which fully meets the need which has so long been felt. To this work the student is referred for completest information concerning one who was not merely the great early representative of the Congregational polity of the fathers of New England, but a cardinal force in our early political life.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 143.

The Day-Breaking of the Gospel with the Indians.

By JOHN ELIOT.

THE DAY-BREAKING, IF NOT THE SUN-RISING OF THE GOSPELL WITH THE INDIANS IN NEW ENGLAND. LONDON, PRINTED BY RICH. COTES, FOR FULK CLIFTON, AND ARE TO BEE SOLD AT HIS SHOP UNDER SAINT MARGARETS CHURCH ON NEW-FISH-STREET HILL, 1647.

A True Relation of our beginnings with the Indians.

Upon *October* 28. 1646. four of us (having sought God) went unto the *Indians* inhabiting within our bounds, with desire to make known the things of their peace to them. A little before we came to their *Wigwams*, five or six of the chief of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome; who leading us into the principall *Wigwam* of *Waaubon*, we found many more *Indians*, men, women, children, gathered together from all quarters round about, according to appointment, to meet with us, and learne of us. *Waaubon* the chief minister of Justice among them exhorting and inviting them before thereunto, being one who gives more grounded hopes of serious respect to the things of God, then any that as yet I have knowne of that forlorne generation; and therefore since wee first began to deale seriously with him, hath voluntarily offered his eldest son to be educated and trained up in the knowledge of God, hoping, as hee told us, that he might come to know him, although hee despaired much concerning himself; and accordingly his

son was accepted, and is now at school in *Dedham*, whom we found at this time standing by his father among the rest of his *Indian* brethren in English clothes.

They being all there assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, being not so farre acquainted with the *Indian* language as to expresse our hearts herein before God or them, but wee hope it will bee done ere long, the *Indians* desiring it that they also might know how to pray; but thus wee began in an unknowne tongue to them, partly to let them know that this dutie in hand was serious and sacred, (for so much some of them understand by what is undertaken at prayer) partly also in regard of our selves, that wee might agree together in the same request and heart sorrowes for them even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon.

When prayer was ended it was a glorious affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorne outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered; professing they understood all that which was then taught them in their owne tongue; it much affected us that they should smell some things of the Alabaster box broken up in that darke and gloomy habitation of filthinesse and uncleane spirits. For about an houre and a quarter the Sermon continued, wherein one of our company ran thorough all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a repetition of the ten Commandments, and a briefe explication of them, then shewing the curse and dreadfull wrath of God against all those who brake them, or any one of them, or the least title of them, and so applyed it unto the condition of the *Indians* present, with much sweet affection; and then preached Jesus Christ to them the onely meanes of recovery from sinne and wrath and eternall death, and what Christ was, and whither he was now gone, and how hee will one day come againe to judge the world in flaming fire; and of the blessed estate of all those that by faith beleeve in Christ, and know him feelingly: he spake to them also (observing his owne method as he saw most fit to edifie them) about the creation and fall of man, about the greatnesse and infinite being of God, the maker of all things, about the joyes of heaven, and the terrours and horrours of wicked men in hell, perswading them to repentance for severall sins which they live in, and many things of the like nature; not medling with any matters more difficult, and which to such weake ones might at first seeme ridiculous, untill they had tasted and beleeved more plaine and familiar truths.

Having thus in a set speech familiarly opened the principal matters of salvation to them, the next thing wee intended was discourse with them by propounding certaine questions to see what they would say to them, that so wee might skrue by variety of meanes something or other of God into them; but before wee did this we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken, and whether all of them in the *Wigwam* did understand or onely some few? and they answered to this question with multitude of voyces, that they all of them did understand all that which was then spoken to them. We then desired to know of them, if they would propound any question to us for more cleare understanding of what was delivered; whereupon severall of them propounded presently severall questions, (far different from what some other *Indians* under *Kitshomakin* in the like meeting about six weekes before had done, *viz.* 1. What was the cause of Thunder. 2. Of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea. 3. Of the wind) but the questions (which wee thinke some speciall wisedome of God directed these unto) (which these propounded) were in number six.

How may wee come to know Jesus Christ?

Our first answer was, That if they were able to read our Bible, the book of God, therein they should see most cleerely what Jesus Christ was: but because they could not do that; therefore,

Secondly, we wisht them to thinke, and meditate of so much as had been taught them, and which they now heard out of Gods booke, and to thinke much and often upon it, both when they did lie downe on their Mats in their *Wigwams*, and when they rose up, and to goe alone in the fields and woods, and muse on it, and so God would teach them; especially if they used a third helpe, which was,

Prayer to God to teach them and reveale Jesus Christ unto them; and wee told them, that although they could not make any long prayers as the English could, yet if they did but sigh and groane, and say thus; Lord make mee know Jesus Christ, for I know him not, and if they did say so againe and againe with their hearts that God would teach them Jesus Christ, because hee is such a God as will bee found of them that seeke him with all their hearts, and hee is a God hearing the prayers of all men both *Indian* as well as *English*, and that *English* men by this meanes have come to the knowledge of Jesus Christ.

The last helpe wee gave them was repentance, they must confesse their sinnes and ignorance unto God, and mourne for it,

and acknowledge how just it is, for God to deny them the knowledge of Jesus Christ or any thing else because of their sinnes.

These things were spoken by him who had preached to them in their owne language, borrowing now and then some small helpe from the Interpreter whom wee brought with us, and who could oftentimes expresse our minds more distinctly then any of us could; but this wee perceived, that a few words from the Preacher were more regarded then many from the *Indian* Interpreter.

One of them after this answer, replyed to us, that hee was a little while since praying in his *Wigwam*, unto God and Jesus Christ, that God would give him a good heart, and that while hee was praying, one of his fellow *Indians* interrupted him, and told him, that hee prayed in vaine, because Jesus Christ understood not what *Indians* speake in prayer, he had bin used to heare *English* man pray and so could well enough understand them, but *Indian* language in prayer hee thought hee was not acquainted with it, but was a stranger to it, and therefore could not understand them. His question therefore was, whether Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand *Indian* prayers.

This question sounding just like themselves, wee studied to give as familiar an answer as wee could, and therefore in this as in all other our answers, we endeavoured to speake nothing without clearing of it up by some familiar similitude; our answer summarily was therefore this, that Jesus Christ and God by him made all things, and makes all men, not onely *English* but *Indian* men, and if hee made them both (which wee know the light of nature would readily teach as they had been also instructed by us) then hee knew all that was within man and came from man, all his desires, and all his thoughts, and all his speeches, and so all his prayer; and if hee made *Indian* men, then hee knowes all *Indian* prayers also: and therefore wee bid them looke upon that *Indian* Basket that was before them, there was black and white strawes, and many other things they made it of, now though others did not know what those things were who made not the Basket, yet hee that made it must needs tell all the things in it, so (wee said) it was here.

Another propounded this question after this answer, Whether English men were ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as themselves?

When wee perceived the root and reach of this question, wee gave them this answer, that there are two sorts of English men,

some are bad and naught, and live wickedly and loosely, (describing them) and these kind of English men wee told them were in a manner as ignorant of Jesus Christ as the *Indians* now are; but there are a second sort of English men, who though for a time they lived wickedly also like other prophane and ignorant English, yet repenting of their sinnes, and seeking after God and Jesus Christ, they are good men now, and now know Christ, and love Christ, and pray to Christ, and are thankfull for all they have to Christ, and shall at last when they dye, goe up to heaven to Christ; and we told them all these also were once as ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as the *Indians* are, but by seeking to know him by reading his booke, and hearing his word, and praying to him, &c. they now know Jesus Christ, and just so shall the *Indians* know him if they so seeke him also, although at the present they bee extremely ignorant of him.

How can there be an Image of God, because it's forbidden in the second Commandment?

Wee told them that Image was all one Picture, as the Picture of an *Indian*, Bow and Arrowes on a tree, with such little eyes and such faire hands, is not an *Indian* but the Picture or Image of an *Indian*, and that Picture man makes, and it can doe no hurt nor good. So the Image or Picture of God is not God, but wicked men make it, and this Image can doe no good nor hurt to any man as God can.

Whether, if the father bee naught, and the child good, will God bee offended with that child, because in the second Commandment it's said, that hee visits the sinnes of fathers upon the children?

Wee told them the plainest answer wee could thinke of, *viz.* that if the child bee good, and the father bad, God will not bee offended with the child, if hee repents of his owne and his fathers sinnes, and followes not the steps of his wicked father; but if the child bee also bad, then God will visit the sins of fathers upon them, and therefore wisht them to consider of the other part of the promise made to thousands of them that love God and the *Evangenesh Jehovah*, *i.e.* the Commandments of Jehovah.

How all the world is become so full of people, if they were all once drowned in the Flood?

Wee told them the story and causes of *Noahs* preservation in the Arke at large, and so their questioning ended; and therefore wee then saw our time of propounding some few questions to them, and so take occasion thereby to open matters of God more fully.

Our first question was, Whether they did not desire to see God, and were not tempted to thinke that there was no God, because they cannot see him?

Some of them replyed thus; that indeed they did desire to see him if it could bee, but they had heard from us that hee could not be seene, and they did beleive that though their eies could not see him, yet that hee was to bee seene with their soule within: Hereupon we sought to confirme them the more, and asked them if they saw a great *Wigwam*, or a great house, would they thinke that *Racoones* or Foxes built it that had no wisedome or would they thinke that it made it selfe? or that no wise workman made it, because they could not see him that made it? No but they would beleeve some wise workman made it though they did not see him; so should they beleeve concerning God, when they looked up to heaven, Sunne, Moone, and Stars, and saw this great house he hath made, though they do not see him with their eyes, yet they have good cause to beleeve with their soules that a wise God, a great God made it.

We knowing that a great block in their way to beleiving is that there should bee but one God, (by the profession of the English) and yet this God in many places; therefore we asked them whether it did not seeme strange that there should bee but one God, and yet this God in *Massachusets*, at *Coneetacut*, at *Quimipeiock*, in old England, in this *Wigwam*, in the next every where.

Their answer was by one most sober among them, that indeed it was strange, as every thing else they heard preached was strange also, and they were wonderfull things which they never heard of before; but yet they thought it might bee true, and that God was so big every where: whereupon we further illustrated what wee said, by wishing them to consider of the light of the Sun, which though it be but a creature made by God, yet the same light which is in this *Wigwam* was in the next also, and the same light which was here at *Massachusets* was at *Quinipeiock* also and in old England also, and every where at one and the same time the same, much more was it so concerning God.

Whether they did not finde somewhat troubling them within after the commission of sin, as murther, adultery, theft, lying, &c. and what they thinke would comfort them against that trouble when they die and appeare before God, (for some knowledge of the immortality of the soule almost all of them have.)

They told us they were troubled, but they could not tell what to say to it, what should comfort them; hee therefore who spake

to them at first concluded with a dolefull description (so farre as his ability to speake in that tongue would carry him) of the trembling and mourning condition of every soul that dies in sinne, and that shall be cast out of favour with God.

Thus after three houres time thus spent with them, wee asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, No. But wee resolved to leave them with an appetite; the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, so wee appointed the time, and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a Town together, which wee did much like of, promising to speake for them to the generall Court, that they might possesse all the compasse of that hill, upon which their Wigwams then stood, and so wee departed with many welcomes from them.

A true relation of our coming to the Indians the second time.

Upon *November* 11. 1646. we came the second time unto the same Wigwam of *Waawbon*, where we found many more Indians met together then the first time wee came to them: and having seates provided for us by themselves, and being sate downe a while, wee began againe with prayer in the English tongue; our beginning this time was with the younger sort of Indian children in Catechizing of them, which being the first time of instructing them, we thought meet to aske them but only three questions in their own language, that we might not clog their mindes or memories with too much at first, the questions (asked and answered in the Indian tongue) were these three, 1 *Qu.* Who made you and all the world? *Answ.* God. 2. *Qu.* Who doe you looke should save you and redeeme you from sinne and hell? *Answ.* Jesus Christ. 3. *Qu.* How many commandments hath God given you to keepe? *Answ.* Ten. These questions being propounded to the Children severally, and one by one, and the answers being short and easie, hence it came to passe that before wee went thorow all, those who were last catechized had more readily learned to answer to them, by hearing the same question so oft propounded and answered before by their fellowes; and the other Indians who were growne up to more yeares had perfectly learned them, whom wee therefore desired to teach their children againe when wee were absent, that so when wee came againe wee might see their profiting, the better to encourage them hereunto, wee therefore gave something to every childe.

This Catechisme being soone ended, hee that preached to them, began thus (speaking to them in their own language) *viz. Wee are come to bring you good newes from the great God Almighty maker of Heaven and Earth, and to tell you how evill and wicked men may come to bee good, so as while they live they may bee happy, and when they die they may goe to God and live in Heaven.* Having made this preface, hee began first to set forth God unto them by familiar descriptions, in his glorious power, goodnesse, and greatnesse, and then set forth before them what his will was, and what hee required of all men even of the Indians themselves, in the ten commandments, and then told them the dreadfull torment and punishment of all such as breake any one of those holy commandments, and how angry God was for any sinne and transgression, yet notwithstanding hee had sent Jesus Christ to die for their sinnes and to pacifie God by his sufferings in their stead and roome, if they did repent and beleeve the Gospell, and that hee would love the poore miserable Indians if now they sought God and beleeved in Jesus Christ: threatening the sore wrath of God upon all such as stood out and neglected such great salvation which now God offered unto them, by those who sought nothing more then their salvation: thus continuing to preach the space of an houre, we desired them to propound some questions; which were these following. Before I name them it may not be amisse to take notice of the mighty power of the word which visibly appeared especially in one of them, who in hearing these things about sinne and hell, and Jesus Christ, powred out many teares and shewed much affliction without affectation of being seene, desiring rather to conceale his griefe which (as was gathered from his carriage) the Lord forced from him.

The first Question was suddenly propounded by an old man then present, who hearing faith and repentance preacht upon them to finde salvation by Jesus Christ, hee asked whether it was not too late for such an old man as hee, who was neare death to repent or seeke after God.

This Question affected us not a little with compassion, and we held forth to him the Bible, and told him what God said in it concerning such as are hired at the eleventh houre of the day: wee told him also that if a father had a sonne that had been disobedient many yeares, yet if at last that sonne fall downe upon his knees and weepe and desire his father to love him, his father is so mercifull that hee will readily forgive him and love him; so wee said it was much more with God who is a more mercifull

father to those whom hee hath made, then any father can bee to his rebellious childe whom he hath begot, if they fall downe and weepe, and pray, repent, and desire forgivenesse for Jesus Christ's sake; and wee farther added that looke as if a father did call after his childe to returne and repent promising him favour, the childe might then bee sure that his father would forgive him; so wee told them that now was the day of God risen upon them, and that now the Lord was calling of them to repentance, and that he had sent us for that end to preach repentance for the remission of sins, and that therefore they might bee sure to finde favour though they had lived many yeares in sinne, and that therefore if now they did repent it was not too late as the old man feared, but if they did not come when they were thus called, God would bee greatly angry with them, especially considering that now they must sinne against knowledge, whereas before we came to them they knew not any thing of God at all.

Having spent much time in clearing up the first question, the next they propounded (upon our answer) was this, *viz.* How come the English to differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they had all at first but one father?

Wee confessed that it was true that at first wee had all but one father, but after that our first father fell, hee had divers children some were bad and some good, those that were bad would not take his counsell but departed from him and from God, and those God left alone in sinne and ignorance, but others did regard him and the counsell of God by him, and those knew God, and so the difference arose at first, that some together with their posterity knew God, and others did not; and so wee told them it was this day, for like as if an old man an aged father amongst them have many children, if some of them bee rebellious against the counsell of the father, he shuts them out of doores, and lets them goe, and regards them not, unlesse they returne and repent, but others that will bee ruled by him, they learne by him and come to know his minde; so wee said English men seek God, dwell in his house, heare his word, pray to God, instruct their children out of Gods booke, hence they come to know God; but Indians forefathers were stubborne and rebellious children, and would not heare the word, did not care to pray nor to teach their children, and hence Indians that now are, do not know God at all: and so must continue unlesse they repent, and returne to God and pray, and teach their children what they now may

learne: but withall wee told them that many English men did not know God but were like to *Kitchamakins* drunken Indians; Nor were wee willing to tell them the story of the scattering of *Noahs* children since the flood, and thereby to shew them how the Indians come to bee so ignorant, because it was too difficult, and the history of the Bible is reserved for them (if God will) to be opened at a more convenient season in their owne tongue.

Their third question was, How may wee come to serve God?

Wee asked him that did propound it whether he did desire indeed to serve him? and hee said, yes. Hereupon wee said, first, they must lament their blindnesse and sinfulnesse that they cannot serve him; and their ignorance of Gods booke (which wee pointed to) which directs how to serve him. Secondly, that they could not serve God but by seeking forgivenesse of their sinnes and power against their sinnes in the bloud of Jesus Christ who was preached to them. Thirdly, that looke as an Indian childe, if he would serve his father, hee must first know his fathers will and love his father too, or else he can never serve him, but if hee did know his fathers will and love him, then he would serve him, and then if hee should not doe some things as his father commands him, and yet afterwards grieve for it upon his knees before his father, his father would pity and accept him: so wee told them it was with God, they must labour to know his will and love God and then they will bee willing to serve him, and if they should then sin, yet grieving for it before God he would pity and accept of them.

Their fourth Question was, How it comes to passe that the Sea water was salt, and the Land water fresh.

'Tis so from the wonderfull worke of God, as why are Strawberries sweet and Cranberries sowre, there is no reason but the wonderfull worke of God that made them so: our study was chiefly to make them acknowledge God in his workes, yet wee gave them also the reason of it from naturall causes which they lesse understood, yet did understand somewhat appearing by their usuall signes of approving what they understand.

Their fifth Question was, that if the water was higher then the earth, how comes it to passe that it doth not overflow all the earth?

Wee still held God before them, and shewed that this must needes bee the wonderfull worke of God, and we tooke an apple and thereby shewed them how the earth and water made one round globe like that apple; and how the Sun moved about it;

and then shewed them how God made a great hole or ditch, into which hee put the waters of the Sea, so that though it was upon the earth and therefore above the earth, yet we told them that by making so deepe a hole the waters were kept within compasse that they could not overflow, just as if Indians making a hole to put in much water, the water cannot overflow nor runne abroad, which they would if they had no such hole; so it was with God, it was his mighty power that digged a hole for all Sea-waters, as a deepe ditch, and there by God kept them in from overflowing the whole earth, which otherwise would quickly drowne all.

They having spent much conference amongst themselves about these Questions and the night hastening, we desired them to propound some other Questions, or if not, we would aske them some, hereupon one of them asked us; If a man hath committed adultery or stolen any goods, and the Sachim doth not punish him, nor by any law is hee punished, if also he restore the goods he hath stolen, what then? whether is not all well now? meaning that if Gods Law was broken and no man punished him for it, that then no punishment should come from God for it, and as if by restoring againe an amends was made to God.

Although man be not offended for such sinnes yet God is angry, and his anger burnes like fire against all sinners: and here wee set out the holinesse and terrour of God in respect of the least sinne; yet if such a sinner with whom God is angry fly to Jesus Christ, and repent and seeke for mercy and pardon for Christ's sake, that then God will forgive and pity. Upon the hearing of which answer hee that propounded the question drew somewhat backe and hung downe his head as a man smitten to the very heart, with his eyes ready to drop, and within a little while after brake out into a complaint, Mee little know Jesus Christ, otherwise he thought he should seeke him better: we therefore told him, that looke as it was in the morning at first there is but a little light, then there is more light, then there is day, then the Sun is up, then the Sun warmes and heates, &c. so it was true they knew but little of Jesus Christ now, but wee had more to tell them concerning him hereafter, and after that more and after that more, untill at last they may come to know Christ as the English doe; and wee taught them but a little at a time, because they could understand but little, and if they prayed to God to teach them, he would send his Spirit and teach them more, they and their fathers had lived in ignorance untill now, it hath beene

a long night wherein they have slept and have not regarded God, but now the day-light began to stirre upon them, they might hope therefore for more ere long, to bee made knowne to them.

Thus having spent some houres with them, wee propounded two Questions.

What do you remember of what was taught you since the last time wee were here?

After they had spoken one to another for some time, one of them returned this answer, that they did much thanke God for our comming, and for what they heard, they were wonderfull things unto them.

Doe you beleeve the things that are told you, *viz.* that God is *musquantum*, *i.e.* very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or workes?

They said yes, and hereupon wee set forth the terrour of God against sinners, and mercy of God to the penitent, and to such as sought to know Jesus Christ, and that as sinners should bee after death, *Chechainuppan*, *i.e.* tormented alive, (for wee know no other word in the tongue to expresse extreame torture by) so beleevers should after death *Wowein wicke Jehovah*, *i.e.* live in all blisse with *Jehovah* the blessed God: and so we concluded conference.

Having thus spent the whole afternoone, and night being almost come upon us; considering that the Indians formerly desired to know how to pray, and did thinke that Jesus Christ did not understand Indian language, one of us therefore prepared to pray in their own language, and did so for above a quarter of an houre together, wherein divers of them held up eies and hands to heaven; all of them (as wee understood afterwards) understanding the same; but one of them I cast my eye upon, was hanging downe his head with his rag before his eyes weeping; at first I feared it was some sorenesse of his eyes, but lifting up his head againe, having wiped his eyes (as not desirous to be seene) I easily perceived his eyes were not sore, yet somewhat red with crying; and so held up his head for a while, yet such was the presence and mighty power of the Lord Jesus on his heart that hee hung downe his head againe, and covered his eyes againe and so fell wiping and wiping of them weeping abundantly, continuing thus till prayer was ended, after which hee presently turnes from us, and turnes his face to a side and corner of the Wigwam, and there fals a weeping more abundantly by himselfe, which one of us perceiving, went to him, and spake to him

encouraging words; at the hearing of which hee fell a weeping more and more; so leaving of him, he who spake to him came unto mee (being newly gone out of the Wigwam) and told mee of his teares, so we resolved to goe againe both of us to him, and speake to him againe, and wee met him comming out of the Wigwam, and there wee spake againe to him, and he there fell into a more abundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affected indeed, which forced us also to such bowels of compassion that wee could not forbeare weeping over him also: and so wee parted greatly rejoicing for such sorrowing.

Thus I have as faithfully as I could remember given you a true account of our beginnings with the Indians within our owne bounds; which cannot but bee matter of more serious thoughts what further to doe with these poore Natives the dregs of mankinde and the saddest spectacle of misery of meere men upon earth: wee did thinke to forbeare going to them this winter, but this last dayes worke wherein God set his seale from heaven of acceptance of our little, makes those of us who are able, to resolve to adventure thorow frost and snow, lest the fire goe out of their hearts for want of a little more fewall: to which we are the more incouraged, in that the next day after our being with them, one of the Indians came to his house who preacht to them to speake with him, who in private conference wept exceedingly, and said that all that night the Indians could not sleepe, partly with trouble of minde, and partly with wondring at the things they heard preacht amongst them; another Indian comming also to him the next day after, told him how many of the wicked sort of Indians began to oppose these beginnings.

Whence these Indians came here to inhabit is not certaine, his reasons are most probable who thinke they are Tartars passing out of *Asia* into *America* by the straits of *Anian*, who being split by some revenging hand of God upon this continent like water upon the ground are spread as farre as these *Atlanticke* shores, there being but few of them in these parts in comparison of those which are more contiguous to the *Anian* straits, if we may credit some Historians herein: what ever these conjectures and uncertainties bee, certaine it is, that they are inheritors of a grievous and fearefull curse living so long without Ephod or Teraphim, and in nearest alliance to the wilde beasts that perish; and as God delights to convey blessings of mercy to the posterity of some in respect of his promise to their fathers, so are curses entailed and come by naturall descent unto others, for some great sinnes

of their Ancestors, as no doubt it is in respect of these. Yet notwithstanding the deepest degeneracies are no stop to the overflowing grace and bloud of Christ, when the time of love shall come, no not to these poore outcasts, the utmost ends of the earth being appointed to bee in time, the Sonne of Gods possession.

Wee are oft upbraided by some of our Countrymen that so little good is done by our professing planters upon the hearts of Natives; such men have surely more spleene then judgement, and know not the vast distance of Natives from common civility, almost humanity it selfe, and 'tis as if they should reproach us for not making the windes to blow when wee list our selves, it must certainely be a spirit of life from God (not in mans power) which must put flesh and sinewes unto these dry bones: if wee would force them to baptisme (as the Spaniards do about *Cusco*, *Peru*, and *Mexico*, having learnt them a short answer or two to some Popish questions) or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coates and shirts, to allure them to it (as some others have done) wee could have gathered many hundreds, yea thousands it may bee by this time, into the name of Churches; but wee have not learnt as yet that art of coyning Christians, or putting Christs name and Image upon copper mettle. Although I thinke we have much cause to bee humbled that wee have not endeavoured more then wee have done their conversion and peace with God, who enjoy the mercy and peace of God in their land. Three things have made us thinke (as they once did of building the Temple) it is not yet time for God to worke, 1. Because till the Jewes come in, there is a seale set upon the hearts of those people, as they thinke from some Apocalypitcall places. 2. That as in nature there is no progresses *ab extremo ad extremum nisi per media*, so in religion such as are so extreamly degenerate, must bee brought to some civility before religion can prosper, or the word take place. 3. Because wee want miraculous and extraordinary gifts without which no conversion can bee expected amongst these; But me thinkes now that it is with the Indians as it was with our New-English ground when we first came over, there was scarce any man that could beleeve that English graine would grow, or that the Plow could doe any good in this woody and rocky soile. And thus they continued in this supine unbeliefe for some yeares, till experience taught them otherwise, and now all see it to bee scarce inferiour to Old-English tillage, but beares very good burdens; so wee have thought of our Indian people,

and therefore have beene discouraged to put plow to such dry and rocky ground, but God having begun thus with some few it may bee they are better soile for the Gospel then wee can thinke: I confesse I thinke no great good will bee done till they bee more civilized, but why may not God begin with some few, to awaken others by degrees? nor doe I expect any great good will bee wrought by the English (leaving secrets to God) (although the English surely begin and lay the first stones of Christs Kingdome and Temple amongst them) because God is wont ordinarily to convert Nations and peoples by some of their owne country men who are nearest to them, and can best speake, and most of all pity their brethren and countrimen, but yet if the least beginnings be made by the conversion of two or three, its worth all our time and travailes, and cause of much thankfulnesse for such seedes, although no great harvests should immediately appeare; surely this is evident, first that they never heard heart-breaking prayer and preaching before now in their owne tongue, that we know of, secondly, that there were never such hopes of a dawning of mercy toward them as now, certainely those aboundant teares which wee saw shed from their eies, argue a mighty and blessed presence of the spirit of Heaven in their hearts, which when once it comes into such kinde of spirits will not easily out againe.

The chiefe use that I can make of these hopefull beginnings, besides rejoycing for such shinings, is from *Esay* 2. 5. *Oh house of Israel, let us walke in the light of the Lord;* Considering that these blinde Natives beginne to looke towards Gods mountaine now.

The observations I have gathered by conversing with them are such as these.

That none of them slept Sermon or derided Gods messenger: Woe unto those English that are growne bold to doe that, which Indians will not, Heathens dare not.

That there is need of learning in Ministers who preach to Indians, much more to English men and gracious Christians, for these had sundry philosophicall questions, which some knowledge of the arts must helpe to give answer to; and without which these would not have beene satisfied: worse then Indian ignorance hath blinded their eies that renounce learning as an enemy to Gospell Ministeries.

That there is no necessity of extraordinary gifts nor miraculous signes alway to convert Heathens, who being manifest and professed unbeleevers may expect them as soone as any; (signes

being given for them that beleeve not 1 *Cor.* 14. 22.) much lesse is there any need of such gifts for gathering Churches amongst professing Christians, (signes not being given for them which beleeve,) for wee see the Spirit of God working mightily upon the hearts of these Natives in an ordinary way, and I hope will; they being but a rennant, the Lord using to shew mercy to the remnant; for there be but few that are left alive from the Plague and Pox, which God sent into those parts, and if one or two can understand they usually talke of it as wee doe of newes, it flies suddainely farre and neare, and truth scattered will rise in time, for ought we know.

If English men begin to despise the preaching of faith and repentance, and humiliation for sinne, yet the poore Heathens will be glad of it, and it shall doe good to them; for so they are, and so it begins to doe; the Lord grant that the foundation of our English woe, be not laid in the ruine and contempt of those fundamentall doctrines of faith, repentance, humiliation for sin, &c. but rather relishing the novelties and dreames of such men as are surfetted with the ordinary food of the Gospell of Christ. Indians shall weepe to heare faith and repentance preached, when English men shall mourne, too late, that are weary of such truths.

That the deepest estrangements of man from God is no hindrance to his grace nor to the Spirit of grace, for what Nation or people ever so deeply degenerated since *Adams* fall as these Indians, and yet the Spirit of God is working upon them?

That it is very likely if ever the Lord convert any of these Natives, that they will mourne for sin exceedingly, and consequently love Christ dearely, for if by a little measure of light such heart-breakings have appeared, what may wee thinke will bee, when more is let in? they are some of them very wicked, some very ingenious, these latter are very apt and quick of understanding and naturally sad and melancholly (a good servant to repentance,) and therefore there is the greater hope of great heart-breakings, if ever God brings them effectually home, for which we should affectionately pray.

A third meeting with the Indians.

November 26. I could not goe my selfe, but heard from those who went of a third meeting; the Indians having built more Wigwams in the wonted place of meeting to attend upon the Word

the more readily. The preacher understanding how many of the Indians discouraged their fellowes in this worke, and threatning death to some if they heard any more, spake therefore unto them, about temptations of the Devill, how hee tempted to all manner of sinne, and how the evill heart closed with them, and how a good heart abhorred them; the Indians were this day more serious then ever before, and propounded divers questions againe; as 1. Because some Indians say that we must pray to the Devill for all good, and some to God; they would know whether they might pray to the Devill or no. 2. They said they heard the word humiliation oft used in our Churches, and they would know what that meant? 3. Why the English call them Indians, because before they came they had another name? 4. What a Spirit is? 5. Whether they should beleeve Dreames? 6. How the English come to know God so much and they so little? To all which they had fit answers; but being not present I shall not set them downe: onely their great desire this time was to have a place for a Towne and to learne to spinne.

Sir, I did thinke I should have writ no more to you concerning the Indians; but the Ship lingers in the Harbour, and the Lord Jesus will have you see more of his conquests and triumphes among these forlorne and degenerate people; surely hee heares the prayers of the destitute and that have long lien downe in the dust before God for these poore prisoners of the pit: surely some of these American tongues and knees must confesse him, and bow downe before him: for the Saturday night after this third meeting (as I am informed from that man of God who then preached to them) there came to his house one *Wampas* a wise and sage Indian, as a messenger sent to him from the rest of the company, to offer unto him his owne sonne and three more Indian children to bee trained up among the English, one of the children was nine yeares old, another eight, another five, another foure: and being demanded why they would have them brought up among the English, his answer was, because they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should doe if they were constantly among the English.

This *Wampas* came also accompanied with two more Indians, young lusty men, who offered themselves voluntarily to the service of the English that by dwelling in some of their families, they might come to know Jesus Christ; these are two of those three men whom wee saw weeping, and whose hearts were smitten

at our second meeting above mentioned, and continue still much affected, and give great hopes; these two are accepted of and received into two of the Elders houses, but the children are not yet placed out because it is most meet to doe nothing that way too suddainly, but they have a promise of acceptance and education of them either in learning or in some other trade of life in time convenient, to which *Wampas* replyed that the Indians desired nothing more.

These two young men who are thus disposed of, being at an Elders house upon the Sabbath day night, upon some conference with them, one of them began to confesse how wickedly he had lived, and with how many *Indian* women hee had committed filthinesse, and therefore professed that hee thought God would never looke upon him in love. To which hee had this answer, that indeed that sinne of whoredome was exceeding great, yet if hee sought God for Christs sake to pardon him, and confesse his sinne and repented of it indeed, that the Lord would shew him mercy; and hereupon acquainted him with the story of Christs conference with the Samaritan woman, *John* 4. and how Jesus Christ forgave her although shee lived in that sinne of filthinesse, even when Christ began to speake to her: whereupon he fell a weeping and lamenting bitterly, and the other young man being present and confessing the like guiltinesse with his fellow, hee burst out also into a great mourning, wherein both continued for above halfe an houre together at that time also.

It is wonderfull to see what a little leven and that small mustard-seed of the Gospell will doe, and how truth will worke when the spirit of Christ hath the setting of it on, even upon hearts and spirits most uncapable; for the last night after they had heard the word this third time, there was an English youth of good capacitie who lodged in *Waaubons Wigwam* that night upon speciall occasion, and hee assured us that the same night *Waaubon* instructed all his company out of the things which they had heard that day from the Preacher, and prayed among them, and awaking often that night continually fell to praying and speaking to some or other of the things hee hath heard, so that this man (being a man of gravitie and chiefe prudence and counsell among them, although no *Sachem*) is like to bee a meanes of great good to the rest of his company unlesse cowardise or witchery put an end (as usually they have done) to such hopefull beginnings.

The old man who askt the first question the second time of

our meeting (*viz.* whether there was any hope for such old men or no) hath six sonnes, one of his sonnes was a *Pawwaw*, and his wife a great *Pawwaw*, and both these God hath convinced of their wickednesse, and they resolve to heare the word and seeke to the devill no more. This, the two *Indians* who are come to us acquaint us with, and that they now say, that *Chepian*, *i.e.* the devill is naught, and that God is the author onely of all good as they have been taught. Hee therefore who preacheth to the *Indians* desired them to tell him who were *Pawwaws* when hee went againe to preach amongst them; and upon speciall occasion this *Decemb.* 4. being called of God to another place where the *Indians* use to meet, and having preacht among them, after the Sermon, hee that was the *Pawwaw* of that company was discovered to him, to whom hee addressed himselfe and propounded these questions, viz. 1. Whether doe you thinke that God or *Chepian* is the author of all good? he answered, God. 2. If God bee the author of all good, why doe you pray to *Chepian* the devill? The *Pawwaw* perceiving him to propound the last question with a sterne countenance and unaccustomed terrour, hee gave him no answer, but spake to other *Indians* that hee did never hurt any body by his *Pawwawing*, and could not bee got by all the meanes and turnings of questions that might bee, to give the least word of answer againe; but a little after the conference was ended, hee met with this *Pawwaw* alone and spak more lovingly and curteously to him, and askt him why heee would not answer, he then told him that his last question struck a terrour into him and made him afraid, and promised that at the next meeting hee would propound some question to him as others did.

And here it may not bee amisse to take notice of what these two *Indians* have discovered to us concerning these *Pawwaws:* for they were askt how they came to bee made *Pawwaws*, and they answered thus, that if any of the *Indians* fall into any strange dreame wherein *Chepian* appeares unto them as a serpent, then the next day they tell the other *Indians* of it, and for two dayes after the rest of the *Indians* dance and rejoyce for what they tell them about this Serpent, and so they become their *Pawwaws:* Being further askt what doe these *Pawwaws*, and what use are they of; and they said the principall imployment is to cure the sick by certaine odde gestures and beatings of themselves, and then they pull out the sicknesse by applying their hands to the sick person and so blow it away: so that their *Pawwaws* are great

witches having fellowship with the old Serpent, to whom they pray, and by whose meanes they heale sicke persons, and (as they said also) will shew many strange juglings to the wonderment of the *Indians*. They affirmed also that if they did not cure the sick party (as very often they did not) that then they were reviled, and sometime killed by some of the dead mans friends, especially if they could not get their mony againe out of their hands, which they receive aforehand for their cure.

Wee have cause to be very thankfull to God who hath moved the hearts of the generall court to purchase so much land for them to make their towne in which the *Indians* are much taken with,* and it is somewhat observable that while the Court were considering where to lay out their towne, the *Indians* (not knowing of any thing) were about that time consulting about Lawes for themselves, and their company who sit downe with *Waaubon;* there were ten of them, two of them are forgotten.

Their Lawes were these.

1. That if any man be idle a weeke, at most a fortnight, hee shall pay five shillings.

2. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, hee shall pay twenty shillings.

3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall bee tied behind him and carried to the place of justice to bee severely punished.

4. Every young man if not anothers servant, and if unmarried, hee shall be compelled to set up a *Wigwam* and plant for himselfe, and not live shifting up and downe to other *Wigwams*.

5. If any woman shall not have her haire tied up but hang loose or be cut as mens haire, she shall pay five shillings.

6. If any woman shall goe with naked breasts they shall pay two shillings six pence.

7. All those men that weare long locks shall pay five shillings.

8. If any shall kill their lice betweene their teeth, they shall pay five shillings. This Law though ridiculous to English eares yet tends to preserve cleanlinesse among *Indians*.

'Tis wonderfull in our eyes to understand by these two honest *Indians*, what Prayers *Waaubon* and the rest of them use to make, for hee that preacheth to them professeth hee never yet

* This towne the Indians did desire to know what name it should have, and it was told them it should bee called *Noonatomen*, which signifies in English rejoycing, because they hearing the word, and seeking to know God, the English did rejoyce at it, and God did rejoyce at it, which pleased them much ; & therefore that is to be the name of their towne.

used any of their words in his prayers, from whom otherwise it might bee thought that they had learnt them by rote, one is this.

Amanaomen Jehovah tahassen metagh.
Take away Lord my stony heart.

Another.

Chechesom Jehovah kekowhogkow.
Wash Lord my soule.

Another.

Lord lead mee when I die to heaven.

These are but a taste, they have many more, and these more enlarged then thus expressed, yet what are these but the sprinklings of the spirit and blood of Christ Jesus in their hearts? and 'tis no small matter that such dry barren and long-accursed ground should yeeld such kind of increase in so small a time. I would not readily commend a faire day before night, nor promise much of such kind of beginnings, in all persons, nor yet in all of these, for wee know the profession of very many is but a meere paint, and their best graces nothing but meere flashes and pangs, which are suddenly kindled and as soone go out and are extinct againe, yet God doth not usually send his Plough & Seedsman to a place but there is at least some little peece of good ground, although three to one bee naught: and mee thinkes the Lord Jesus would never have made so fit a key for their locks, unlesse hee had intended to open some of their doores, and so to make way for his comming in. Hee that God hath raised up and enabled to preach unto them, is a man (you know) of a most sweet, humble, loving, gratious and enlarged spirit, whom God hath blest, and surely will still delight in, & do good by. I did think never to have opened my mouth to any, to desire those in England to further any good worke here, but now I see so many things inviting to speak in this businesse, that it were well if you did lay before those that are prudent and able these considerations.

1. That it is prettie heavy and chargeable to educate and traine up those children which are already offered us, in schooling, cloathing, diet and attendance, which they must have.

2. That in all probabilitie many *Indians* in other places, especially under our jurisdiction, will bee provoked by this example in these, both to desire preaching, and also to send their children to us, when they see that some of their fellowes fare so well among the English, and the civill authoritie here so much favouring and countenancing of these, and if many more come

in, it will bee more heavy to such as onely are fit to keepe them, and yet have their hands and knees infeebled so many wayes besides.

3. That if any shall doe any thing to incourage this worke, that it may bee given to the Colledge for such an end and use, that so from the Colledge may arise the yeerly revenue for their yeerly maintenance. I would not have it placed in any particular mans hand for feare of cousenage or misplacing or carelesse keeping and improving; but at the Colledge it's under many hands and eyes the chief and best of the country who have been & will be exactly carefull of the right and comely disposing of such things; and therefore, if any thing bee given, let it bee put in such hands as may immediately direct it to the President of the Colledge, who you know will soone acquaint the rest with it; and for this end if any in England have thus given any thing for this end, I would have them speake to those who have received it to send it this way, which if it bee withheld I thinke 'tis no lesse then sacriledge: but if God moves no hearts to such a work, I doubt not then but that more weake meanes shall have the honour of it in the day of Christ.

A fourth meeting with the Indians.

This day being *Decemb.* 9. the children being catechised, and that place of *Ezekiel* touching the dry bones being opened, and applyed to their condition; the *Indians* offered all their children to us to bee educated amongst us, and instructed by us, complaining to us that they were not able to give any thing to the English for their education: for this reason there are therefore preparations made towards the schooling of them, and setting up a Schoole among them or very neare unto them. Sundry questions also were propounded by them to us, and of us to them; one of them being askt what is sinne? hee answered a naughty heart. Another old man complained to us of his feares, *viz.* that hee was fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, but still hee was in feare whether he should goe to hell or heaven; and thereupon the justification of a sinner by faith in Christ was opened unto him as the remedy against all feares of hell. Another complayned of other *Indians* that did revile them, and call them Rogues and such like speeches for cutting off their Locks, and for cutting their Haire in a modest manner as the New-English generally doe; for since the word hath begun to worke upon their

hearts, they have discerned the vanitie and pride which they placed in their haire, and have therefore of their owne accord (none speaking to them that we know of) cut it modestly; they were therefore encouraged by some there present of chiefe place and account with us, not to feare the reproaches of wicked *Indians*, nor their witch-craft and *Pawwaws* and poysonings, but let them know that if they did not dissemble but would seeke God unfaignedly, that they would stand by them, and that God also would be with them. They told us also of divers *Indians* who would come and stay with them three or foure dayes, and one Sabbath, and then they would goe from them, but as for themselves, they told us they were fully purposed to keepe the Sabbath, to which wee incouraged them, and night drawing on were forced to leave them, for this time.

FROM ELIOT'S DEDICATION TO KING CHARLES THE SECOND OF HIS INDIAN TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The people of these four Colonies (Confederate for mutual Defence in the time of the late Distractions of our dear Native Country) Your Majesties natural born Subjects, by the Favour and Grant of Your Royal Father and Grandfather of Famous Memory, put themselves upon this great and hazardous Undertaking, of Planting themselves at their own Charge in these remote ends of the Earth, that without offence or provocation to our dear Bretheren and Countrymen, we might enjoy that liberty to Worship God, which our own Conscience informed us, was not onely our Right, but Duty: As also that we might (if it so pleased God) be instrumental to spread the light of the Gospel, the knowledge of the Son of God our Saviour, to the poor barbarous Heathen, which by His late Majesty, in some of our Patents, is declared to be His principal aim.

These honest and pious Intentions, have, through the grace and goodness of God and our Kings, been seconded with proportionable success: for, omitting the Immunities indulged us by Your Highness Royal Predecessors, we have been greatly incouraged by your Majesties gracious expressions of Favour and Approbation signified, unto the *Address* made by the principal of our Colonies, to which the rest do most cordially Subscribe, though wanting the like seasonable opportunity, they have been (till now) deprived of the means to Congratulate Your Majesties happy Restitution, after Your long suffering, which we implore may yet be graciously accepted, that we may be equal partakers of Your Royal Favour and Moderation; which hath been so Illustrious that (to admiration) the animosities and different Perswasions of men have been so soon Composed, and so much cause of hope, that (unless the sins of the Nation prevent) a blessed Calm will succeed the late horrid Confusions of Church and State. And shall not we (*Dread Sovereign*) your Subjects of these Colonies, of the same Faith and Belief in all Points of Doctrine with our Countrymen, and the other Reformed Churches (though perhaps not alike perswaded in

some matters of Order, which in outward respects hath been unhappy for us) promise and assure our selves of all just favour and indulgence from a Prince so happily and graciously endowed?

The other part of our Errand hither, hath been attended with Endeavours and Blessing; many of the wilde *Indians* being taught, and understanding the Doctrine of the Christian Religion, and with much affection attending such Preachers as are sent to teach them, many of their Children are instructed to Write and Reade, and some of them have proceeded further, to attain the knowledge of the Latine and Greek Tongues, and are brought up with our English youth in University-learning: There are divers of them that can and do reade some parts of the Scripture, and some Catechisms, which formerly have been Translated into their own Language, which hath occasioned the undertaking of a greater Work, *viz:* The Printing of the whole Bible, which (being Translated by a painful Labourer amongst them, who was desirous to see the Work accomplished in his dayes) hath already proceeded to the finishing of the New Testament, which we here humbly present to Your Majesty, as the first fruits and accomplishment of the Pious Design of Your Royal Ancestors. The Old Testament is now under the Press, wanting and craving your Royal Favour and Assistance for the perfecting thereof.

The reports by Eliot and others of the early work among the Indians of New England are well noticed in the following paragraph by Charles Deane, in the notes appended to his chapter on New England, in the third volume of the Narrative and Critical History of America. The student is also referred to Old South Leaflets, Nos. 21 and 52—Eliot's "Brief Narrative" and Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun"—which contains full historical and bibliographical notes. Most of the tracts referred to by Mr. Deane in the following paragraph are reprinted in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1834:—

"By Edward Winslow's influence a corporation was created for Parliament, in 1649, for propagating the Gospel among the Indian tribes in New England, and some of the accounts of the progress of the missions, sent over from the colony, were published in London by the corporation. The conversion of the natives was one object set forth in the Massachusetts charter; and Roger Williams had, while a resident of Massachusetts and Plymouth, taken a deep interest in them, and in 1643, while on a voyage to England, he drew up *A Key unto the Language of America*, published that year in London. In that same year there was also published in London a small tract called *New England's First Fruit*, first in respect to the college and second in respect to the Indians. Some hopeful instances of conversion among the natives were briefly given in this tract. In 1647 a more full relation of Eliot's labors was sent over to Winslow, who the year before had arrived in England as agent of Massachusetts, and printed under the title *The Day breaking, if not the Sun rising of the Gospel of the Indians in New England*. In the following year, 1648, a narrative was published in London, written by Thomas Shepard, called *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians*, etc.; and this in 1649 was followed by *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*, setting forth the labors of Eliot and Mayhew. The Rev. Henry Whitfield, who had been pastor of a church in Guilford, Connecticut, returned to England in 1650, and in the following year he published in London *The Light appearing more and more towards the Perfect Day*, and in 1652 *Strength out of Weakness*, both containing accounts, written chiefly by Eliot, of the progress of his labors. His last tract was the first of those published by the corporation, which continued thenceforth, for several years, to publish the record of the missions as they were sent over from the colony. In 1653 a tract appeared under the title of *Tears of Repentance*, etc.; in 1655, *A late and further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel*, etc.; in 1659, *A further Account*, etc.; and, in 1660, *A further Account*—still. Eliot's literary labors in behalf of the Massachusetts Indians culminated in the translation of the Bible into their dialect, and its publication through the Cambridge press. The Testament was printed in 1661, and the whole Bible in 1663; and second editions of each appeared, the former in 1680 and the latter in 1685."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 144.

Education and Prosperity.

By HORACE MANN.

From his Twelfth Annual Report as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1848.

A cardinal object which the government of Massachusetts, and all the influential men in the State, should propose to themselves, is the physical well-being of all the people,—the sufficiency, comfort, competence, of every individual in regard to food, raiment, and shelter. And these necessaries and conveniences of life should be obtained by each individual for himself, or by each family for themselves, rather than accepted from the hand of charity or extorted by poor-laws. It is not averred that this most desirable result can, in all instances, be obtained; but it is, nevertheless, the end to be aimed at. True statesmanship and true political economy, not less than true philanthropy, present this perfect theory as the goal, to be more and more closely approximated by our imperfect practice. The desire to achieve such a result cannot be regarded as an unreasonable ambition; for, though all mankind were well fed, well clothed, and well housed, they might still be but half civilized.

Poverty is a public as well as a private evil. There is no physical law necessitating its existence. The earth contains abundant resources for ten times—doubtless for twenty times—its present inhabitants. Cold, hunger, and nakedness are not, like death, an inevitable lot. There are many single States in this Union which could supply an abundance of edible products for

the inhabitants of the thirty States that compose it. There are single States capable of raising a sufficient quantity of cotton to clothe the whole nation; and there are other States having sufficient factories and machinery to manufacture it. The coal-fields of Pennsylvania are sufficiently abundant to keep every house in the land at the temperature of sixty-five degrees for centuries to come. Were there to be a competition, on the one hand, to supply wool for every conceivable fabric, and, on the other, to wear out these fabrics as fast as possible, the single State of New York would beat the whole country. There is, indeed, no assignable limit to the capacities of the earth for producing whatever is necessary for the sustenance, comfort, and improvement of the race. Indigence, therefore, and the miseries and degradations incident to indigence, seem to be no part of the eternal ordinances of Heaven. The bounty of God is not brought into question or suspicion by its existence; for man who suffers it might have avoided it. Even the wealth which the world now has on hand is more than sufficient to supply all the rational wants of every individual in it. Privations and sufferings exist, not from the smallness of its sum, but from the inequality of its distribution. Poverty is set over against profusion. In some all healthy appetite is cloyed and sickened by repletion; while in others the stomach seems to be a supernumerary organ in the system, or, like the human eye or human lungs before birth, is waiting to be transferred to some other region, where its functions may come into use. One gorgeous palace absorbs all the labor and expense that might have made a thousand hovels comfortable. That one man may ride in carriages of Oriental luxury, hundreds of other men are turned into beasts of burden. To supply a superfluous wardrobe for the gratification of one man's pride, a thousand women and children shiver with cold; and for every flash of the diamonds that royalty wears there is a tear of distress in the poor man's dwelling. Not one Lazarus, but a hundred, sit at the gate of Dives. Tantalus is no fiction. The ancient one might have been fabulous; but the modern ones are terrible realities. Millions are perishing in the midst of superfluities.

According to the European theory, men are divided into classes, —some to toil and earn, others to seize and enjoy. According to the Massachusetts theory, all are to have an equal chance for earning, and equal security in the enjoyment of what they earn. The latter tends to equality of condition; the former, to the gross-

est inequalities. Tried by any Christian standard of morals, or even by any of the better sort of heathen standards, can any one hesitate, for a moment, in declaring which of the two will produce the greater amount of human welfare, and which, therefore, is the more conformable to the divine will? The European theory is blind to what constitutes the highest glory as well as the highest duty of a State. Its advocates and admirers are forgetful of that which should be their highest ambition, and proud of that which constitutes their shame. How can any one possessed of the attributes of humanity look with satisfaction upon the splendid treasures, the golden regalia, deposited in the Tower of London or in Windsor Palace, each "an India in itself," while thousands around are dying of starvation, or have been made criminals by the combined forces of temptation and neglect? The present condition of Ireland cancels all the glories of the British crown. The brilliant conception which symbolizes the nationality of Great Britain as a superb temple, whose massive and grand proportions are upheld and adorned by the four hundred and thirty Corinthian columns of the aristocracy, is turned into a loathing and a scorn when we behold the five millions of paupers that cower and shiver at its base. The galleries and fountains of Versailles, the Louvre of Paris, her Notre Dame, and her Madeleine, though multiplied by thousands in number and in brilliancy, would be no atonement for the hundred thousand Parisian *ouvriers* without bread and without work. The galleries of painting and of sculpture at Rome, at Munich, or at Dresden, which body forth the divinest ideals ever executed or ever conceived, are but an abomination in the sight of Heaven and of all good men, while actual living beings—beings that have hearts to palpitate, and nerves to agonize, and affections to be crushed or corrupted—are experimenting all around them upon the capacities of human nature for suffering and for sin. Where standards like these exist, and are upheld by council and by court, by fashion and by law, *Christianity is yet to be discovered;* at least, it is yet to be applied in practice to the social condition of men.

Our ambition as a State should trace itself to a different origin, and propose to itself a different object. Its flame should be lighted at the skies. Its radiance and its warmth should reach the darkest and the coldest abodes of men. It should seek the solution of such problems as these: To what extent can competence displace pauperism? How nearly can we free ourselves from the

low-minded and the vicious, not by their expatriation, but by their elevation? To what extent can the resources and powers of Nature be converted into human welfare, the peaceful arts of life be advanced, and the vast treasures of human talent and genius be developed? How much of suffering, in all its forms, can be relieved? or, what is better than relief, how much can be prevented? Cannot the classes of crimes be lessened, and the number of criminals in each class be diminished? Our exemplars, both for public and for private imitation, should be the parables of the lost sheep and of the lost piece of silver. When we have spread competence through all the abodes of poverty, when we have substituted knowledge for ignorance in the minds of the whole people, when we have reformed the vicious and reclaimed the criminal, then may we invite all neighboring nations to behold the spectacle, and say to them in the conscious elation of virtue, "Rejoice with me, for I have found that which was lost." Until that day shall arrive, our duties will not be wholly fulfilled, and our ambition will have new honors to win.

But is it not true that Massachusetts, in some respects, instead of adhering more and more closely to her own theory, is becoming emulous of the baneful examples of Europe? The distance between the two extremes of society is lengthening instead of being abridged. With every generation, fortunes increase on the one hand, and some new privation is added to poverty on the other. We are verging towards those extremes of opulence and of penury, each of which unhumanizes the human mind. A perpetual struggle for the bare necessaries of life, without the ability to obtain them, makes men wolfish. Avarice, on the other hand, sees, in all the victims of misery around it, not objects for pity and succor, but only crude materials to be worked up into more money.

I suppose it to be the universal sentiment of all those who mingle any ingredient of benevolence with their notions on political economy that vast and overshadowing private fortunes are among the greatest dangers to which the happiness of the people in a republic can be subjected. Such fortunes would create a feudalism of a new kind, but one more oppressive and unrelenting than that of the middle ages. The feudal lords in England and on the Continent never held their retainers in a more abject condition of servitude than the great majority of foreign manufacturers and capitalists hold their operatives and laborers at the present day. The means employed are different; but the

similarity in results is striking. What force did then, money does now. The villein of the middle ages had no spot of earth on which he could live, unless one were granted to him by his lord. The operative or laborer of the present day has no employment, and therefore no bread, unless the capitalist will accept his services. The vassal had no shelter but such as his master provided for him. Not one in five thousand of English operatives or farm-laborers is able to build or own even a hovel; and therefore they must accept such shelter as capital offers them. The baron prescribed his own terms to his retainers: those terms were peremptory, and the serf must submit or perish. The British manufacturer or farmer prescribes the rate of wages he will give to his work-people: he reduces these wages under whatever pretext he pleases; and they, too, have no alternative but submission or starvation. In some respects, indeed, the condition of the modern dependent is more forlorn than that of the corresponding serf class in former times. Some attributes of the patriarchal relation did spring up between the lord and his lieges to soften the harsh relations subsisting between them. Hence came some oversight of the condition of children, some relief in sickness, some protection and support in the decrepitude of age. But only in instances comparatively few have kindly offices smoothed the rugged relation between British capital and British labor. The children of the work-people are abandoned to their fate; and notwithstanding the privations they suffer, and the dangers they threaten, no power in the realm has yet been able to secure them an education; and when the adult laborer is prostrated by sickness, or eventually worn out by toil and age, the poorhouse, which has all along been his destination, becomes his destiny.

Now two or three things will doubtless be admitted to be true, beyond all controversy, in regard to Massachusetts. By its industrial condition, and its business operations, it is exposed, far beyond any other State in the Union, to the fatal extremes of overgrown wealth and desperate poverty. Its population is far more dense than that of any other State. It is four or five times more dense than the average of all the other States taken together; and density of population has always been one of the proximate causes of social inequality. According to population and territorial extent there is far more capital in Massachusetts —capital which is movable, and instantaneously available—than in any other State in the Union; and probably both these qual

ifications respecting population and territory could be omitted without endangering the truth of the assertion. It has been recently stated in a very respectable public journal, on the authority of a writer conversant with the subject, that from the last of June, 1846, to the first of August, 1848, the amount of money invested by the citizens of Massachusetts "in manufacturing cities, railroads, and other improvements," is "fifty-seven millions of dollars, of which more than fifty has been paid in and expended." The dividends to be received by citizens of Massachusetts from June, 1848, to April, 1849, are estimated by the same writer at ten millions, and the annual increase of capital at "little short of twenty-two millions." If this be so, are we not in danger of naturalizing and domesticating among ourselves those hideous evils which are always engendered between capital and labor, when all the capital is in the hands of one class and all the labor is thrown upon another?

Now surely nothing but universal education can counterwork this tendency to the domination of capital and the servility of labor. If one class possesses all the wealth and the education, while the residue of society is ignorant and poor, it matters not by what name the relation between them may be called: the latter, in fact and in truth, will be the servile dependants and subjects of the former. But, if education be equably diffused, it will draw property after it by the strongest of all attractions; for such a thing never did happen, and never can happen, as that an intelligent and practical body of men should be permanently poor. Property and labor in different classes are essentially antagonistic; but property and labor in the same class are essentially fraternal. The people of Massachusetts have, in some degree, appreciated the truth that the unexampled prosperity of the State—its comfort, its competence, its general intelligence and virtue—is attributable to the education, more or less perfect, which all its people have received; but are they sensible of a fact equally important,—namely, that it is to this same education that two-thirds of the people are indebted for not being to-day the vassals of as severe a tyranny, in the form of capital, as the lower classes of Europe are bound to in the form of brute force?

Education, then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is the great equalizer of the conditions of men,—the balance-wheel of the social machinery. I do not here mean that it so elevates the moral nature as to make men disdain and abhor the oppression of their fellow-men. This idea pertains to another of its

attributes. But I mean that it gives each man the independence and the means by which he can resist the selfishness of other men. It does better than to disarm the poor of their hostility towards the rich: it prevents being poor. Agrarianism is the revenge of poverty against wealth. The wanton destruction of the property of others—the burning of hay-ricks and corn-ricks, the demolition of machinery because it supersedes hand-labor, the sprinkling of vitriol on rich dresses—is only agrarianism run mad. Education prevents both the revenge and the madness. On the other hand, a fellow-feeling for one's class or caste is the common instinct of hearts not wholly sunk in selfish regards for person or for family. The spread of education, by enlarging the cultivated class or caste, will open a wider area over which the social feelings will expand; and, if this education should be universal and complete, it would do more than all things else to obliterate factitious distinctions in society.

The main idea set forth in the creeds of some political reformers, or revolutionizers, is that some people are poor *because* others are rich. This idea supposes a fixed amount of property in the community, which by fraud or force, or arbitrary law, is unequally divided among men; and the problem presented for solution is how to transfer a portion of this property from those who are supposed to have too much to those who feel and know that they have too little. At this point, both their theory and their expectation of reform stop. But the beneficent power of education would not be exhausted, even though it should peaceably abolish all the miseries that spring from the coexistence, side by side, of enormous wealth and squalid want. It has a higher function. Beyond the power of diffusing old wealth it has the prerogative of creating new. It is a thousand times more lucrative than fraud, and adds a thousand-fold more to a nation's resources than the most successful conquests. Knaves and robbers can obtain only what was before possessed by others. But education creates or develops new treasures,—treasures not before possessed or dreamed of by any one.

Had mankind been endowed with only the instincts and faculties of the brute creation, there are hundreds of the irrational tribes to which they would have been inferior, and of which they would have been the prey. Did they, with other animals, roam a common forest, how many of their fellow-tenants of the wood would overcome them by superior force, or outstrip them by greater fleetness, or circumvent them by a sharper cunning!

There are but few of the irrational tribes whose bodies are not better provided with the means of defence or attack than is the body of a man. The claws and canine teeth of the lion and of the whole tiger family, the beak and talons of the eagle and the vulture, the speed of the deer and of other timid races, are means of assault or of escape far superior to any we possess; and all the power which we have, like so many of the reptile and insect classes, of secreting a deadly venom, either for protection or for aggression, has relation to moral venom, and not to physical.

In a few lines, nowhere surpassed in philosophic strength and beauty, Pope groups together the remarkable qualities of several different races of animals,—the strength of one class, the genial covering of another, the fleetness of a third. He brings vividly to our recollection the lynx's vision of excelling keenness, the sagacity of the hound that reads a name or a sign in the last vanishing odor of a footprint, the exquisite fineness of the spider's touch, and that chemical nicety by which the bee discriminates between honey and poison in the same flower-cup. He then closes with an interrogatory, which has human reason both for its subject and its object:—

> "The powers of all subdued by thee alone:
> *Is not thy reason all these powers in one?*"

When Pope, now a little more than a century ago, mingled these beauties with his didactic strains, he had no conception, the world at that time had no conception, of other powers and properties, infinitely more energetic and more exhaustless than all which the animal races possess, to which the reason of man is an equivalent. It was not then known that God had endued the earth and the elements with energies and activities as much superior to those which animals or men possess as the bulk and frame of the earth itself exceeds their diminutive proportions. It was not then known that the earth is a great reservoir of powers, and that any man is free to use any quantity of them if he will but possess himself of the key of knowledge,—the only key, but the infallible one, by which to unlock their gates. At that time, if a philosopher wished to operate a mechanical toy, he could lift or pump a few gallons of water for a moving-power; but it was not understood that Nature, by the processes of evaporation and condensation, is constantly lifting up into the sky, and pouring back upon the earth, all the mass of waters that flow in all the rivers of the world, and that, in order to perform the work

of the world, the weight of all these waters might be used again and again in each one of their perpetual circuits.* The power-press and the power-loom, the steamboat and the locomotive, the paper-machine and the telegraph, were not then known. All these instruments of human comfort and aggrandizement, and others almost innumerable, similar to them, are operated by the energies and the velocities of Nature; and, had Pope grouped together all the splendid profusion and prodigality of her powers, he might still have appealed to man, and said,—

"*Is not thy reason all these powers in one?*"

To the weight of waters, the velocity of winds, the expansive force of heat, and other kindred agencies, any man may go, and he may draw from them as much as he pleases without money and without price: or rather, I should say, any educated man may go; for Nature flouts and scorns, and seems to abhor, an ignorant man. She drowns him, and consumes him, and tears him in pieces, if he but ventures to profane with his touch her divinely wrought machinery.

Now these powers of Nature, by being enlisted in the service of man, ADD to the wealth of the world,—unlike robbery or slavery or agrarianism, which aim only at the appropriation, by one man or one class, of the wealth belonging to another man or class. One man, with a Foudrinier, will make more paper in a twelvemonth than all Egypt could have made in a hundred years during the reign of the Ptolemies. One man, with a power-press, will print books faster than a million of scribes could copy them before the invention of printing. One man, with an iron-foundery, will make more utensils or machinery than Tubal-Cain could have made, had he worked diligently till this time.† And so in all the departments of mechanical labor, in the whole circle of the useful arts. These powers of Nature are able to give to all the inhabitants of the earth, not merely shelter, covering, and food, but all the means of refinement, embellishment, and mental improvement. In the most strict and literal sense, they are bounties which God gives for proficiency in knowledge.

The above ideas are beginning to be pretty well understood

* The waters of the Blackstone River, which flows partly in Massachusetts and partly in Rhode Island, are used for driving mills, twenty-five times over, in a distance of less than forty miles.

† In 1740, the whole amount of iron made in England and Wales was seventeen thousand tons; in 1840 it was more than a million tons, notwithstanding all that had been manufactured and accumulated in the intervening century. What would a Jewish or a Roman artificer have said to an annual product of a million tons of iron?

by all men of respectable intelligence. I have adverted to them, not so much on their own account as by way of introduction or preface to two or three considerations, which certainly are not understood or not appreciated, as they deserve to be.

It is a remarkable fact that human progress, even in regard to the worldly interests of the race, did not begin with those improvements which are most closely allied to material prosperity. One would have supposed, beforehand, that improvements would commence with the near rather than with the remote. Yet mankind had made great advances in astronomy, in geometry, and other mathematical sciences; in the writing of history, in oratory, and in poetry: it is supposed by many to have reached the highest point of yet attained perfection in painting and in sculpture, and in those kinds of architecture which may be called regal or religious, centuries before the great mechanical discoveries and inventions which now bless the world were brought to light. And the question has often forced itself upon reflecting minds, why there was this preposterousness, this inversion of what would appear to be the natural order of progress. Why was it, for instance, that men should have learned the courses of the stars, and the revolutions of the planets, before they found out how to make a good wagon-wheel? Why was it that they built the Parthenon and the Colosseum before they knew how to construct a comfortable, healthful dwelling-house? Why did they construct the Roman aqueducts before they constructed a sawmill? Or why did they achieve the noblest models in eloquence, in poetry, and in the drama before they invented movable types? I think we have now arrived at a point where we can unriddle this enigma. *The labor of the world has been performed by ignorant men*, by classes doomed to ignorance from sire to son, by the bondmen and bond-women of the Jews, by the helots of Sparta, by the captives who passed under the Roman yoke, and by the villeins and serfs and slaves of more modern times. The masters—the aristocratic or patrician orders—not only disdained labor for themselves and their children, which was one fatal mistake, but they supposed that knowledge was of no use to a laborer, which was a mistake still more fatal. Hence ignorance, for almost six thousand years, has gone on plying its animal muscles, and dropping its bloody sweat, and never discovered any way, nor dreamed that there was any way, by which it might accomplish many times more work with many times less labor. And yet nothing is more true than that an ignorant man will toil

all his life long, moving to and fro within an inch of some great discovery, and will never see it. All the elements of a great discovery may fall into his hands or be thrust into his face; but his eyes will be too blind to behold it. If he is a slave, what motive has he to behold it? Its greater profitableness will not redound to his benefit; for another stands ready to seize all the gain. Its abridgment of labor will not conduce to his ease; for other toils await him. But the moment an intelligent man applies himself to labor, and labors for his own benefit or for that of his family, he begins to inquire whether the same task cannot be performed with a less expenditure of strength or a greater task with an equal expenditure. He makes his wits save his bones. He finds it to be easier to think than to work; nay, that it is easier both to think and work than to work without thinking. He foresees a prize as the reward of successful effort; and this stimulates his brain to deep contrivance, as well as his arms to rapid motion. Taking, for illustration, the result of an experiment which has been actually made, let us suppose this intelligent laborer to be employed in moving blocks of squared granite, each weighing 1,080 pounds. To move such a block along the floor of a roughly chiselled quarry requires a force equal to 758 pounds. An ignorant man, therefore, must employ and pay several assistants, or he can never move such a block an inch. But to draw the same block over a floor of planks will require a force of only 652 pounds. The expense of one assistant, therefore, might be dispensed with. Placed on a platform of wood, and drawn over the same floor, a draught of 606 pounds would be sufficient. By soaping the two surfaces of the wood, the requisite force would be reduced to 182 pounds. Placed on rollers three inches in diameter, a force equal to 34 pounds would be sufficient. Substituting a wooden for a stone floor, and the requisite force is 28 pounds. With the same rollers on a wooden platform, 22 pounds only would be required. And now, by the invention and use of locomotives and railroads, a traction or draught of between *three* and *four* pounds is found to be sufficient to move a body weighing 1,080 pounds. Thus the amount of force necessary to remove the body is reduced about two hundred times. Now take away from these steps the single element of intelligence, and each improvement would have been impossible. The ignorant man would never have discovered how nearly synonymous are freight and friction.

If a savage will learn how to swim, he can fasten a dozen

pounds' weight to his back, and transport it across a narrow river or other body of water of moderate width. If he will invent an axe, or other instrument, by which to cut down a tree, he can use the tree for a float, and one of its limbs for a paddle, and can thus transport many times the former weight many times the former distance. Hollowing out his log, he will increase what may be called its tonnage, or rather its *poundage;* and, by sharpening its ends, it will cleave the water both more easily and more swiftly. Fastening several trees together, he makes a raft, and thus increases the buoyant power of his embryo water-craft. Turning up the ends of small poles, or using knees of timber instead of straight pieces, and grooving them together, or filling up the interstices between them in some other way, so as to make them water-tight, he brings his rude raft literally into *ship-shape.* Improving upon hull below and rigging above, he makes a proud merchantman, to be wafted by the winds from continent to continent. But even this does not content the adventurous naval architect. He frames iron arms for his ship; and, for oars, affixes iron wheels, capable of swift revolution, and stronger than the strong sea. Into iron-walled cavities in her bosom he puts iron organs of massive structure and strength, and of cohesion insoluble by fire. Within these he kindles a small volcano; and then, like a sentient and rational existence, this wonderful creation of his hands cleaves oceans, breasts tides, defies tempests, and bears its living and jubilant freight around the globe. Now take away intelligence from the ship-builder, and the steamship—that miracle of human art—falls back into a floating log; the log itself is lost; and the savage swimmer, bearing his dozen pounds on his back, alone remains.

And so it is, not in one department only, but in the whole circle of human labors. The annihilation of the sun would no more certainly be followed by darkness than the extinction of human intelligence would plunge the race at once into the weakness and helplessness of barbarism. To have created such beings as we are, and to have placed them in this world without the light of the sun, would be no more cruel than for a government to suffer its laboring classes to grow up without knowledge.

In this fact, then, we find a solution of the problem that so long embarrassed inquirers. The reason why the mechanical and useful arts,—those arts which have done so much to civilize mankind, and which have given comforts and luxuries to the common laborer of the present day, such as kings and queens

could not demand three centuries ago,—the reason why these arts made no progress, and until recently, indeed, can hardly be said to have had anything more than a beginning, is that the labor of the world was performed by ignorant men. As soon as some degree of intelligence dawned upon the workman, then a corresponding degree of improvement in his work followed. At first, this intelligence was confined to a very small number, and therefore improvements were few; and they followed each other only after long intervals. They uniformly began in the nations and among the classes where there was most intelligence. The middle classes of England and the people of Holland and Scotland have done a hundred times more than all the Eastern hemisphere besides. What single improvement in art or discovery in science has ever originated in Spain or throughout the vast empire of the Russias? But just in proportion as intelligence—that is, education—has quickened and stimulated a greater and a greater number of minds, just in the same proportion have inventions and discoveries increased in their wonderfulness, and in the rapidity of their succession. The progression has been rather geometrical than arithmetical. By the laws of Nature, it must be so. If, among ten well-educated children, the chance is that at least one of them will originate some new and useful process in the arts, or will discover some new scientific principle, or some new application of one, then among a hundred such well-educated children there is a moral certainty that there will be more than ten such originators or discoverers of new utilities; for the action of the mind is like the action of fire. One billet of wood will hardly burn alone, though dry as suns and north-west winds can make it, and though placed in the range of a current of air; ten such billets will burn well together; but a hundred will create a heat fifty times as intense as ten, will make a current of air to fan their own flame, and consume even greenness itself.

For the creation of wealth, then,—for the existence of a wealthy people and a wealthy nation,—intelligence is the grand condition. The number of improvers will increase as the intellectual constituency, if I may so call it, increases. In former times, and in most parts of the world even at the present day, not one man in a million has ever had such a development of mind as made it possible for him to become a contributor to art or science. Let this development precede, and contributions, numberless, and of inestimable value, will be sure to follow. That political

economy, therefore, which busies itself about capital and labor, supply and demand, interest and rents, favorable and unfavorable balances of trade, but leaves out of account the element of a wide-spread mental development, is naught but stupendous folly. The greatest of all the arts in political economy is to change a consumer into a producer; and the next greatest is to increase the producer's producing power,—an end to be directly attained by increasing his intelligence. For mere delving, an ignorant man is but little better than a swine, whom he so much resembles in his appetites, and surpasses in his powers of mischief. . . .

I hold all past achievements of the human mind to be rather in the nature of prophecy than of fulfilment,—the first-fruits of the beneficence of God in endowing us with the faculties of perception, comparison, calculation, and causality, rather than the full harvest of their eventual development. For look at the magnificent creation into which we have been brought and at the adaptation of our faculties to understand, admire, and use it. All around us are works worthy of an infinite God; and we are led, by irresistible evidence, to believe that, just so far as we acquire his knowledge, we shall be endued with his power. From history and from consciousness, we find ourselves capable of ever-onward improvement; and therefore it seems to be a denial of first principles—it seems no better than impiety—to suppose that we shall ever become such finished scholars that the works of the All-wise will have no new problem for our solution, and will, therefore, be able to teach us no longer. Nor is it any less than impiety to suppose that we shall ever so completely enlist the powers of Nature in our service that exhausted Omnipotence can reward our industry with no further bounties. . . .

However far science and art may push their explorations, there will always be a frontier bounding their advances; there will always be a *terra incognita* beyond the regions they have surveyed,—beyond the utmost verge of the horizon which the eye can see from the topmast pinnacle of existing discoveries. Each new adventurer can gain new trophies by penetrating still deeper into the illimitable solitudes where alone Omnipotence dwells and works. The most perfect instrument which the brightest genius of any age may ever construct will be excelled by another instrument, made after a higher ideal of perfection by the brighter genius of a succeeding age. The most rapid processes of art known to any generation will be accelerated in the gen-

eration that shall follow it, and science will be found not only a plant of perennial growth, but in each succeeding age it will bear blossoms of a more celestial splendor, and fruits of beneficence unknown before. . . .

I know that it may be said, and said, too, not without a certain measure of truth, that when a more intelligent community has made a discovery in science, or devised or perfected the processes of any art, a less intelligent community by its side may adopt and copy them, and thus make the improvements their own by possession, though the invention belonged to another. After a bold navigator has opened a new channel of commerce, and while he is gathering the first-fruits of his sagacity, the stupid or the predatory may follow in his wake, and share the gains of his enterprise. Dr. Franklin may discover the uses of the lightning-rod; but when once discovered, and the manner of its use exhibited, any half-taught son of Vulcan can make and erect one by copying the given model. When a school-boy of New England has invented the cotton-gin, or perfected cotton machinery, the slaves of the South, stupid and ignorant as cattle, "according to the form of the statute in such cases made and provided," can operate them with a greater or less degree of success and profit. But there are two considerations which show how inferior the condition of the aping community must always be to that of the originating one.

In the first place, all copying is in the nature of empiricism. The copyist operates blindly, and not on principle; and therefore he is constantly exposed to failure. In untried emergencies, he never knows what to do, for the light of example shines only in one direction; while it is the very nature of principle, like its divine Author, to circumfuse its beams, and so to leave no darkness in any direction.

And, in the second place, even supposing the aping community to be able, after long delays and toils, to equal the originating one, still, before the period shall have elapsed which the pupil will require for studying out or copying the old lesson, his master will have studied out some new one, will have discovered some new improvement, diffusive of new utility and radiant with new beauty, so that the distance will be kept as great as ever between him and the learner.

The slave States of this Union may buy cotton machinery made by the intelligent mechanics of the free States, and they may train their slaves to work it with more or less skill; but

should they succeed ever so well, should they eventually become able to meet their entire home demand, it will nevertheless be true that, in the mean time, the new wants and refinements generated by the progress of the age will demand some new fabric, requiring for its manufacture either more ingeniously wrought machinery or greater skill in the operator, and thus will the more educated community forever keep ahead of the less educated one. The progress of mankind may be compared to an ascending spiral. In moving upward along this spiral, the less intelligent community will see the more intelligent one at a point above its head. It will labor on to overtake it, and, making another toilsome circuit, will at length reach the place where the victor had been seen; but, lo! the victor is not there: he, too, has made a circuit along the ascending curve, and is still far aloft, above the head of his pursuer.

Another common idea is this: it is supposed that intelligence in workmen is relatively less important in agricultural labors than in the mechanic and manufacturing arts. The great agricultural staples of the country—corn, cotton, sugar, rice, and so forth—have been stigmatized, or at least characterized, as "coarser" products, and, therefore, requiring less skill and science for their culture and improvement than the fabrics of the loom and the workshop. This may be true; but I am by no means convinced of its truth. It seems to me that there is as yet no adequate proof that skill and science, if applied to agriculture, will not yield practical benefits as copious and as wonderful as any that have rewarded the mechanician or the artisan in any department of their labors. Why vegetable growths, so exquisite in their organization, animated by the mysterious principle of life, and so susceptive of all the influences of climate, whether good or ill,—why these should be called "coarser" than iron ore or other unorganized metals, or any kind of wealth that is found in mines; or why cotton or flax, wool or leather, wood or grain, should be denominated "coarser" before they have been deprived of the principle of life than after it, and before they have lost the marvellous power of assimilating inorganic matter to their own peculiar substance,—it is not easy to perceive. May it not yet be found that a better knowledge of the laws that govern vegetable growth; a better knowledge of the properties and adaptations of different soils; a better knowledge of the conditions of fructification and germination, and of the mysterious chemistry that determines the quality of

texture, color, flavor, and perfume; a better knowledge of the uncombined gases, and of the effect of light, heat, electricity, and other imponderable agents, upon the size, rapidity, and variegation of vegetable growths,—in fine, a better knowledge of vegetable physiology, and of that, too, which may be called vegetable pathology,—will redeem the whole circle of agricultural occupations from the stigma of requiring less intelligent cultivators than are required for other pursuits, and thus supply a new and irresistible argument in favor of diffusing a vastly increased amount of knowledge among our free field-laborers and our rural population generally? The marvellous improvements which have been made under the auspices of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, in horticulture, floriculture, and pomology, already betoken such a result.*

Now it is in these various ways that all the means of human subsistence, comfort, improvement, or what, in one word, we call wealth, are created,—additional wealth, new wealth, not another man's earnings, not another nation's treasures or lands, tricked away by fraud or wrested by force, but substantially, and for all practical purposes, knowledge-created, mind-created wealth, as much so as though we had been endued with a miraculous power of turning a granite quarry into a city at a word, or a wilderness into cultivated fields, or of commanding harvests to ripen in a day. To see a community acquiring and redoubling its wealth in this way; enriching itself without impoverishing others, without despoiling others,—is it not a noble spectacle? And will not the community that gains its wealth in this way, ten times faster than any robber-nation ever did by plunder,—will not such a community be a model and a pattern for the nations, a type of excellence to be admired and followed by the world? Has Massachusetts no ambition to win the palm in so glorious a rivalry?

But suppose that Massachusetts, notwithstanding her deplorable inferiority in all natural resources as compared with other States, should be content to be their equal only in the means of education, and in the development of the intelligence of her present children and her future citizens, down, down to what a despicable depth of inferiority would she suddenly plunge!

* As an illustration of the value of knowledge in agricultural pursuits, it may be mentioned that the researches and discoveries by M. Meneville, in regard to the fly which was lately so destructive to the olive in the south of France, have increased the annual product of this fruit almost a million of dollars' worth. When would an ignorant man, or a slave, have made such a discovery?

Her ancient glory would become dim. No historian, no orator, no poet, would rise up among her children. Her sons would cease, as now, to fill chairs in the halls of learning in more than half the States of the Union. Her jurists would no longer expound the laws of Nature, of nations, and of States, to guide the judicial tribunals of the country. Her skilled artisans and master-mechanics would not be sought for, wherever, throughout the land, educated labor is wanted. Her ship-captains would be driven home from every ocean by more successsful competitors. At home, a narrowing in the range of thought and action, a lowering of the tone of life and enterprise, a straitening in the means of living and of culture, a sinking in spirit and in all laudable and generous ambitions, the rearing of sons to obscurity and of daughters to vulgarity, would mark the incoming of a degenerate age,—an age too ignorant to know its own ignorance, too shameless to mourn its degradation, and too spiritless even to rise with recuperative energy from its guilty fall. But little less disastrous would it be to stop where we now are instead of pressing onward with invigorated strength to a further goal. What has been done is not the fulfilment or consummation of our work. It only affords better vantage-ground from which our successors can start anew in a nobler career of improvement. And, if there is any one thing for which the friends of humanity have reason to join in a universal song of thanksgiving to Heaven, it is that there is a large and an increasing body of people in Massachusetts who cannot be beguiled or persuaded into the belief that our common schools are what they may and should be, and who, with the sincerest good-will and warmest affections towards the higher institutions of learning, are yet resolved that the education of the people at large—of the sons and daughters of farmers, mechanics, tradesmen, operatives, and laborers of all kinds—shall be carried to a point of perfection indefinitely higher than it has yet reached.*

*In the letter of the Hon. Abbott Lawrence, making a donation of fifty thousand dollars for the purpose of founding a scientific school at Cambridge (to which he has since added fifty thousand dollars more), the following expression occurs: "Elementary education appears to be well provided for in Massachusetts." And in the Memorial in behalf of the three colleges,— Harvard, Amherst, and Williams,—presented to the legislature in January, 1848, and signed by each of the three presidents of those institutions, it is said, "The provision [in Massachusetts] for elementary education . . . seems to be all that can be desired or that can be advantageously done by the legislature." The average salaries of female teachers throughout the State, at the time when these declarations were made, was only $8.55 a month (exclusive of board), which, as the average length of the schools was only eight months, would give to this most faithful and meritorious class of persons but $68.40 a year. The whole value of the apparatus in all the schools of the State was but $23,826; and the whole number of volumes in their libraries was only 91,539, or an average of but twenty-five

Mr. Mann's services were so great in several different departments of his work that it would be difficult to say of any one of them, "In this he was greatest of all." But among his numerous educational writings we cannot hesitate to select his annual Reports as the most valuable and lasting. They were twelve in number, one for every year that he held the office. They were made nominally to the State Board of Education, but really to the people of Massachusetts and of the country at large. They were widely published in whole or in part, and still more widely read. Mr. George B. Emerson said of the great truths that the Reports contained: "They have already reached far beyond the limits of our narrow State. They are echoing in the woods of Maine and along the St. Lawrence and the Lakes. They are heard throughout New York and throughout all the West and the Southwest. A conviction of their importance has sent a Massachusetts man to take charge of the schools of New Orleans; they are at this moment regenerating those of Rhode Island. In the remotest corner of Ohio forty men, not children and women, but *men*, meet together to read aloud a single copy of the Secretary's Reports which one of them receives; thousands of the best friends of humanity of all sects, parties, and creeds in every State of the Union are familiar with the name of Horace Mann."

The general character of the Reports was determined by the law creating the Board of Education. They were devoted partly to reporting the existing state of things, including the progress that was made from year to year, but especially to the discussion of present and coming questions, with a view to creating public opinion and guiding public action. Since they were written, many hundreds of similar reports have been made, most of which are now found only in libraries and in lumber-rooms; but these have a perennial life. This is due especially to the great ability with which Mr. Mann treated his subjects, but partly to his fortunate position in the great column of common school reform. He dealt with the fundamental questions of this reform before they had lost any of the interest that grows out of novelty. He was a pioneer, and his work was the more interesting because a part of it consisted in creating interest. . . .

Mr. Mann says in his final Report that, when he first assumed the duties of the secretaryship, two courses lay open before him. One was to treat the school system of the State as though it were perfect;

volumes for each school. In accordance with the prayer of the Memorial, the Committee on Education reported a bill, making a grant of half a million of dollars to the colleges. The House of Representatives, after maturely considering the bill, changed the destination of the money from the colleges to the common schools, and then passed it. The donation of Mr. Lawrence will be highly beneficial to the few hundreds of students who will have the direct enjoyment of his munificence; and, through them, it will also benefit the State. So, too, would the contemplated grant to the colleges. Thus far, it is believed all liberal minds will agree. But what is needed is the universal prevalence of the further idea that there are two hundred thousand children in the State, each one of whom would be far more than proportionally benefited by the expenditure for their improved education of one-tenth part of sums so liberal.

to praise teachers for a skill they had no chance of acquiring and did not possess; to applaud towns for the munificence they had not shown; in a word, to lull with flattery a community that was already sleeping. The other course was to advocate an energetic and comprehensive system of education; to seek for improvements both at home and abroad; to expose justly but kindly the incompetence of teachers; to inform and stimulate school committees in respect to their duty; to call for money adequate to the work to be done. He said the one cause would for a time have been ignobly popular; the other was imminently perilous. Horace Mann saw all this, but he did not hesitate. Duty left him no option; the only way to end prosperously was to begin righteously. The story of his experience is disheartening in parts; but, taken together, it is a mighty stimulant to all teachers and school officers to do their duty. Moreover, teachers and school officers should not miss the spirit in which he did his work. "The education of the whole people in a republican government," said he, "can never be attained without the consent of the whole people. Compulsion, even if it were desirable, is not an available instrument. Enlightenment, not coercion, is our resource. The nature of education must be explained. The whole mass of mind must be instructed in regard to its comprehension and enduring interests. We cannot drive our people up a dark avenue, even though it be the right one; but we must hang the starry lights of knowledge about it, and show them not only the directness of its course to the goal of prosperity and honor, but the beauty of the way that leads to it."—*B. A. Hinsdale.*

Horace Mann's complete works are published, accompanied by a biography by his wife, in five volumes. His twelve annual reports to the Massachusetts State Board of Education, 1837–48, occupy nearly half of the space in these volumes. A brief outline of the twelve reports is given in a chapter especially devoted to them, by B. A. Hinsdale, in his admirable little book on "Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States"; also in Dr. William T. Harris's address at the Mann Centennial, printed in the Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1895-6 vol. i. Dr. Hinsdale properly pronounces the Twelfth Report, from which the extract printed in the present leaflet is taken, "in some respects the *magnum opus*." An extract from the Tenth Report, "The Ground of the Free School System," was printed in Old South Leaflet No. 109. See the notes to that leaflet. Read also Leaflet No. 135, James G. Carter's account of the schools of Massachusetts in 1824, to understand the condition of public education at that time, which it was the work of Horace Mann and his associates to reform.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 145.

Mount Holyoke Female Seminary.

By MARY LYON.

The character of the young ladies, who shall become members of this Seminary the first year, will be of great importance to the prosperity of the Institution itself, and to the cause of female education. Those, who use their influence in making out the number, will sustain no unimportant responsibility. It is very desirable, that the friends of this cause should carefully consider the real design of founding this Institution, before they use their influence to induce any of their friends and acquaintances to avail themselves of its privileges.

This institution is to be founded by the combined liberality of an enlarged benevolence, which seeks the greatest good on an extensive scale. Some minds seem to be cast in that peculiar mould, that the heart can be drawn forth only by individual want. Others seem best fitted for promoting public good. None can value too much the angel of mercy, that can fly as on the wings of the wind to the individual cry for help as it comes over in tender and melting strains. But who does not venerate those great souls—great by nature—great by education—or great by grace—or by all combined, whose plans and works of mercy are like a broad river swallowing up a thousand little rivulets. How do we stand in awe, when we look down, as on a map, upon their broad and noble plans, destined to give untold blessings to the great community in which they dwell—to their nation—to the world. As we see them urging their way forward, intent on advancing as fast as possible, the renovation of the whole human family —and on hastening the accomplishment of the glorious

promises found on the page of inspiration, we are sometimes tempted to draw back their hand, and extend it forth in behalf of some traveller by the wayside, who seems to be overlooked. But we look again, and we behold the dearest personal interests of the traveller by the wayside, and those of a thousand other individuals included in their large and warm embrace.

This is the class of benevolent men who will aid in founding this Seminary; these the men who are now contributing of their time and money to carry forward this enterprise.

It is ever considered a principle of sacred justice in the management of funds, to regard the wishes of the donors. The great object of those, who are enlisting in this cause, and contributing to it, as to the sacred treasury of the Lord, cannot be misunderstood. It is to meet public and not private wants. They value not individual good less, but the public good more. They have not been prompted to engage in this momentous work by a desire to provide for the wants of a few of the daughters of our land for their own sakes as individuals, but by a desire to provide for the urgent necessities of our country, and of the world, by enlisting in the great work of benevolence, the talents of many of our daughters of fairest promise. This Institution is expected to draw forth the talents of such, to give them a new direction, and to enlist them permanently in the cause of benevolence. We consider it as no more than a due regard to justice, to desire and pray, that a kind Providence may send as scholars to this Seminary, those who shall go forth, and by their deeds, do honor to the Institution, and to the wisdom and benevolence of its founders. The love of justice will also lead us to desire and pray, that the same kind Providence may turn away the feet of those, who may in after life dishonor the Institution, or be simply harmless cumberers of the ground, though they should be our dearest friends, and those who for their own personal benefit, need its privileges more than almost any others.

The grand features of this Institution are to be an elevated standard of science, literature, and refinement, and a moderate standard of expense; all to be guided and modified by the spirit of the gospel. Here we trust will be found a delightful spot for those, 'whose heart has stirred them up' to use all their talents in the great work of serving their generation, and of advancing the Redeemer's kingdom.

In the same manner, we doubt not, that the atmosphere will be rendered uncongenial to those who are wrapped up in self,

preparing simply to please, and to be pleased, whose highest ambition is, to be qualified to amuse a friend in a vacant hour.

The age of the scholars will aid in giving to the Institution a choice selection of pupils. This Seminary is to be for adult young ladies; at an age when they are called upon by their parents to judge for themselves to a very great degree and when they can select a spot congenial to their taste. The great and ruling principle—an ardent desire to do the greatest possible good, will we hope, be the presiding spirit in many hearts, bringing together congenial souls. Like many institutions of charity, this does not hold out the prospect of providing for the personal relief of individual sufferers, nor for the direct instruction of the ignorant and degraded. But it does expect to collect, as in a focus, the sparks of benevolence, which are scattered in the hearts of many of our daughters, and after having multiplied them many fold and having kindled them to a flame, and given them a right direction, to send them out to warm and to cheer the world. Some of them may be the daughters of wealth, and the offering will be no less acceptable, because they have something besides themselves to offer to the great work. Others, may be the daughters of mere competency, having been fitted for the service by an answer to Agur's petition. Others, again may struggle under the pressure of more moderate means, being called to surmount the greatest obstacles by persevering effort, and the aid of friends. But provided they have kindred spirits on the great essential principles, all can go forward together without a discordant note.

It has been stated, that the literary standard of this Institution will be high. This is a very indefinite term. There is no acknowledged standard of female education, by which an institution can be measured. A long list of branches to be taught, can be no standard at all. For if so, a contemplated manual labor school to be established in one of the less improved of the western states, whose prospectus we chanced to notice some two or three years since, would stand higher than most of our New-England colleges. Whether the institution was ever established we know not, nor do we remember its name or exact location. But the list of branches to be taught as they appeared on paper, we do remember, as for the time, it served as a happy illustration of a general principle, relating to some of our attempts to advance the cause of education among us. In a seminary for

females, we cannot as in the standard of education for the other sex, refer to established institutions, whose course of study and standard of mental discipline are known to every literary man in the land. But it is believed, that our statement cannot be made more intelligible to the enlightened community, than by simply saying, that the course of study, and standard of mental culture will be the same as that of the Hartford Female Seminary—of the Ipswich Female Seminary—or of the Troy Female Seminary—or of some other institution that has stood as long, and ranked as high as these seminaries. Suffice it to say, that it is expected, that the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary will take the Ipswich Female Seminary for its literary standard. Of course there will be room for a continued advancement; as that institution has been raising its own standard from year to year. But at the commencement, the standard is to be as high as the present standard of that seminary. It is to adopt the same high standard of mental discipline—the same slow, thorough, and patient manner of study; the same systematic and extensive course of solid branches. Though this explanation will not be universally understood, yet it is believed that it will be understood by a great many in New England, and by many out of New England —by those, who have long been intimately acquainted with the character of that seminary, or who have witnessed its fruits in the lives of those whom it has sent forth to exert a power over society, which cannot be exerted by mere goodness, without intellectual strength. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.'

The following is an extract from the last catalogue of the Ipswich Female Seminary.

COURSE OF STUDY, &c.

The regular course will consist of primary studies, and a two years' course in the regular classes, denominated Junior and Senior.

It is not expected that all who enter the school, will pursue the regular course. Those among the more advanced pupils, who design to continue members of the school no more than one year, may either pursue an outline of the branches here taught, or make it an object to gain a thorough knowledge of such studies as seem best suited to promote their individual improvement. In recitations, the regular classes are not kept

distinct; but all the pupils are arranged in temporary classes as may best promote the good of individuals.

PRIMARY STUDIES.

Mental Arithmetic,
Written Arithmetic,
English Grammar,
First Book of Euclid's Geometry,
Modern and Ancient Geography,
Government of the United States,
Modern and Ancient History,
Botany,
Watts on the Mind.

STUDIES OF THE JUNIOR CLASS

Written Arithmetic completed,
Engish Grammar continued,
The Second, Third, and Fourth Books of Euclid's Geometry,
Natural Philosophy,
Chemistry,
Astronomy,
Intellectual Philosophy,
Rhetoric.

STUDIES OF THE SENIOR CLASS.

Some of the preceding studies reviewed and continued,
Algebra,
Ecclesiastical History,
Natural Theology,
Philosophy of Natural History,
Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion to the Constitution and Laws of Nature,
Evidences of Christianity.

Reading, Composition, Calisthenics, Vocal Music, the Bible and several of the above branches of study, will receive attention through the course. Those who are deficient in spelling and writing, will have exercises in these branches whatever may be their other attainments. Linear drawing will also receive attention. It is desired, that so far as practicable, young ladies before entering the Seminary, should be skilful in both mental and written Arithmetic, and thoroughly acquainted with Geography and the History of the United States.

TEXT BOOKS.

The Bible, Worcester's Abridgement of Webster, or some other English Dictionary, the Eclectic Reader, by B. B. Edwards, Porter's Rhetorical Reader, Colburn's First Lessons, Adams's Arithmetic, Smith's and Murray's Grammar, Simson's or Playfair's Euclid, Woodbridge's Larger Geography, Sullivan's Political Class Book, Goodrich's United States, Worcester's Elements of History, with Goldsmith's England, Greece, and Rome, Mrs. Phelps's Botany, Olmstead's Natural Philosophy, Wilkins's Astronomy, Abercrombie on the Intellectual Powers, Newman's and Whately's Rhetoric, Baily's Algebra, Marsh's Ecclesiastical History, Paley's Natural Theology, Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History, Butler's Analogy, Alexander's Evidences of Christianity.

The time for admitting into the regular classes is near the close of the winter term. The pupils, who at that time have been members of the seminary a year, and in some cases only six months, on passing a thorough examination on the primary studies, or on such studies of the course as shall be equivalent to the primary studies, can be admitted into the Junior Class: and those who can pass a similar examination in such of the studies as shall equal all the primary studies, and those of the Junior Class, can be admitted into the Senior. Those who in addition are well acquainted with the studies of the Senior Class, receive at the close a testimonial of having completed with honor the course of study in this institution.

In order that this new institution may accomplish the greatest good to the cause of female education, it is desirable that the pupils should advance as far as possible in study before entering the Seminary. To many who are expecting to become members, it is a subject of deep regret that the commencement of operations should be delayed so long. To all, who are expecting to enter this seminary when it opens, it is earnestly recommended to spend as much of the intermediate time as possible in study. It is very desirable that the *least* improved of the pupils should have a thorough knowledge of arithmetic, geography, history of the United States and English grammar, though this may not be rigidly required of every individual the first year. These branches may be pursued privately without a regular teacher, or in the common district school, or in the young ladies' village school, or in any other situation, which may be convenient.

Those who wish to pursue these branches without a regular teacher to direct them, may derive advantage by pursuing something like the following order of study.

1. Colburn's First Lessons to the 11th Section;
2. A general course of Geography;
3. Adams' New Arithmetic to Fractions;
4. Rudiments and general principles of English Grammar;
5. Colburn's First Lessons completed;
6. Adams' Arithmetic to Proportion;
7. History of the United States;
8. Thorough course of Geography;
9. Thorough course of English Grammar.
10. Adams' Arithmetic completed.

MANNER OF STUDYING.

Colburn's First Lessons.

This book should be studied through so many times, and with such close attention, that all the difficult questions in every part of the book can be solved with great readiness, and the manner of solution described. In studying this, recitations are very important. In recitations the book should not be opened by the learner. If the questions cannot be remembered, and all parts comprehended, as they are received from the lips of a teacher, it may be safely inferred, not that there is any deficiency in the ability of the learner, but that more hard study is still requisite. If a young lady attempts to gain a thorough knowledge of this book by private study at home, it is important for her to recite daily to a brother, or sister, or some other friend. In recitations, whether of a class, or of an individual, every answer, and every description should be given with great clearness, accuracy, and promptness. The effects of a continued practice of reciting in this way, both on the mind, and degree of intelligence in the manner of an individual, can rarely be realized by those unaccustomed to observe them.

Adams's New Arithmetic.

(Some other book may be used as a substitute.)

In pursuing this branch of study, two things should be gained.

1. *Perfect Accuracy.* It should not be considered sufficient, that a question is finally solved correctly. No standard of accuracy is high enough, except that which will enable the learner

to avoid all wrong steps in the statement, and all errors in every part of the process to be corrected by a second trial. Where a deficiency is observed in these respects, more close and careful study should be applied—the preceding parts of the book should be slowly and carefully reviewed—and every question should be solved the first time very slowly, and with an undivided attention, till accurate habits are acquired.

2. *Readiness and Rapidity.* These habits can be gained only by abundant practice. Reciting, that is, solving questions given out by another, will be very useful. This study may be pursued without a regular teacher, but the learner should recite daily to some friend as recommended in Colburn's First Lessons. If any one is under the necessity of being her own teacher, of solving her own questions, and of overcoming her own difficulties, she will receive aid from observing the following rule. 'Whenever you are involved in difficulties, from which you know not how to extricate yourself, go back to the beginning, or nearly to the beginning of the book, and solve every question in course till you come to the point of difficulty.'

Most individuals will probably find it necessary to go through the whole book two or three times, in order to gain the needful accuracy and readiness.

ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

But few succeed in studying this except with a regular teacher. Though the manner of pursuing this branch is very important, it is not easy to give short and specific directions. We will only say, Be very thorough. Study every lesson closely and carefully.

GEOGRAPHY.

The manner of studying this branch must depend much on the teacher. One direction may be given for the use of those who study it without a teacher. After studying regularly through some book, and reviewing it carefully once or twice, let the learner select a complete outline, embracing prominent facts relating to every part of the world. This outline should be reviewed weekly or monthly for months, or for a year or two, till the facts are so indelibly fixed on the memory, that the lady at any future time of life, could recall anything in this outline almost as readily as

she could recollect the order of the letters of the alphabet. The learner is referred to a lecture delivered before the American Institute in 1833.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

In studying history, some systematic method is very important. But very little dependence can be placed on mere reading. Here and there a mind can be found, which will by a regular reading of history, select and arrange its materials so systematically, that they can be laid up for future use. But such minds among young ladies in the present state of female education are rarely found. History furnishes to the teacher an almost boundless field for the exercise of the inventive powers. But the most successful parts of almost every system of teaching history, cannot be so described as to be used by a young lady without a teacher. An intelligent young lady might use the 'Topic System' as it has been called to considerable advantage in the following manner. After gaining a general view of the book to be studied, let the young lady select a list of topics or subjects through the whole, to be learned and recited to some friend, like a connected narration. In learning these topics, it would not be well to charge the memory with every item which can be found, but with those which are the most important. In reciting, she should not attempt to state anything, of which she is not confident, but in what she does attempt to communicate, she should not allow herself the least indulgence for inaccuracy. She should charge herself with deficiency for the least inaccurate statement, even though she should correct it the next moment. The list of topics might with profit be recited through two or three times. If Goodrich's History of the United States is studied, Emerson's Questions may be used with advantage in connexion with the topics. Any one not accustomed to recite by the topic system, might use the Questions as a general guide in selecting items under each topic. Beginners have often found it useful in a few of the first lessons, to write out the items under each topic. But very soon, the mind will be able to collect and arrange its materials without consuming so much time. When topics are written, no use should be made of the notes during recitations.

If the whole of this course cannot be completed before entering the Seminary, let the first part be taken in order, and let what

is done, be done thoroughly. After completing the preceding course in the manner described, young ladies can select for themselves from the regular course of study pursued at Ipswich. It is desirable to advance in study as far as possible before entering the seminary, provided that every branch taken up receives thorough attention. A superficial passing over any branch before commencing it regularly in school, is always an injury instead of a benefit. But the greater the real capital, which any one possesses of improvement on entering the institution, the greater will be her proportionate income. Any who hope to be so far advanced as to enter the Senior Class at first, and complete the regular course of study in one year, may need some more specific directions and information relative to preparatory studies, to prevent disappointment. Such can obtain further information by directing a letter to Miss Mary Lyon, South Hadley, Mass. A thorough knowledge of a definite number of branches, is a term, which to different individuals has very different meanings. Some of the members of the Ipswich Female Seminary, who had gone through the regular course, except the studies of the Senior Class, have been successful teachers in some of the most important female seminaries in our country. The same high standard will be taken in this institution. But notwithstanding this, a few individuals, who are now making their arrangements with reference to a hope, that they shall be its members the first year, can be prepared to complete the course, and others there doubtless will be, who could do it by devoting all the time that they can command, before the institution commences, to pursuing the most important studies, and to reviewing those which they have gone over.

This institution will do much, we hope, to raise among the female part of the community a higher standard of science and literature—of economy and of refinement—of benevolence and religion. To accomplish this great end, we hope by the influence of the institution on the community, to lead many to discover and use the means within their reach, instead of mourning in indolence after those they can never enjoy. We hope to redeem from waste a great amount of precious time—of noble intellect, and of moral power.

**This was written for the benefit of those, who are making inquiries about the qualifications for admission into this Seminary. It has been printed to save the labor of transcribing.

Those into whose hands it may fall, are requested to make no other use of it than they would of a written communication.

M. L.

South Hadley, Sept. 1835.

THE CHARACTER OF MARY LYON.

From the Address by Dr. Edward Hitchcock, President of Amherst College, at the first anniversary of Mount Holyoke Seminary after Miss Lyon's death.

"God gave her a vigorous and well-balanced physical constitution. Her stature was at a medium; the muscular powers were displayed in great strength and vigor; the vital apparatus was very strong, so as to give a full development to the whole system, and impart great tenacity of life. The brain was largely developed, and in proper proportion to produce a symmetrical character. The nervous system was full, yet free from that morbid condition which in so many produces irritation, dejection, or unhealthy buoyancy of the spirits, and irregular action of the mind. In short, all the essential corporeal powers were developed in harmonious proportion. You could not say that any of the marked temperaments were exhibited, but there was rather a blending of them all.

"Now just such a physical system seemed essential to the part in life for which this lady was destined. Many, indeed, have been distinguished as instructors of youth whose constitutions were frail, and whose shattered nerves thrilled and vibrated in every exigency. But Miss Lyon had another office besides teaching to execute, which demanded unshrinking nerves and great power of endurance. In building up a new seminary, not conformed in many respects to the prevailing opinions, she could not but meet many things most trying to persons of extreme sensibility, and needing an iron constitution to breast and overcome.

"And it gives a just view of the character of her mind to say that it corresponded to that of her body; that is, there was a full development of all the powers, with no undue predominance to any one of them. It were easy to find individuals more distinguished by particular characteristics, but not easy to find one where the powers were more harmoniously balanced, and where, as a whole, the mind would operate with more energy and effi-

ciency. She did, however, exhibit some mental characteristics, either original or acquired, more or less peculiar. It was, for example, the great features of a subject which her mind always seized upon first. And when she had got a clear conception of these, she took less interest in minute details; or, rather, her mind seemed better adapted to master fundamental principles than to trace out minute differences. Just as the conqueror of a country does not think it necessary, after he has mastered all its strongholds, to enter every habitation, to see if some private door is not barred against him, so she felt confident of victory when she had been able to grasp and understand the principles on which a subject rested. Her mind would work like a giant when tracing out the history of redemption with Edwards, or the analogies of nature to religion with Butler, or the great truths of Theism with Chalmers; but it would nod over the pages of the metaphysical quibbler, as if conscious that it had a higher destiny. And yet this did not result from an inability to descend to the details of a science when necessary.

"The inventive faculties were also very fully developed in our friend. It was not the creations of fancy merely, such as form the poet, but the power of finding means to accomplish important ends. Nor was it invention unbalanced by judgment, such as leads many to attempt schemes impracticable and quixotic. For rarely did she attempt anything in which she did not succeed; nor did she undertake it till her clear judgment told her that it would succeed. Then it mattered little who or what opposed. At first she hesitated, especially when any plan was under consideration that would not be generally approved; but when, upon careful examination, she saw clearly its practicability and importance, she nailed the colors to the mast, and, though the enemy's fire might be terrific, she stood calmly at her post, and usually saw her opposers lower their flag. She possessed, in an eminent degree, that most striking of all the characteristics of a great mind; viz., perseverance under difficulties. When thoroughly convinced that she had truth on her side, she did not fear to stand alone and act alone, patiently waiting for the hour when others would see the subject as she did. This was firmness, not obstinacy; for no one was more open to conviction than she; but her conversion must result from stronger arguments, not from fear or the authority of names. Had she not possessed this feature of character, Mount Holyoke Seminary never would have existed, at least not on its present plan. But its triumphant success for

one-third of a generation is a striking illustration of the far-reaching sagacity and accurate judgment of its originator.

"Besides this seminary, the most striking example of the inventive powers of our friend is that only volume which she has left us,—I mean the 'Missionary Offering,'—called forth by an exigency in a cause which she dearly loved, and whose most striking characteristic is its missionary spirit. Yet it is, in fact, a well-sustained allegory, demanding for its composition no mean powers of invention and imagination.

"Miss Lyon possessed, also, the power of concentrating the attention and enduring long-continued mental labor in an extraordinary degree. When once fairly engaged in any important subject, literary, scientific, theological, or economical, there seemed to be no irritated nerves or truant thoughts to intrude, nor could the external world break up her almost mesmeric abstraction.

"Another mental characteristic of our friend was her great power to control the minds of others. And it was done, too, without their suspecting it; nay, in opposition often to strong prejudice. Before you were aware, her well-woven net of argument was over you, and so soft were its silken meshes that you did not feel them. One reason was that you soon learnt that the fingers of love and knowledge had unitedly formed the web and woof of that net. You saw that she knew more than you did about the subject; that she had thrown her whole soul into it; that, in urging it upon you, she was actuated by benevolent motives, and was anxious for your good; and that it was hazardous for you to resist so much light and love. And thus it was that many a refractory pupil was subdued, and many an individual brought to aid a cause to which he was before indifferent or opposed.

"Finally, I must not omit to mention her great mental energy and invincible perseverance. That energy was a quiet power, but you saw that it had giant strength. It might fail of success to-day, but in that case it calmly waited till to-morrow. Nay, a score of failures seemed only to rouse the inventive faculty to devise new modes of operation; nor would the story of the ant that fell backward sixty-nine times in attempting to climb a wall, and succeeded only upon the seventieth trial, be an exaggerated representation of her perseverance. Had she lacked this energy and perseverance, she might have been distinguished in something else, but she never would have been the founder of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. 437

"Yet it is in her religious character, and there alone, that we shall find the secret and the powerful spring of all the efforts of her life which she would wish to have remembered. But I approach this part of her character with a kind of awe, as if I were on holy ground, and were attempting to lay open that which she would wish never revealed. In her ordinary intercourse, so full was she of suggestions and plans on the subject of education, and of her new seminary, that you would not suspect how deep and pure was the fountain of piety in her heart, nor that from thence the waters flowed in which all her plans and efforts were baptized and devoted to God. But as accidentally, for the last thirty years, the motives of her actions have been brought to light, I have been every year more deeply impressed with their Christian disinterestedness, and with the entireness of her consecration to God. Without a knowledge of this fact, a stranger would mistake for selfishness the earnestness and exclusiveness with which she often urged the interests of her seminary. But in the light of this knowledge, the apparent selfishness is transmuted into sacred Christian love. Her whole life, indeed, for many years past, has seemed to me to be only a bright example of missionary devotedness and missionary labor. I have never met with the individual who seemed to me more ready to sacrifice even life in a good cause than she was; and, had that sacrifice been necessary for securing the establishment of her favorite seminary, cheerfully, and without a moment's hesitation, do I believe, she would have laid down her life. I would, indeed, by no means represent her as an example of Christian perfection. I could not do so great injustice to her own convictions. But since her death, I have looked back over the whole of my long acquaintance with her in almost every variety of circumstance, to see if I could recollect an instance in which she spoke of any individual in such a way as to indicate feelings not perfectly Christian; or if I could discover any lurkings of inordinate worldly ambition, or traces of sinful pride, or envy, or undue excitement, or disposition to shrink from duty, or of unwillingness to make any sacrifices which God demanded; and I confess that the tablet of memory furnishes not a single example. What I considered errors of judgment I can indeed remember; but not any moral obliquity in feeling or action. They doubtless existed, but it needed nicer moral vision than I possess to discover them."

"We are amazed when we look back at the amount and magnitude of her labors. Very few females have done so much for

the world while they lived, or have left so rich a legacy when they died. Nor is the fair picture marred by dark stains, save those of microscopic littleness. From the days of her childhood to the time of her death, all her physical, intellectual, and moral powers were concentrated upon some useful and noble object, while selfishness and self-gratification seem never to have stood at all in the way, or to have retarded the fervid wheels of benevolence. I cannot, therefore, believe that it is the partiality of personal friendship which leads me to place Miss Lyon among the most remarkable women of her generation. Her history, too, shows the guiding hand of special providence almost as strikingly as the miraculous history of Abraham, of Moses, of Elijah or of Paul. O, it tells us all how blessed it is to trust Providence implicitly when we are trying to do good, though the darkness be so thick around us that we cannot see forward one hand's breadth, and bid us advance with as confident a step as if all were light before us.

"This picture, too, is a complete one. Her life was neither too long nor too short. She died at the right time, with her armor on and yet bright. But her friends saw that, strong as her constitution naturally was, it was giving way under such severe and protracted labor, and the infirmities of declining years beginning to show themselves, even at the age of fifty-two. But with her Saviour, she could say, 'I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.' All her important plans had been carried into successful operation, and tested by long experiment; and the institution was in the right condition to be committed to other hands. . . . I cannot wish to call her back. But I do feel,—and many who hear me I doubt not feel it too,—I do feel a strong desire to be borne upward, on an angel's wing, to the Mount Zion where she now dwells, and to hear her describe in the glowing language of heaven, the wonders of Providence, as manifested in her own earthly course, as they now appear in the bright transparencies of heaven. Yet further, I long to hear her describe the still wider plans she is now devising and executing for the good of the universe and the glory of God; and how admirably her earthly discipline fitted her for a nobler field of labor above; so that those providences, which appear to us to have been consummated on earth, were, in fact, only a necessary means of adapting her to a work which shall fill and delight all her powers throughout eternal ages. Gladly, too, would I listen to her intensely earnest inquiries respecting her beloved seminary

and friends on earth; and learn whether, in some way unknown to us, she may not be still able to administer to their welfare."

Mary Lyon was born in Buckland, Franklin County, Mass., Feb. 28, 1797. Her ancestors were among the first settlers of the adjoining town of Ashfield. In the "Missionary Offering," a small book written by her in 1843, she draws a pleasing picture of the simple "mountain home" in which she grew up. Her educational opportunities were limited, but in the district school she made uncommon progress. One of her teachers said, "I should like to see what she would make if she could be sent to college." She began her career as a teacher near Shelburne Falls, Mass., receiving seventy-five cents a week with board. In 1817 she entered Sanderson Academy at Ashfield, maintaining herself there by the severest economy. At one time she resided for a season in the family of Dr. Hitchcock, then pastor of a church in Conway, afterwards president of Amherst College. We find her for one term in Amherst Academy; and it is interesting to note that afterwards, before locating her Seminary at South Hadley, Mount Pleasant in Amherst was one of the places she considered for it. In 1821, after teaching in various places, she went to attend Rev. Joseph Emerson's school at Byfield, Mass. The Adams Female Academy at Derry, N.H., where she afterwards taught, was conducted upon what she called the "Emersonian" plan; and Joseph Emerson's spirit and influence she cherished during her later teaching at Ipswich. The Ipswich Female Seminary was the germ of Mount Holyoke Seminary, which grew out of the earnest thought and indefatigable efforts of Miss Lyon in the half-dozen years before 1836, when the corner-stone was laid.

Miss Lyon's address to the friends of the school, setting forth her plans and program, published in the present leaflet through the courtesy of the president of Mount Holyoke College, has never before been printed save in the pamphlet form in which Miss Lyon circulated it in 1835. It is a document of distinct interest and value in the history of the higher education of American women. The noble character of Mount Holyoke Seminary and the peculiar service which it rendered from the time when Mary Lyon brought it into being are well known. Her grave is in the Mount Holyoke grounds, and upon the monument are the words from her last instruction to the school: "There is nothing in the universe that I fear but that I shall not know all my duty or shall fail to do it."

There is a life of Mary Lyon by President Hitchcock of Amherst College, published in 1851, two years after her death. A new edition of this revised by Mrs. Eunice (Caldwell) Cowles, was published in 1858. A later memoir by Miss Fiske contains many selections from Miss Lyon's addresses and class instructions. Miss Lyon is the subject of one of the chapters in Thayer's "Women who Win."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 146.

A Congress of Nations.

By ELIHU BURRITT.

ADDRESSES AT THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESSES AT BRUSSELS (1848), PARIS (1849), AND FRANKFORT (1850).

I. ADDRESS AT BRUSSELS.

ON THE PROPRIETY OF CONVOKING A CONGRESS OF NATIONS, THE OBJECT OF WHICH SHALL BE TO FORM AN INTERNATIONAL CODE, IN ORDER, AS FAR AS POSSIBLE, TO SETTLE ON A SATISFACTORY BASIS MOOT QUESTIONS, AND GENERALLY TO SECURE PEACE.

The first great object which is sought to be obtained by a Congress of Nations *is a well-defined Code of International Law.* This has been acknowledged by eminent jurists, and proved by centuries of painful experience, to be a prime necessity in the community of nations. A forcible writer, in demonstrating this necessity, says, "Few persons are aware how unsettled and imperfect is the present law of nations. We have, in truth, no such law, and what passes under the name is of recent origin, and insufficient authority. This code, scarcely recognized at all by Greece or Rome, or little heeded or known in Christendom itself till after the Reformation, owes more to Grotius than to all other writers put together. He was its grand architect. He found it a chaos of clashing precedents and principles; but his learning, and his powers of analysis and combination, reduced its heterogeneous materials to a system which has won universal admiration, and

exerted a benign influence over the intercourse of all civilized nations. Still, neither Grotius nor his commentators have furnished a Code of International Law. They possessed not the requisite authority, and they have given us only a compilation of precedents, opinions, and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars; no law-making power was ever concerned in enacting any of its statutes; and all its authority has resulted from the deference spontaneously paid to the genius, erudition, and wisdom of its compilers. It is not law, but argument; not decrees, but rules; not a code, but a treatise; and the nations are at liberty, except from the force of custom and public opinion, to adopt or reject it as they please. A code of international law is still a desideratum: to supply this deficiency would be one of the first and highest duties of the tribunal which we propose."

In asking for the creation of this tribunal and fixed code of International law, we do not necessarily ask for any serious innovation upon the established usages and acknowledged principles of nations. We do not directly ask that what is now called unconstitutionally the law of nations, should be modified by a single material alteration. We do not propose to set aside the system of maxims, opinions, and precedents which Grotius and his successors or commentators have produced for the regulation of international society, or to weaken the homage which the world has accorded to that system. But if it is to continue to be the only recognized basis of international negotiation, treaties, intercourse, and society; if it is to be accepted, in the coming ages of civilization, as a universal common law among nations, then we do insist that it should not only retain the spontaneous and traditionary homage accorded to it by the different governments of the civilized world, but that it shall also acquire the authority which the suffrage of nations can only give to it through the solemn forms of legislation. That legislation cannot be secured, in this constitutional age, without an International Legislature, or a *Congress of Nations*, in which each shall be equitably represented. The first great work of this International Assembly would be to revise and reconstruct the present code of International Law, and present it to the National Legislatures which they represent, for their adoption and ratification. Is there anything Utopian, visionary, or impracticable in the supposition that such a task might be satisfactorily performed by a body containing, we might assume, the aggregated wisdom of the world? Or,

in the language of a lucid writer, "If a single man, like Hugo Grotius, was able, in the early part of the seventeenth century, by his unaided talents, to create from the chaos of the past an almost perfect system of international jurisprudence, and by the mere force of his genius and learning to give to that system almost universal authority, have we not every reason to believe that a chosen body of wise and learned men, selected from among many nations, enlightened by all the experience of the past and by the lofty principles of the present age, and devoting their combined energies to the great work, would give to the result of their labors such perfectness of finish, such clearness of reasoning, such force of illustration, as would at once render the work of universal authority and obligation?"

But let us reduce our proposition to a present reality; and suppose that we have already carried all the preliminary stages of the measure, that we have poured a flood of light upon the public mind throughout the civilized world in regard to the guilt and ruin of War, that we have roused the millions of the people to pour their united voices upon the ear of Parliaments, National Assemblies, and Cabinets, until statesmen and legislators have been constrained to take up the work in earnest. Let us suppose that the basis of national representation has been fixed, and that it assigns a representative in the Congress of Nations to every million of inhabitants; if all the nations of Christendom accept this basis and elect their representatives, then we have an Assembly of about 350 members, or one about as large as the British House of Commons. But if only Great Britain, France, Germany, the Italian States, and the United States accept it at first, then we have an Assembly of about 160 members, embracing the most profound statesmen and jurists that these five nations can produce. They meet at Frankfort, or Brussels, or at some convenient point on the Continent of Europe, a few weeks before their own National Legislatures open their sessions for the year. The first work of this august Senate, after its proper organization, is the appointment of a Committee on International Law, composed of the most profound statesmen and jurists from the different countries. This Committee sit down to the examination of all that Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, and others have produced on the subject. They apply to the work all the legal wisdom of the world; all that the light of the world's experience can reveal; all that the world's wants and future necessities can suggest. One by one they present to the Congress the

statutes of that common law which it is expected to provide for the nations. One by one these statutes are discussed, amended, and adopted, and then transmitted for discussion and adoption to the National Legislature in session at London, Paris, Frankfort, Rome, and Washington. The popular mind throughout Christendom is fixed with deep interest upon the proceedings of this International Senate; and the journals of all countries are filled with the reports of speeches made in that and in their own Legislative Assemblies, on the ratification of the different clauses of the new code of International Law. At the end of six months, perhaps, the last clause has been elaborated, and transmitted to London, Paris, Frankfort, Rome, and Washington; and we have a fixed well-digested code, created, sanctioned, and solemnized by all the moral prestige and authority that can be acquired from human legislation. No law ever enacted on earth can compare with this in the vital attributes of moral obligation. Into no law or record has there been so much suffrage of the public mind compressed as into this new code of nations. The Congress that elaborated and adopted it was a *constitutional* Congress. It was called into existence by the people; it was composed of the people's representatives. They send to it their greatest and best men—the most profound statesmen and jurists that their countries could produce. They sent them there for the express purpose of preparing this code; they empowered them with full authority to give it all the force that legislation can give to law. The august Senate assembled, and, under a solemn sense of the responsibility and magnitude of their mission, they performed their task. The most sublime Legislative Assembly that ever met on earth, they gave the result of their deliberations to their respective National Legislatures for examination, amendment, and ratification. Here, again, the people participated in the enactment of this code. Here, again, they affixed to the statutes the seal of their suffrage; and it was finished. It is the common law of the people; it bears the superscription of their sovereignty; it is the *chef-d'œuvre* of constitutional legislation; the sublimest manifestation of the public mind that can be achieved by the representative principle. It is the law of nations in every popular, legislative, and moral sense; and in each of these senses it is the particular and popular law of each of the nations that participated in its enactment. Then have we not every reason to believe that the constituent people would not permit any of its statutes to be violated without their energetic reprobation?

But let us return to our Congress of Nations. The code which they produced as the result of long and serious deliberations has been accepted by all the nations represented in the Assembly. It has received its last seal of authority. The illustrious Senate now enters upon the second department of its labors, and provides for the erection of a Grand International Tribunal, or permanent High Court of Nations, which shall decide all serious questions of controversy between the nations represented, according to the code thus adopted. After mature deliberation, they provide for the appointment, for life or otherwise, of two jurists from each nation, to compose the Bench of Judges forming this High Court of Arbitration, Honor, and Equity. If it is deemed necessary that this tribunal shall immediately replace the Congress that created it, then the latter, we will suppose, continues its sessions, until the Judges are appointed by the different National Legislatures entitled to a representation in the Court. Having accomplished the two great objects for which it was called into existence, it is instructed to apply its deliberations to minor matters of International interests, until the Judges shall arrive to open the High Court. For instance, they digest a plan for establishing a universal and permanent uniformity of weights and measures throughout the civilized world, which would be a great boon to mankind. In effecting this object, the Congress will do what individual nations have frequently essayed to achieve without success. Many other obstructions to International trade and intercourse may occupy its attention while waiting for the High Court to open its tribunal.

The opening of this High Court of Nations, with the imposing solemnities befitting the occasion, must open a new era in the condition and prospects of mankind. A seat for life, or for any period on this bench of judges, is the highest appointment within the capacity of any nation. It is a post of duty, honor, trust, and dignity, which has no parallel in the presidency of a republic, or in the office of ambassador to any foreign court. Still, it cannot be the place for the ambitious politician, the factious diplomatist, or reckless demagogue; consequently, we may believe that two profound statesmen, or jurists, have been appointed by each nation, to represent it in this grand tribunal. Filling the sublimest position to which the suffrage of mankind could raise them, we may presume that they would act under a proper sense of the dignity and responsibility of their vocation. Constituting the highest Court of Appeal this side of the bar of Eternal

Justice, they would endeavor, we might hope, to assimilate their decisions, as nearly as possible, to those of unerring Wisdom. Sinking the great disconnected circles of human society into the chain of universal order, they would watch with jealous eye all that could disturb the harmony of nations, the links of which that chain is composed. Such a body, in several senses, would be to the great orbit of humanity what the sun is in the solar system; if not in the quality of light, at least in that of attraction. A presentiment of union would pervade the nations, and prepare them for a new condition of society. Wherever a question arose between two of them, the thought of War would not occur to either. The note of martial preparations would not be heard along their coasts. The press would not breathe thoughts among the people, calculated to stimulate sentiments and presentiments of hostilities. Each party would say to its government, "There is the law; there is the Court; there sit the Judges! refer the case to their arbitrament, and we will abide by their decision." Instead of the earth being shaken with the thunder of conflicting armies and deluged with blood, to settle a question of right or honor, we should see reported, among other decisions of this Supreme Court of Nations, the case of England *versus* France, Prussia *versus* Denmark, or Mexico *versus* the United States. Thus all these occasions of War, under the old régime of brute force, might be settled as legitimately and satisfactorily as any law-case between two sovereign states of the American Union. The Supreme Court of the United States is frequently occupied with a lawsuit between two states; and a case, entitled New York *versus* Virginia, or Ohio *versus* Pennsylvania, will often be found on the list of cases presented for trial. A resort to arms never occurs to the inhabitants of either of the litigant states, however grave may be the difference between them. The first result, then, of the erection of this High Court of Nations would be the expulsion of the idea of War from the popular mind of Christendom; and all preparations for War would disappear in like manner.

All the Continental Governments are now undergoing the process of renovation or reconstruction upon a popular basis. New political affinities have already been created between nations. Freedom of the press, right of public meeting, of association, and other great popular prerogatives have been acquired. The community of nations is slowly approximating to the condition of the family circle. Now is the time to organize these social

tendencies and national affinities into a fixed system of society. Everything favors the proposition. The great obstructions that would have opposed it a year ago have been removed. Nations are gravitating into union; not giving up any essential qualities of independence or individuality, but confederating with each other under the attraction of mutual affinities. Then why may we not link these large circles of humanity into one grand system of Society, by creating for it a common centre and source of attraction in the establishment of a HIGH COURT OF NATIONS?

II. ADDRESS AT PARIS.

A CONGRESS OF NATIONS.

To-day are fulfilled the aspirations of that man of courageous faith and extended philanthropy, William Penn. More than 200 years have elapsed since he penned his parting words of peace to a distant posterity. Assembled from both sides of the Atlantic, speaking different languages, and living under different governments, we are here to honor with our remembrance that early friend of peace and humanity. The project which he elaborated we now bring back almost in its original integrity. It has been subjected to the changing opinions and conditions of society. Able writers in different countries have made it the theme of learned dissertations; yet it has not incurred any fundamental change. The friends of peace in America have concentrated their efforts upon its development and adoption. More than fifty essays have been written upon it; and hundreds of public meetings have been held for the purpose of interesting the public mind in its favor. Petitions, numerously signed, have been addressed to the legislative assemblies of different states, asking them to induce the federal government at Washington to propose to the other governments of the civilized world the convocation of a Congress of Nations, for the purpose of establishing a well-defined code of international law, and a high court of adjudication, to interpret and apply it, in the settlement of all international disputes, which cannot be satisfactorily arranged by negotiation. A similar form of proposition emanated from this metropolis more than two centuries ago. Its author had no works on international law to consult. Neither Grotius, nor Puffendorf, nor Vattel had published anything on the subject. The great tribunal which he proposed was a perpetual court of equity, composed

of a representative from every recognized kingdom or government in the world. The only material difference between the original and the present form of the project is not a change, but an addition. The friends of peace in America, who, perhaps, have devoted more attention to this particular measure than their brethren on this side of the Atlantic, have believed it indispensable for the order and peace of nations that there should not only be established a court of equity or arbitration, but also a well-defined authoritative code of international law, which should govern the decisions of that tribunal, in settling the disputes referred to it. And, indeed, they have deemed the establishment of such a code as the first and most important step to be taken in organizing permanent and universal peace. In this conviction they are sustained by the testimony of profound writers, and by evidence derived from the painful experience of nations, still suffering from the murderous wars and animosities of the past. "The law of nations," says Vattel, "is as much above the civil law in its importance as the proceedings of nations and sovereigns surpass in their consequences those of private persons." How plain, how explicit, then, ought the law of nations to be! How guarded at every point! How fixed and acknowledged its principles! And yet, strange to say, this law, all-important as it is, has never been put into the form of a code, and many of its principles remain matters of dispute, and have been the frequent occasion of war. To adopt the language of an able writer on this subject, "We have no such law, and what passes under that name is the unauthorized work of irresponsible individuals, at different periods, who frequently disagree among themselves. Neither Grotius nor his commentators have furnished an international code. They possessed not the requisite authority; and they have given us only a compilation of precedents, opinions, and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars; no law-making power was ever concerned in enacting any of its statutes; and all its authority has resulted from the deference spontaneously paid to the genius, condition, and wisdom of its compilers. It is not law, but argument; not decrees, but rules; not a code, but a treatise: and the nations are at liberty, except from the force of custom and public opinion, to adopt and reject it, as they please." The first work prescribed for a Congress of Nations would be to revise and reconstruct the present code of international law, as it has been called, and then to present it for the ratification to the different national assemblies repre-

sented in the Congress. To effect an object of this vast importance, we might assume that each nation would send to the Congress its most profound statesmen, or juris-consuls, so that all the legal wisdom and experience of the age would be brought to bear upon its deliberations. The basis of representation and the mode by which the different national delegates should be elected are matters of detail, which, it has been thought, might be referred to a more advanced stage of the project. But, merely to supply the proposition with all its requisite elements, let us suppose that one delegate should be apportioned to every million of the population of a country. If all the nations of the civilized world should come into this arrangement, then we should have an assembly of about 300 members, of whom, perhaps, thirty-six would represent France, thirty Great Britain, thirty Germany, twenty the United States. If this basis were adopted, such a representation would be sufficiently popular, if appointed by the legislatures of the different constitutional governments. Even if a few absolute monarchies should send delegates to the Congress, their votes and voices would not modify the popular character and constitution of the assembly. For such a Congress would represent the principle of universal suffrage applied to nations, in the same manner as it is applied to individuals under a republican or constitutional form of government. The votes that Prussia might be entitled to give would be subject to the rigid condition of the democratic principle. They would be of no more avail upon the decision of a question than the same number of votes cast by the United States or the smallest republic. Therefore, a people possessing universal or limited suffrage could have nothing to fear even from the association of one or two despotic powers in such an assembly, for they would inevitably constitute a small minority in it, and be unable to modify its conclusions. Besides, the task prescribed to the Congress would be so specific, and the materials so natural and abundant, that there would be little danger of the introduction and discussion of extraneous topics. They would not be obliged to launch into a new and unexplored field of speculations. Their first great work would be merely to revise a system of principles, precedents, practices and opinions, which had already acquired the name, and even a part of the authority, of an international code. All that Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, and other men of great erudition have produced, would be in their hands. The experience of past ages, the present and future necessities of international

society, would be available to guide their deliberations. Nor would this be all. Every step they took would be directed by the wisdom of the nations which they represented. For instance, the Congress might be in session at the same time as the different national assemblies by which it had been constituted, in order that its proceedings might be ratified step by step. Let us suppose, then, that it should meet at some convenient town in Switzerland, or in some other central territory, which should be considered neutral ground, or free from any local influence which might affect its conclusions. They would immediately proceed to revise and adopt the international code, clause by clause. And clause by clause it might be transmitted to the national legislatures in session at Paris, London, Frankfort, Washington, and other capitals. At the end of six months, perhaps, the last paragraph has been elaborated and adopted by the Congress, and ratified by all the national assemblies represented in it. We have now a well-digested code, created, sanctioned, and solemnized by all the moral *prestige* and authority that can be acquired from human legislation. The august senate which constructed it was composed of delegates chosen by the representatives of the peoples. The most sublime legislative assembly that ever met on earth, they gave the result of the deliberations to their respective national assemblies for revision, amendment, and adoption. Here, again, the people took part in the enactment of this code. Here, again, they affixed to its statutes the seal of their suffrage, and it became the common law of nations, invested with all the moral authority that human legislation can give to law. On arriving at this result, we have taken the first great step in organizing peace in the society of nations. We have established a basis upon which their intercourse may be regulated by clearly defined and solemnly recognized principles of justice and equity. The next step, and of equal importance, is to constitute a permanent international tribunal, which shall interpret and apply this code in the adjudication of questions submitted to its decision. The illustrious assembly, therefore, enters upon the second department of its labors, and projects a plan for the establishment of this High Court of Nations. And this plan is adopted, also, in the same manner as the code itself. Let us suppose that it prescribes the appointment of two judges, for life or otherwise, by the government or legislature of each nation represented in the Congress. This number is suggested by the constitution of the Senate of the United States, which is composed of two delegates,

elected by the legislature of every state, great or small. If it is deemed necessary that this tribunal shall immediately replace the Congress, then the latter, we will suppose, continues its sessions until the judges are appointed. Having accomplished the two great objects for which it was convoked, it is instructed to apply its attention to matters of minor international interest, until the judges arrive, to open the High Court. For instance, they digest a plan for establishing throughout the civilized world a uniformity of weights, measures, moneys, rates of postage, and for creating other facilities for the social and commercial intercourse of nations, thus preparing them for that relation to each other which should exist between the members of a vast and peaceful commonwealth. We now reach the grand consummation of our system. The High Court of Nations is opened with all the imposing solemnities befitting the occasion. Each nation, we may believe, has selected two of its most profound and eminent men to fill the seats allotted to it in this grand tribunal. Occupying the sublimest position to which the suffrage of mankind could raise them, they will act, we may presume, under a proper sense of the dignity and responsibility of their high vocation. Constituting the highest court of appeal this side of the bar of Eternal Justice, they will endeavour to assimilate their decisions, as nearly as possible, to those of unerring wisdom. Here, then, we complete the chain of universal law and order. Here we organize a system which is to connect the great circles of humanity, and regulate the mutual deportment of nations by the same principles of justice and equity as govern the intercourse of the smallest communities of men. We establish an order of society by which great nations, without deposing a single prerogative of their legitimate sovereignty, accept the condition of individuals who are amenable to law. For our system, if adopted, would not trench upon the complete independence of the different states. Neither the Congress nor the High Court of Nations would pretend to exercise any jurisdiction over the internal affairs of a country, or exert any direct political influence upon its institutions. Neither would they be designed to confederate the different states of the civilized world in a political union, like the United States of America. The great international tribunal which we propose would not be like the Supreme Court of the United States, to which not only the thirty little republics, but every inhabitant of the Union, may appeal for its decision in any case which cannot be settled by inferior authorities. The

different nations would still retain all the prerogatives of their mutual independence. Even if differences arose between them, they would endeavor to settle them as before, by negotiation. But, if that medium failed to effect an honorable and satisfactory adjustment, they would then refer the matter in dispute to the arbitration of this High Court, which, in concert with other nations, they had constituted for that purpose. The existence of such a last court of appeal would inevitably facilitate the arrangement of these questions by negotiation, which is now often embarrassed and thwarted by its dangerous proximity to an appeal to arms. Whenever a difficulty arose between two countries, the last resort, after negotiation had failed, would not suggest to the mind of either party the terrible trial of the battlefield, but the calm, impartial, and peaceful adjudication of the High Tribunal of the Peoples. And, when once the idea of war has been displaced in the minds of nations by the idea of a quiet administration of justice and equity, preparations for war, and all the policies which it requires and creates, will gradually disappear from international society. The different nations would soon accustom themselves to refer their cases to this High Court of Appeal with as much confidence as the different states of the American Union now submit their controversies to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. On the list of cases brought before that court may be found sometimes one entitled "New York *v.* Virginia," or "Pennsylvania *v.* Ohio"; and, however heavily the verdict may bear upon one of the parties, scarcely a murmur is heard against it. In like manner we might see reported, among other decisions of this international tribunal, the case of "France *v.* England," "Denmark *v.* Prussia," or "Mexico *v.* the United States."

The brief space within which this exposition must be compressed will permit but a slight notice of the objections which are frequently opposed to the system under consideration. Among the most prominent of these objections, it is declared that the different governments and peoples are not yet prepared for such a condition of society as we would establish; that in their present disposition they would not be willing to submit their differences to such a tribunal; that there would be no military power to enforce obedience to its authority; and that all the nations of the civilized world could not be induced to come into this arrangement. Group all these objections together, we would merely reply to them, *en masse*, that we are not compelled to rest the

practicability of our project upon the present state or disposition of the different governments and peoples. The edifice of international society which we would erect must be the work of years of unremitting labor. Stone by stone would we build this temple of universal peace, and when the last is fitted to its place, and all is prepared for opening its portals for the fraternization of the peoples, they will be ready to give each other the hand, and form a holy alliance, to banish war and all its suite of animosities and miseries from the community. The means which we propose to employ will tend to prepare the popular mind throughout the civilized world to espouse with delight that condition of international fraternity which our system would organize. We will allude to but one class of these means, and that is a series of congresses like the one which is now convened in this hall and in this metropolis of civilization. What do we need to enable us to organize permanent peace by instituting a High Court of Nations? We need, in the first place, the sympathy and support of the popular mind. In the next place, we need the adhesion of governments, and their adoption of a system which public opinion has universally demanded. Well, for twenty years the friends of peace on both sides of the Atlantic had disseminated their principles through their respective communities. In 1843 they held a Congress in London, at which there were present about twenty-five delegates from the United States, and several from France and other continental countries. Here they deliberated upon the best measures for establishing universal peace. Several members of Parliament took part in the proceedings of this Congress, and gave to its object their complete approbation and support. This demonstration proved that the legislative as well as the popular mind of different countries had become interested in the organization of universal peace: the members of that Congress returned to their respective communities, inspired with new zeal and activity, and instituted more extensive operations for disseminating their principles. After laboring five years, with encouraging success, they resolved to hold another Congress, not only to give a new impetus to the cause, but to ascertain the force of public opinion which had been acquired in its favor. They believed that the popular mind in England and the United States was in an advanced state of preparation, and they desired, as it were, to feel the pulse of the rest of the people of Europe in reference to the cause, and to elicit their sympathy and co-operation. Consequently, last year they vent-

ured to raise their standard for the first time upon the continent of Europe. Although the contemporaneous circumstances of the epoch were inauspicious, the success which attended their pacific demonstration surpassed all their anticipations. There were present about 150 delegates from England and the United States, and an equal number from Belgium and other continental countries. The Belgian Government accorded every facility and courtesy which the hospitality of a generous nation could inspire, and many of its eminent men took part in the Congress and assisted at its organization. The president, the Hon. Auguste Visschers, a gentleman high in the estimation of the government and people of Belgium, was supported on one side by a member of the French National Assembly, as vice-president for France, and on the other by a member of the British Parliament, as vice-president for England. Several other members of different national assemblies were present, and took part in the deliberations of the Congress. The proceedings were conducted in the most excellent spirit, and its conclusions were clear and unanimous. The Anglo-American delegates were surprised and delighted to find that there were so many on the continent ready to unite with them in their enterprise. The Congress was a proof to them that the popular mind everywhere was fast preparing for the fraternization of the peoples under a system of organized peace. Nor was this all. The presence and co-operation of members of different national assemblies proved also that they might rely upon the adhesion of the legislative mind of Europe, just in proportion as they acquired the suffrage of enlightened public opinion. Encouraged by these new indications of progress, the Anglo-American delegates returned from the Congress, and commenced a series of operations on a larger scale than they had ever attempted before. In England there were 150 public meetings held in different parts of the country, and 1,000 petitions were presented to Parliament in favor of international arbitration,—one of the measures proposed at the Brussels Congress.

This proposition was brought before the House of Commons on the 12th of June by Mr. Richard Cobden, and he and other able statesmen pleaded for its adoption with irresistible arguments. The discussion lasted for six hours, and was conducted with excellent spirit, the two parties appearing to understand that they were in the presence of a sacred principle, worthy of the veneration of the human race. Eighty-one members voted with Mr. Cobden for the proposition, and these were the repre-

sentatives of the largest electoral districts in the kingdom. Besides other manifestations of popular sympathy, there were 200,000 persons in England who, during the last six years, have, in their petitions, entreated the British Government to adopt a measure adapted to banish war forever from the family of nations. There have been more persons in England who have this year petitioned Parliament for universal peace than for all the other necessities of the nation put together. Does not this fact indicate that the popular mind in England is preparing to support any practical measure for the abolition of war? And were not the eighty votes in Parliament, of members representing the largest electoral districts in the kingdom, a proof that the legislative mind of Great Britain is in an advanced state of preparation to adopt such a measure? But is not the presence of this great and solemn assembly an evidence more illustrious still that the great peoples of the civilized world, and their legislators too, are even ready now to co-operate in establishing peace as a fundamental and permanent system of society? Here are 500 men, representing all the considerable towns of Great Britain, from Land's End to John O'Groat's, who have left their homes and crossed the Channel to assist at this great demonstration. What does their presence testify, if not to the complete preparation of the popular mind in England to support any measure which shall expel the enormous suicide of war forever from the society of nations? And is not the presence of the illustrious Richard Cobden and his colleagues of the British Parliament a proof that the legislative mind of England will follow, if not lead, the will of that people in the path of peace? And here, too, are men from different parts of the United States, who have left their homes and crossed the ocean, to testify by their presence that America is ready and willing to fraternize with the peoples of the Old World in the organization of universal peace. And one of these delegates is a member of the Congress of the United States, who travelled 2,000 miles before he could reach a port at which he could embark for Europe. And what may we say for France? Here we meet her distinguished legislators, jurists, writers, her conductors of the press and teachers of religion. May we not believe that she is ready to accept the Anglo-American hand which is proffered to her this day, and to associate herself with the great peoples which that hand unites in establishing perpetual peace in the family of nations? Comparing this demonstration with the two which have preceded it, is it too much to

believe that we are advancing by a ratio of geometrical progression toward the Congress of Nations which we propose? In the Peace Congress of 1843 there were about 150 delegates, including two or three members of the British Parliament. In this assembly, the third in our series, we have more than 600 delegates, including twenty or thirty members of different national assemblies. If this demonstration should set on foot more extensive operations for disseminating the ideas of peace during the next twelve months, may we not believe that in our next Congress we shall have 1,000 delegates, including 100 of the most enlightened statesmen, representing all the national assemblies of the civilized world? If it should be concluded to hold the next Congress at Frankfort in 1850 or 1851, the friends of peace in America would undertake to send a delegation of 100, including twenty-five or thirty members of the Congress of the United States. Thus, in four or five years, these periodical demonstrations would draw into the movement the most liberal statesmen in every country, who would urge upon their respective governments the adoption of the system under consideration. In the mean time we should have prepared the different peoples to espouse that system, and to sustain it with that enlightened public opinion which, according to the authority of Lord Palmerston, is stronger than armies.

III. ADDRESS AT FRANKFORT.

Resolution: "That this Congress recommends all the friends of Peace to prepare public opinion, in their respective countries, for the convocation of a Congress of the Representatives of the various States, with a view to the formation of a Code of International Law."

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I deeply regret that the task has devolved upon me to present to this assembly a proposition which has been denominated *American*, from the attention which the friends of peace in the United States have given to its development and advocacy during the last twenty years,—I refer to the convocation and establishment of a Congress and High Court of Nations for the regulation of the intercourse and for the adjustment of the difficulties which may arise between them, according to the principles of justice embodied in a well-defined code of international law. I had hoped that some one of my countrymen would have been prepared to bring to the discussion of this

question a force of argument and clearness of illustration befitting a subject of such grave importance. But, as no member of the American delegation is thus prepared to develop the proposition, I beg leave merely to state, as succinctly as I can, the principal points and considerations which it involves. In the first place, then, permit me to say that the measure proposed is not *American*, either in origin or argument. It had taken shape and form in the public mind before America was discovered as a world or born as a nation. It is as old as the idea of international law; and, with that idea, it has come down to us from the earliest times, expanding as it descended, through Egyptians and Persians, through Greeks and Romans, through the chaos of the dark ages, through confederacies and councils, leagues and diets of later periods, down to the congresses and conferences of the last century. In 1622, before a single English colony was established in North America, and nearly one hundred years before the Abbé de St. Pierre had written a word upon the subject, a French author, in a work entitled "Le Nouveau Cygne," elaborated the proposition which is submitted to your consideration to a fulness of development far surpassing the limits which the present advocates of the measure would prescribe to its operations. He proposed the convocation and establishment of a great International Senate, composed of a representative from every recognized kingdom or government in the world, a body which should not only serve as a perpetual court of equity and arbitration, but also as a standing convention or congress, to project and propose great international works of improvement,—such as the connection of rivers, seas, and oceans by ship canals and enterprises of a similar character. About a century and a half after the publication of this work, a higher authority and more distinguished name than that of the anonymous writer to whom I have referred invested the proposition with all the dignity that profound legal erudition and experience could confer upon it. The name of Emanuel Kant is identified with it, and it would be an act of injustice to the memory of that remarkable man to ascribe to the American mind a plan which he had presented to the world with such clearness and force before it was ever mentioned on the other side of the Atlantic. He says: "What we mean to propose is a General Congress of Nations, of which both the meeting and duration are to depend entirely upon the sovereign wills of the League, and not an indissoluble union, like that which exists between the several states in North America,

founded upon a political covenant. Such a Congress and such a League are the only means of realizing the idea of a true public law, according to which the differences between nations would be determined by civil proceedings, as those between individuals are determined by civil judicature, instead of resorting to war, a means of redress worthy only of barbarians." Other distinguished authorities might be cited to prove that the proposition is not an American idea. To France and Germany belongs the joint honor of its paternity; to France and Germany belongs the joint duty of expanding it to the full stature and perfection of a world-embracing reality. Here is a sublime work for the united energies of their mighty mind. Whatever we have done in America in reference to this question, we have done as their disciples. For twenty years we have wrought upon their idea, and endeavored to induce our government to propose its adoption to all the other governments of the civilized world. Large public meetings have been held from year to year for its consideration. More than fifty essays have been written to demonstrate its necessity and practicability. The legislatures of several of our states have addressed memorials in its favor to the General Congress and Government at Washington. The resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1844 embrace the propositions almost exactly as defined by Emanuel Kant in 1794. This is its language: "That it is our earnest desire that the Government of the United States would take measures for obtaining the consent of the powers of Christendom to the establishment of a General Congress of Nations for the purpose of settling the principles of international law, and of establishing a High Court of Nations, to adjudge all cases of difficulty which may be brought before them." This scheme proposes, to use the term of that distinguished writer, "to realize the idea of a true public law" by the only process by which such an important object could be attained: first, by defining and settling the principles of international law; and then by establishing a High Court of Nations, which should interpret and apply those principles to the adjudication of such questions as should be submitted to its arbitration. Here, then, are two great and distinct steps to be taken, to organize the society of nations upon a basis of fixed law and order. The resolution before us limits our deliberations to the first of these steps; and to that I will confine my remarks, feeling assured that the one must inevitably follow the other in quick succession. The sole object of a Congress of

Nations, according to the language of the resolution, is to provide the world with a well-defined, authoritative code of international law. This has been acknowledged by eminent jurists, and proved by centuries of painful experience, to be the great want of the commonwealth of nations. A forcible writer, in demonstrating this necessity, remarks:—

"Few persons are aware how unsettled and imperfect is the present law of nations. Neither Grotius nor his commentators have furnished a code of international law. They possessed not the requisite authority, and they have given us only a compilation of precedents, opinions, and arguments. It is the work, not of legislators, but of scholars; no law-making power was ever concerned in enacting any of its statutes; and all its authority has resulted from the deference spontaneously paid to the genius and erudition of its compilers. It is not law, but argument; not decrees, but rules; not a code, but a treatise; and the nations are at liberty, except from the force of custom and public opinion, to adopt or reject it as they please."

We do not propose to set aside the system of maxims, opinions, and precedents which Grotius and his commentators produced for the regulation of international society, or to weaken the homage which the world has accorded to that system. But if it is to continue to be the only recognized basis of international negotiations, treaties, intercourse, and society, if it is to be accepted, in the coming ages of enlightened civilization as a universal common law among nations, then we do insist that it shall not only retain the spontaneous and traditionary homage accorded to it by the civilized world, but that it shall also acquire the authority which the suffrage of nations can only give to it through the solemn forms of legislation. That legislation cannot be secured, in this age of constitutions, without an international legislature, or a congress of nations, in which each shall be equitably represented. The only work assigned to this international assembly would be to revise and reconstruct the present code of international law, and then to present it to the national legislatures which they represented, for their adoption and ratification. Now is there anything Utopian, visionary, or impracticable in the supposition that this task might be satisfactorily performed by a body of men representing, we might assume, all the legal wisdom of the world? Or, in other words, if a single man like Hugo Grotius was able, in the seventeenth century, by his unaided talents to create from the chaos of the past an almost perfect

system of international jurisprudence, and, by the sheer force of his genius and learning, to give to that system almost universal authority, have we not every reason to believe that a chosen body of wise and learned men, selected from many nations, enlightened by the experience of the past and by the principles of the present age, and devoting their united energies to the great work, would give to it such a perfection of finish, such force of reasoning, and such clearness of illustration, as would at once render it of universal authority and obligation? But let us reduce the proposition to a practical reality. Let us suppose that we have carried all the preliminary stages of the measure; that we have poured a flood of light upon the public mind throughout the world in regard to the guilt and ruin of war; that we have roused the millions of the people to pour their united voices upon the ears of parliaments, national assemblies, and cabinets, until statesmen and legislators have been constrained to take up the work in earnest. Let us suppose, even, that the basis of representation has been settled and adopted, and that the Congress of Nations has assembled at Brussels, Frankfort, or some proper locality, a few weeks before the national legislatures they represent open their sessions for the year. Perhaps the first proceeding of the International Assembly, after its proper organization, is the appointment of a select committee on international law, composed of the most distinguished statesmen and jurists from the different countries. This committee sit down to an elaborate examination of all that Grotius, Vattel, Puffendorf, and others have produced on the subject. They apply to the work all the legal wisdom of the world, all that the light of the world's experience can reveal, all that the world's wants and future necessities can suggest. One by one they present to the Congress the statutes of that common law which it is expected to provide for the nations. One by one these statutes are discussed, amended, and adopted, and then transmitted for discussion, revision, and adoption to the several national legislatures in session at London, Paris, Frankfort, Washington, and other capitals of legislation. The popular mind throughout Christendom is fixed upon the proceedings of this International Senate with deep interest; and the journals of different countries are filled with reports of the speeches in that and in their own national assemblies, on the ratification of the different statutes of the new code. At the end of six months, perhaps, the last clause has been elaborated and adopted by the Congress, and ratified by

all the national legislatures represented in it. We now have a well-digested code, created, sanctioned, and solemnized by all the moral force and prestige that can be acquired from human legislation. No law on earth can surpass this in the vital attributes of moral obligation. Into no law on record has there been compressed so much suffrage of the public mind as into this new code of nations. The congress that elaborated it was a constitutional congress. It was called into existence by the people; it was composed of the people's representatives, at least in the second degree of election. They sent to it their greatest and best men, the most profound statesmen and jurists their countries could produce. They sent them there expressly for the purpose of preparing this code. They empowered them with full authority to give to it all the moral force that legislation can give to law. The august senate met, and under a solemn sense of the responsibility of their mission they performed their task. Constituting the most sublime legislative assembly that ever met on earth, they gave the result of their deliberations to their several national legislatures for revision and ratification. Here again the people participated in the enactment of this code. Here again they affixed to its statutes the seal of their suffrage, and it was complete. It is the common law of the peoples. It bears the superscription of their sovereignty. It is the masterpiece of constitutional legislation, the grandest manifestation of the public mind ever produced by the representative principle. It is the law of the nations in every popular, legislative, and moral sense; and in each of these senses it is the law of every nation that participated in its enactment. Then have we not reason to believe that the peoples would not permit any violation of its statutes without visiting the act with their energetic reprobation? But the resolution before us seems to invite rather timidly the friends of peace in different countries to prepare the public mind for the adoption of such a code, and for the condition which it involves. It seems to intimate that this preparation is a work yet to be commenced, or, at least, in the incipient stage of progress. Now all the signs of the times that I can distinguish indicate that this preparation is already far advanced. The morning light of the good time coming is everywhere breaking upon the eyes of those who are looking and longing for its appearing. Everywhere new hearts and new hopes are gained to our cause. Everywhere new agencies and tendencies are combining to propel it forward. The great necessities and interests of the age unite

to make peace the first want and predilection of the nations. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men are coming to be recognized by civilization and science, as well as by Christianity. This great central principle of Divine revelation is taking effect upon the peoples of the world. The bristling barriers of nationality, which once divided and estranged them, are gradually disappearing, and they are beginning to fraternize across the boundaries that once made them enemies. The great transactions of nations, the mightiest works of human skill and energy, are becoming *international* in origin, operation, and ownership. Is it a canal that is proposed? It is a great channel for the ships of all nations across the isthmus of Panama, to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and to shorten the passage to India by 6,000 miles. Is it a railway that is projected? It is one 4,000 miles in length, across the continent of North America, to open to all the nations of Europe a north-west passage to China of 30 days from London. Is it an electric telegraph? It is one to reach round the globe, crossing Behring's Straits and the English Channel, and stringing on its nerve of wire all the capitals of the civilized world between London and Washington. Is it a grand display of the works of art and industry, for the encouragement and development of mechanical skill and genius? It is a magnificent exhibition opened, without the slightest distinction, to the artists and artisans of all nations, just as if they belonged to one and the same nation, and were equally entitled to its patronage and support. Is it an act affecting navigation? It is to place all the ships that plough the ocean upon the same footing as if owned by one and the same nation. Is it a proposition to cheapen and extend the facilities of correspondence between individuals and communities? It is to give the world an ocean penny postage, to make home everywhere, and all nations neighbors. These are the material manifestations of that idea of universal brotherhood which is now permeating the popular mind in different countries, and preparing them for that condition promised to mankind in Divine revelation. They are the mechanical efforts of civilization to demonstrate that sublime truth,—"God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

The Peace Congress of 1849, in Paris, was the most remarkable assembly that had ever taken place on the continent of Europe, not only for its objects, but for its personal composition. The English delegation numbered about seven hundred, and were conveyed across the Channel by two steamers specially chartered for the purpose. They not only represented but headed nearly all the benevolent societies and movements in Great Britain. Indeed, Richard Cobden told M. de Tocqueville that if the two steamers sank with them in the Channel, all the philanthropic enterprises of the United Kingdom would be stopped for a year. There were a goodly number of delegates from the United States, including Hon. Amasa Walker of Massachusetts, Hon. Charles Durkee of Wisconsin, President Mahan of Oberlin College, President Allen of Bowdoin College, and other men of ability. Nearly all the European countries were represented by men full of sympathy with the movement. Victor Hugo was chosen president, and, supported on each side by vice-presidents of different nations, arose and opened the proceedings with probably the most eloquent and brilliant speech he ever uttered on any occasion. Emile de Girardin, Abbé Deguerry, Curé de la Madeleine, the Coquerels, father and son, spoke with remarkable power and effect, as representing the French members; Richard Cobden, Rev. John Burnet, Henry Vincent and other English delegates delivered speeches of the happiest inspiration; Amasa Walker, President Mahan, Charles Durkee and others well represented and expressed American views and sentiments; and delegates from Belgium, Holland and Germany spoke with great earnestness and ability. The Congress was continued for three days, and the interest in its proceedings constantly increased up to the last moment. The closing speech of Victor Hugo was eloquent and beautiful beyond description. Emile de Girardin said of it, that it did not terminate, but *eternized* the congress. The next day the government gave the great entertainment at Versailles, which was varied by a very pleasant incident. The English members gave the American delegates a public breakfast in the celebrated Tennis Hall, or Salle de Paumes, at Versailles, so connected with the great French Revolution. Richard Cobden presided, and testified to the appreciation, on the part of the English members, of the zeal for the cause of peace shown by their American brethren in crossing the ocean to attend the congress. A French Testament, with a few words of pleasant remembrance signed by himself as chairman of the meeting, was presented to each of them.—*From Burritt's Autobiography.*

Elihu Burritt was born in New Britain, Conn., in 1810. He had slight early educational privileges; but, taking up the occupation of a blacksmith, by unremitting toil at night and during brief respites, often with open book at the forge itself, he acquired such large and varied knowledge, especially of languages, as earned him the title of "The Learned Blacksmith." Before he was thirty, he made himself more or less acquainted, he tells us in his autobiography, "with all the languages of Europe and several of Asia, including Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldaic, Samaritan, and Ethiopic." For several years after 1837 he made his home at Worcester, Mass., where he continued his work at the forge and at his books, helped especially by his access to the large and rare library of the Antiquarian Society. His remarkable attainments came to the knowledge of Edward Everett, then governor of Massachusetts, and a conspicuous reference to him by Gov. Everett in one of his speeches gave him sudden fame. He was offered the privileges of Harvard University, but declined. He started a little monthly magazine, *The Literary Geminæ*, half of it French selections and the other half articles and translations from his own pen; but this lived but a year. He was invited to the lecture platform, and quickly became a popular lecturer upon many subjects of education and reform.

In 1841 a slight accident shaped the course which led to his labors in Europe and his whole subsequent devotion to the cause of peace and international fraternity. He sat down to write a scientific lecture on the Anatomy of the Earth, showing the analogies between the earth and the human body in the mutual dependence of the various parts. His studies deeply impressed him by the fact that the arrangement of nature was designed to bind nation to nation, by the difference and necessity of each other's productions; and the lecture turned out "a real, radical peace lecture." It was first given at the Tremont Theatre in Boston, where Tremont Temple now stands. He had never read a page of Worcester or Ladd on the subject of peace; but many of the peace people were present, and Burritt was instantly recognized as a strong accession to the ranks. He now started a weekly paper in Worcester called *The Christian Citizen*, devoted largely to Anti-slavery and Peace, and also set on foot "The Olive Leaf Mission,"—printed slips sent to hundreds of newspapers, containing articles on peace subjects. He came into close relations with English friends of peace, and in 1846 went to England, where, assisted chiefly by Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, he founded "The League of Universal Brotherhood," which quickly had a membership of several thousands in England and America. He began the agitation for Ocean Penny Postage, which after some years was crowned with success,—one of his greatest achievements.

In 1843 the first International Peace Congress had been held at London, growing out of

a suggestion by Joseph Sturge in Boston two years before. Burritt revived the idea; and largely through his efforts the great Peace Congresses of Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, and London (1848–51) took place. He addressed hundreds of meetings in their behalf. At Paris there were 700 delegates from England, led by men like Richard Cobden, Henry Richard, and Joseph Sturge, and 23 from the United States. At London the American delegation numbered 60. At all these congresses Burritt and his American associates pressed the idea of a permanent international tribunal; and this idea, finally realized at the Hague, was generally spoken of in Europe as "the American plan." William Jay and William Ladd in America had strongly presented the plans which Burritt urged with such force at the European congresses. Burritt's speeches at the Congresses of Brussels, Paris, and Frankfort, are all given in the present leaflet. In outline they closely resemble each other, and entire paragraphs are frequently identical; but each address contains much that is distinct and fresh, and their historic importance makes the comparison valuable. The address at Paris was the most important. Of the great Paris Congress itself we have two brief accounts from Burritt, one in his autobiography, the other in his journal (extract given by Northend). There was an attendance of 2,000. Victor Hugo presided, and in his eloquent introductory speech exclaimed: "A day will come when a cannon-ball will be exhibited in public museums, just as an instrument of torture is now, and people will be amazed that such a thing could ever have been. A day will come when these two immense groups, the United States of America and the United States of Europe, will be seen placed in the presence of each other, extending the hand of fellowship across the ocean,—exchanging their produce, their commerce, their industries, their arts, their genius,—clearing the earth, peopling the desert, improving creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting, for the good of all, these two irrestible and infinite powers, the fraternity of men and the power of God."

Burritt pushed his "Olive Leaf Mission" extensively in England, Germany, France, and other countries, at one time working through forty different journals from Stockholm to Madrid. During the years preceding the war he was chiefly at home, working for "Compensated Emancipation." In 1863 he returned to England, travelled on foot all over the island from John O'Groat's to Land's End, and put his travels into popular volumes. In 1865 he was appointed American consul at Birmingham. Returning to America in 1870, he lived at his old home in New Britain, Conn., engaged in manifold good works and universally beloved, until his death in 1879. At the time of the Washington Treaty for the settlement of the "Alabama" difficulty he spoke at thirty meetings in behalf of international arbitration. A monument to his memory is to be erected at New Britain the present year (1904).

There is a biography of Elihu Burritt by Charles Northend, published just after Burritt's death; but a completer work is much to be desired. Northend's biography has long been out of print. The volume contains selections from Burritt's writings and extracts from his journals. His journals cover almost his whole active life, occupying many volumes, and of great interest. They are now preserved in the New Britain Institute. Nowhere else can such full particulars be found of the great International Peace Congresses of 1848–51. Mr. Northend in his appendix gives a list of Burritt's books and the various periodicals which he edited. His "Year Book of Nations," a little volume of international statistics, precursor of many similar, more ambitious works by others, was published in 1851. In his "Ten-minute Talks," which opens with a valuable brief autobiography, is a section devoted to international subjects; and his volume on "Thoughts and Things at Home and Abroad" contains chapters on such subjects as "Dismantled Arsenals," "Natural Provisions for Peace," "War and the Spirit of Christianity," "The Inhumanity of War," "The Courage and Conquests of Peace," "The Pioneers of Peace," "The Power of Passive Resistance," "The Policeman and the Soldier," "The Grand Congress of Nations." A new and uniform edition of his more valuable writings is a monument to Burritt as much to be desired as the new memorial of bronze or stone.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 147.

Autobiography of Peter Cooper.

My father after the Revolutionary war had done a successful business in the manufacture of hats in the city of New York, and, when I was about three years old [he was born in the city of New York, Feb. 12, 1791] he, like many others, became enamoured with a country life, and bought a place at Peekskill, built a store there, carried on the business of a country store-keeper, and built a church. He found plenty of custom all over the country that would buy on credit, and it was not more than two or three years before he found that nearly all of his property was in the hands of other people, and that it was impossible for him to collect it. He believed devoutly that I should come to something; for he named me Peter, after the great Apostle, and maintained that he was told to do so in a sort of "waking vision." My mother was an excellent woman, and did the best she could with a large family, narrow circumstances, and a changing home.

My father followed the business of a hatter, and the first I remember was being utilized in this business by being set to pull the hair out of rabbit skins, when my head was just above the table. I remained in this business until I could make every part of a hat. My father finally sold out his hatter's business to my eldest brother, by a former wife, and commenced the brewing of ale in the town of Peekskill. It was my business to deliver the kegs of ale to the different places in town and country where it had been sold. Finding this a "slow business," my father bought a place at Catskill, where he commenced again the hatter's business, and also that of making bricks. I was made useful in this business in carrying and handling the bricks for the drying process.

My father, at length finding that his business at Catskill did

not answer his expectations, sold out and removed to Brooklyn, N.Y. Here I worked again at the hatter's business with my father until again he sold out and bought some property in Newburg, N.Y., on which he erected a brewery. At this business I continued with my father until I was seventeen.

The only time I ever trusted to chance for any profit was about this time, when I got a very wholesome lesson. I had earned about ten dollars beyond my immediate wants, which I invested, by the advice of a relative, in lottery tickets, all which, fortunately for me, drew blanks. This impressed upon me the folly of looking to games of chance for any source of gain or livelihood.

In my seventeenth year I entered as apprentice to the coach-making business. I remained in this four years, till I was of age, and had thoroughly learned the business. During my apprenticeship I received twenty-five dollars a year for my services. To this sum I added something by working at night at coach carving, and such other work as I could get. My grandmother gave me the use of a room, in one of her rear buildings on Broadway, where I spent much of my time in nightly work, instead of going with other apprentices who too often went with loose companions and contracted habits that proved their ruin. During my apprenticeship I made for my employer a machine for mortising the hubs of carriages, which proved very profitable to him, and was perhaps the first of its kind used in this country. When I was twenty-one years old, my employer offered to build me a shop and set me up in business; but, as I always had a horror of being burdened with debt, and having no capital of my own, I declined his kind offer.

As soon as I was of age, I went to the town of Hempstead, L.I., to see my brother. Here I was persuaded to work for a man at the making of machines for shearing cloth. I continued at this for three years, for a dollar and fifty cents a day, which was regarded as very large wages at that time. I saved enough at the end of my engagement to buy the right of the State of New York for a machine for shearing cloth, and I commenced the manufacture of these machines on my own account. This business proved very successful. The first money I received for the sale of my machines was from Mr. Vassar, of Poughkeepsie, who afterwards founded that noble institution for female education, called the Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie. My sales to Mr. Vassar also included one of the patent rights for the county in which he

resided. This put in my possession so large an amount of money according to my ideas at that time, about five hundred dollars, that I was very much elated and rejoiced at what I considered my great good fortune. But my joy was soon turned to mourning. On my return from Poughkeepsie I visited my father, who lived then at Newburg. I found the family in the deepest affliction on account of the pressure of debts which my father was unable to pay. The money I had just received from my machines enabled me to pay the most pressing of these debts, and left me barely the means to purchase materials to commence the making of new machines. Besides this, I became surety for my father for debts not yet matured, which I paid as they fell due, and in consequence of this my father never had the mortification of failing in business. The same is true in my own affairs, notwithstanding some public statements made to the contrary by persons ignorant of the facts.

So far from ever having failed in business, I do not remember the week or month when every man who has ever worked for me did not get his pay when it was due. This is strictly true, through a business life of more than sixty years, in which I have had at times as many as twenty-five hundred people in my employment. The coach-making business I never followed after serving out my apprenticeship. But, soon after I commenced the manufacture of machines for shearing cloth, I made an improvement that enabled me to sell these machines as fast as I could make them. At this time they were in great demand, in consequence of the war of 1812 with England, which stopped our commerce with that country. At the close of the war, however, this business lost its value, and I gave it up.

It is worth while to mention here that the principle and method of my machine for shearing cloth was precisely the one now used so largely in mowing and reaping machines; and this was so obvious that a gentleman, seeing my machine at work, suggested that a similar machine might be made for mowing grass, and asked me to make for him a model for this purpose. This was operated for the purpose of cutting the grass in his yard, and proved entirely successful, long before any machine for mowing had been invented or patented by others.

After some three years' continuance in this business of manufacture, I bought a twenty years' lease of two houses and six lots of ground where the "Bible House" now stands, opposite the Cooper Union. On this ground I erected four wooden dwelling-

houses. I was engaged at this time in the grocery business, in which I continued for three years. Soon after this I purchased a glue factory, with all its stock and buildings, on a lease of twenty-one years, for three acres of ground, on what was then known as the "old middle road," between Thirty-first and Thirty-fourth Streets. Here I continued to manufacture glue, oil, whiting, prepared chalk, and isinglass to the end of my lease. I then bought ten acres of ground on Maspeth Avenue, Brooklyn, where the business has continued to the present time. What I made by building machines and in the grocery business had enabled me to pay for the glue factory on the day of the purchase.

I very early took to making and contriving for myself or friends. I remember one of the earliest things I undertook, of my own accord, was to make a pair of shoes. For this purpose I first obtained an old pair, and took them all apart to see the structure; and then, procuring leather, thread, needles, and some suitable tools, without further instruction, I made the last and a pair of shoes, which compared very well with the country shoes then in vogue.

When I was an apprentice at the coach-making business, I planned out and made at night a model machine to show how power could be obtained from the natural current of the tide, and be applied to various useful purposes. My model represented a plan for causing the water-wheel to rise and fall with the tide, at any desired speed, by the action of its own machinery. It was so arranged that the whole power could be thrown on a saw-mill or be made to force compressed air into a reservoir, to be used as a motive power to propel ferry-boats across the river. This was to be done by making the hull of a ferry-boat to consist of two strong iron cylinders, to form the buoyancy of the boat, and a reservoir of power to drive a boat across the river. On these cylinders I placed, at a sufficient distance apart to receive the water or driving-wheel, either between the cylinders or on the outside, as might be thought most convenient, the deck to rest on and be fastened to these cylinders or reservoirs for power. The power was to be received from a reservoir of compressed air on the dock, by connecting the hull of the boat with the reservoir by means of a flexible tube, when in the dock, at every trip,—the air to be worked off by its expansion and pressure, similar to the working of a steam-engine. The wreck of the old tide-mill is still in the garret of my house. I remember that Fulton did me the honor to come and see my model and machinery, but he was

too much occupied at that time with his own plans of steamboat navigation to pay much attention to my invention.

I had read from the books, or heard said, that there was no loss of power communicated through a crank, except from friction. I doubted this. There are two "dead points" in the crank motion, which nothing but the inertia of a fly-wheel or something equivalent can overcome. I made an experiment to show that the rectilinear motion of a piston-rod could produce the rotary motion of an axle with less loss of power than through a crank. By special contrivance I made my piston-rod a part of the circuit of an endless chain, which went around the circumference of a driving-wheel, and communicated power without any crank. It would be difficult to describe this machine without drawings, but the result was that I proved to the satisfaction of the City Engineer, against his former convictions, that there was a loss of power in the use of the crank, and I gained, with my application of the reciprocal and rectilinear motion of the piston-rod, a power which was as five to eight over the crank. I made a small engine on this principle, and used it in the "first locomotive," on the Ohio & Baltimore Railroad, making a trial trip with the President alone. But, before I came to try it with the train of cars, it was so unskilfully handled by some meddlesome person that it broke twice, and I was obliged, at last, in that experiment, to put a cross-head and crank on the engine. I have the remains of that first model of the engine in my garret yet.

A year before the water was let into the Erie canal, it occurred to me that canal-boats might be propelled by the force of water drawn from a higher level, and made to move a series of endless chains along the course of the canal. So I began to make experiments. I built a flat-bottomed scow, took a couple of men, and choosing that part of the East River that lies between what is now the foot of Eighth Street and where Bellevue Hospital now stands, —a distance of one mile,—I drove posts into the mud, one hundred feet apart. On these posts I fastened rollers made of block tin and zinc, on which my endless chain could run. There were two rollers on each post, one above the other, so that the chain could run up on one roller and back on the other. Then I made two miles of chain. This chain is of four-horse power. I tested it. I then arranged a water-wheel to run the chain. This preparation took a deal of time, for I did most of the work myself. When it was completed, I took a small skiff, fastened my tow line to the chain, started my wheel, and found that the experiment was

a success. I invited Governor Clinton and a few other gentlemen to make a trip. We ran the two miles, up and back, in eleven minutes. The governor was so well pleased that he paid me eight hundred dollars for the privilege of purchasing the patent right for the use of the canal. It was never used on the canal, and for this reason Governor Clinton had great difficulty in getting the farmers on the line of the canal to give him the right of way, and in order to induce them to grant it had held out to them the great advantages that would arise to them of selling their oats, corn, hay, and other produce to the canal men for the use of the horses. If the endless chain was used, these promises would be good for nothing, as there would be no horses to feed. So Governor Clinton gave up my scheme. I ran the chain on the river for ten days, during which time hundreds of people made the trip. At the end of that time I took the chain off the river. Well, the matter stood still until a few years ago Mr. Weltch, the president of the Camden and Amboy Canal Company, hit upon the endless chain plan for getting his boats through the locks. He tried it, and it worked well. So he went to Washington to take out a patent, and found on searching the records that I had taken out a patent on the very same invention, fifty years before. Of course my patent had run out, so the invention was free to all.

It is about twelve years since I made an endless band of round iron, near three-eighths of an inch in diameter, extending in the form of a belt for about three miles, for the purpose of transporting coal from the mines to my furnaces. This belt of iron was supported on wheels fastened to posts, the wheels having grooved surfaces to support the belt. On this belt I fastened buckets formed to receive iron ore. These buckets, when filled with ore, were on a descending grade sufficient to carry the ore down and return the empty buckets. During the time I owned the Canton property, I made a belt of cars which I placed on a double track railroad. One track was held right over the other in a frame for the purpose. The belt of cars was placed on a double track railroad in this framework, and was intended to transport by its own weight a sand-bank into Harris Creek bottom, which I desired then to fill up. The framework, with its rails and belt of cars, was placed on longitudinal sleepers, so as to be moved up to the side of the bank, as the sand was being removed. The sand could be carelessly thrown into a long hopper, over the cars, on the upper track. The cars, after dumping their load at the lower end, returned on the lower track, bottom upwards, to be constantly refilled.

In early life, when I was first married, I found it necessary to "rock the cradle," while my wife prepared our frugal meals. This was not always convenient, in my busy life, and I conceived the idea of making a cradle that would be made to rock by a mechanism. I did so, and, enlarging upon my first idea, I arranged the mechanism for keeping off the flies and playing a music-box for the amusement of the baby. This cradle was bought of me afterwards by a delighted peddler, who gave me his "whole stock in trade" for the exchange and the privilege of selling the patent in the State of Connecticut.

[Mr. Cooper made a torpedo-boat, designed to blow the Turks out of water, for their inhuman cruelties to the Greeks in the struggle to regain their freedom. This was about 1824 or 1825. He was indignant at the conduct of the Turks, and had his sympathies greatly excited in behalf of the struggling Greeks, and he determined to take up their cause in a very destructive way.] I planned a torpedo-boat, which might be sent from shore, or from a vessel, towards an enemy's ship six or eight miles off. The torpedo-boat was to be propelled by a screw and a steam-engine, and guided and directed towards its object by a couple of steel wires six or eight miles long, unwound from a suitable reel, and adjusted to the steering apparatus of the boat. I tried these wires first on a small steamer that I directed in the Harbor, near the Narrows, and they worked very well for six miles, until another boat came across my wires and broke them. When ready for service, I designed to place red-hot cannon balls in the boiler of my engine, to furnish the steam. The torpedo being placed on a bent piece of iron projecting far from the bow of my boat, when it struck the enemy the shock would explode the torpedo and bend the piece of iron, and by a proper contrivance reverse the action of the engine, and send the boat back again, guided and directed by the wires. I was preparing this torpedo-boat to go with the ship which our citizens were about to send, with provisions, clothing, and medicines, to the unfortunate victims of the Turkish war, and I designed it to be the "bitterest pill" in the whole cargo; but, unfortunately, I did not get it ready in time, and it was soon after burned up in my factory, with all the rest of the contents.

In 1828 I purchased three thousand acres of land within the city limits of Baltimore for one hundred and five thousand dollars ($105,000). On a part of that property I erected the Canton Iron Works, which, afterwards, I sold to Mr. Abbot, of Balti-

more. I was drawn into this speculation in Baltimore by two men who represented that they had large means, and we bought together three thousand acres of land in the city of Baltimore for one hundred and five thousand dollars ($105,000), taking the whole shore from Fell's Point dock for three miles. After paying my part of the money, I soon found that I had paid all that had been paid upon the property, and that I was even paying the board of the two men who had agreed to take part in the purchase. Finding that to be the situation, I was compelled to say to them that they must pay their part or sell out, or buy me out. Neither of them having the ability to buy, I finally succeeded in getting them to state a price. One offered to go out for ten thousand dollars ($10,000), the other for a smaller sum, which offers I accepted and bought them out.

When we first purchased the property, it was in the midst of a great excitement created by a promise of the rapid completion of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, which had been commenced by a subscription of five dollars per share. In the course of the first year's operations they had spent more than the five dollars per share. But the road had to make so many short turns in going round points of rocks that they found they could not complete the road without a much larger sum than they had supposed would be necessary; while the many short turns in the road seemed to render it entirely useless for locomotive purposes. The principal stockholders had become so discouraged that they said they would not pay any more, and would lose all they had already paid in. After conversing with them, I told them that, if they would hold on a little while, I would put a small locomotive on the road, which I thought would demonstrate the practicability of using steam-engines on the road, even with all the short turns in it. I got up a small engine for that purpose, and put it on the road, and invited the stockholders to witness the experiment. After a great deal of trouble and difficulty in accomplishing the work, the stockholders came, and thirty-six men were taken into a car, and, with six men on the locomotive, which carried its own fuel and water, and having to go up hill eighteen feet to a mile and turn all the short turns around the points of rocks, we succeeded in making the thirteen miles, on the first passage out, in one hour and twelve minutes; and we returned from Ellicott's Mills to Baltimore in fifty-seven minutes.

This locomotive was built to demonstrate that cars could be drawn around short curves, beyond anything believed at that

time to be possible. The success of this locomotive also answered the question of the possibility of building railroads in a country scarce of capital, and with immense stretches of very rough country to pass, in order to connect commercial centres, without the deep cuts, the tunnelling, and levelling which short curves might avoid. My contrivance saved this road from bankruptcy.

The discouragement and stoppage of progress in improvement in the city of Baltimore that had been occasioned by the state of things in the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad made it difficult to do anything with the property before mentioned but to keep it; and in order to make it pay something towards meeting the cost, taxes, etc., I determined to build iron works upon it. I had four or five hundred tons of iron ore raised, dug, etc., at Lazaretto Point, and I determined to cut the wood off of the property, which was being stolen in every direction, and to burn it into charcoal, and use it up in making charcoal iron,—for which purpose I built a rolling-mill, which I afterwards sold to Mr. Abbot. In my efforts to make iron, I had to commence to burn the wood into charcoal, and, in order to do that, I erected large kilns, twenty-five feet in diameter, twelve feet high, circular in form, hooped around with iron at the top, arched over so as to make a tight place in which to put the wood, with single bricks left out in different places in order to smother the fire out when the wood was sufficiently burned.

After having burned the coal in one of these kilns very perfectly, and believing the fire entirely smothered out, we attempted to take the coal out of the kiln; but, when we had got it about halfway out, the coal itself took fire, and the men, after carrying water for some time to extinguish it, gave up in despair. I then went myself to the door of the kiln to see if anything more could be done, and just as I entered the door the gas itself took fire, and enveloped me in a sheet of flames. I had to run some ten feet to get out, and in doing so my eyebrows and whiskers were burned, and my fur hat was scorched down to the body of the fur. How I escaped I know not. I seemed to be literally blown out by the explosion, and I narrowly escaped with my life.

After seeing the difficulties that attended the making of iron there, I determined, having so large a property on my hands, to sell it for what I could get, and at the first offer made. I succeeded in getting an offer of nearly what it had cost me from two men from Boston, Amos Binney and Edmund Monroe. They formed out of the property what is now known as the Can-

ton Company. I took a considerable portion of my pay in stock, at forty-four dollars the share,—par value, one hundred dollars. I reserved the iron works sold to Mr. Abbot. And, as good luck would have it, the stock commenced rising almost at once, as soon as it was put into form, and continued to go up in the market until it attained the enormous figure of two hundred and thirty dollars per share. This enabled me to sell out my stock to a very great advantage, so that I made money by the operation.

I then returned to my old business in New York, and after one or two years built the iron factory in Thirty-third Street near Third Avenue. I leased it to a man who had it for one or two years and failed, and I had to take it off his hands. I turned it into a rolling-mill for rolling iron and making wire, and ran it for some years. I then removed to Trenton, N.J., where I bought water power to carry the works on, and enlarged the works by building a mill and a wire factory. A few years later I built three large blast furnaces at Phillipsburg, the largest then known, near Easton, Penn.; bought the Andover mines, and built a railroad through a rough country for eight miles, to bring the ore down to the furnaces, at the rate of 40,000 tons a year. After running the works for several years, I was induced to form them into a company called the Trenton Iron Works, including the rolling-mills and the blast furnaces, and 11,000 acres known as the Ringwood property. I had built a second rolling-mill and wire factory in Trenton, which was also included in the company. I sold one-half of these works in the formation of the company. This continued for a number of years, when a division was made, and the company took one part of the property, the blast furnaces, and I took the rolling-mills and the Ringwood property. This property is still in the family.

During all this time I had continued the manufacture of glue, isinglass, oil, prepared chalk, Paris white, and also the grinding of white lead, and fulling of buckskins, for the manufacture of buckskin leather. It was in one of those mills above mentioned that the first iron beams were rolled, now so much used in fire-proof buildings. In planning the building of the Cooper Union I desired to make it fire-proof as far as possible, and found no such iron beams could be obtained. I determined to have them rolled at one of my mills, but found, in the end, that the necessary experiments and suitable machinery had cost me seventy-five thousand dollars. It has proved, however, a profitable business since.

It is now [1877] twenty years since I became the president of the North American Telegraph Company, when it controlled more than one-half of all the lines then in the country; also president of the New York, Newfoundland, & London Telegraph Company. An attempt had been made to put a line of telegraph across Newfoundland, on which some work had been done. Cyrus W. Field, Moses Taylor, Marshal O. Roberts, Wilson G. Hunt, and myself completed that work across the island of Newfoundland, and then laid a cable across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, intending it as the beginning of a line from Europe to America by telegraphic communication. After one form of difficulty after another had been surmounted, we found that more than ten years had passed before we got a cent in return, and we had been spending money the whole time. We lost the first cable laid, which cost some three or four hundred thousand dollars, at the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

We hired a vessel at seven hundred and fifty dollars a day, and we directed the steamer "Adger" to go to Cape Bay, and tow the vessel across the Gulf, in order to lay the cable. We went to Port Basque, and found the vessel had not arrived. We accordingly anchored in Port Basque until she did arrive, which was two days later. On her arrival the captain was directed to take our vessel in tow, and carry her up to Cape Ray, where we had already prepared a telegraph house, from which to commence laying the cable. On this telegraph house we placed a flag-staff, which was to be kept in line by the steamer, as she crossed the Gulf, with a certain very excellent landmark on the top of a mountain some three, four, or five miles distant,—a landmark which seemed to be made on purpose for our use.

We had an accident at starting. We joined the ends of the cable and brought one end into the telegraph house, and made everything ready to take the vessel in tow. The captain was then directed to bring his steamer in line, take the vessel in tow, and carry her across the Gulf. In doing that, he ran his steamer into the vessel, carried away her shrouds and quarter-rail, and almost ruined our enterprise the first thing, dragging the cable over the stern of the vessel with such force as to break the connection; and we were obliged to cut the cable and splice it again. The captain of the steamer had failed entirely in trying to get hold of the vessel; and after we had mended the cable, and got everything ready for a second attempt, he was again ordered to take the vessel in tow. We had provided ourselves with two

large cables, two hundred feet long and four inches in diameter, as tow-lines, so as to be sure of having sufficient strength to tow the vessel in all kinds of weather; but the captain of the steamer so managed matters, in his second attempt to take the vessel in tow, as to get this cable entangled in the steamer's wheel, and he hallooed to the captain of the vessel to let his cable slip, in order to get this unentangled. At this the captain of the vessel let go his cable and lost his anchor and one of our big cables, for we had to cut it, in order to disentangle it from the wheel. After that was got loose there was the vessel without an anchor; and she was going rapidly down upon a reef of rocks, with a strong wind against her. It was only with the greatest difficulty that we could get the captain of the "Adger" to go to her relief, and save her from being dashed on the rocks, with her forty men on board. We had to expostulate with the captain of the steamer until the vessel was within two or three hundred feet of the rocks, before he would consent to attempt her rescue; and by the merest good luck we got out a rope to her and saved her from going on the rocks, when she was so close to the shore that we could almost have thrown a line there.

The captain of the steamer, however, got hold of the vessel at last, and brought her back to her place in the harbor, where we had to renew the connection of our cable, and prepare again to start. The third attempt to take hold of the vessel was successful, and on a beautiful morning we started to lay the cable across the Gulf. In a very little while I discovered that we were getting out of line with the marks that the captain had been directed to steer by. As president of the line, I called the matter to the attention of the captain. The answer I got was, "I know how to steer my ship: I steer by my compass." It went on a little while longer, and finding that he was still going farther out of the line, I called his attention to the fact again, and so on, again and again, for some time, until he had got some eight or ten miles out of the line. I then said to him, "Captain, we shall have to hold you responsible for the loss of this cable." We got a lawyer on board to draw up a paper to present to him, stating that we should hold him responsible for the loss of the cable, as he had not obeyed the orders of Mr. Buchanan, as agreed on. After we had served this paper upon him, he turned the course of his ship, and went just as far from the line in the other direction. He had also agreed not to let his vessel go more than a mile and a half an hour, as it was impossible, under the circumstances, to

pay out the cable faster than a mile and a half an hour. It was discovered, however, that he was running his vessel faster and faster, while Mr. Buchanan hallooed, "Slower, slower," until finally the captain got a kink in the cable, and was obliged to stop. This happened several times.

So much delay took place that, when it was late in the afternoon, we had not laid over forty miles of the cable out of the eighty miles that we had to go in crossing the Gulf. Then a very severe gale came up, and raged with such violence that the steamer "Victoria," which was a small one, came near being swamped; and in order to save that vessel, and the forty men on board of her, we were compelled to cut the cable.

Subsequently we sent a vessel to take up that part of the cable; and it was then found that we had payed out twenty-four miles of cable, and had gone only nine miles from shore. We had spent so much money, and lost so much time, that it was very vexatious to us to have our enterprise defeated in the way it was, by the stupidity and obstinacy of one man. This man was one of the rebels that fired the first guns upon Fort Sumter. The poor fellow is now dead.

Having lost this cable, we ordered another, and had it ready in a year or two. This time we had a good man to put it down, and we had no trouble with it. The great question then came up, What could we do about an ocean cable? After getting a few subscriptions here, which did not amount to much, we sent Mr. Field across the ocean, to see if he could get the balance of the subscriptions in England; and he succeeded, to the astonishment of almost everybody, because we had been set down as crazy people, spending our money as if it had been water. Mr. Field succeeded in getting the amount wanted, and in contracting for a cable. It was put on two ships which were to meet in mid-ocean. They did meet, joined the two ends of the cable, and laid it down successfully. We brought our end to Newfoundland, where we received over it some four hundred messages. Very soon after it started, however, we found it began to fail, and it grew weaker and weaker, until at length it could not be understood any more.

It so happened that the few messages that we received over the cable were important to the English government; for it had arranged to transport a large number of soldiers from Canada to China in the war with the Chinese, and, just before the transports were to make sail, a telegram came stating that peace

was declared. This inspired the people of England with confidence in our final success. This occurred just before the Crystal Palace burned down, and we had a meeting in the Crystal Palace to celebrate the great triumph of having received and sent messages across the ocean. Our triumph was short-lived, for it was only a few days after that the cable had so weakened in transmitting that it could no longer be understood. One-half the people did not now believe that we had ever had any messages across the cable. It was all a humbug, they thought. In the Chamber of Commerce the question came up about a telegraph line, and a man got up and said: "It is all a humbug. No message ever came over." At that Mr. Cunard arose, and said that "the gentleman did not know what he was talking about, and had no right to say what he had, and that he himself had sent messages and got the answers." Mr. Cunard was a positive witness; he had been on the spot; and the man must have felt "slim" at the result of his attempt to cast ridicule on men whose efforts, if unsuccessful, were at least not unworthy of praise.

We succeeded in getting another cable, but, when we had got it about half-way over, we lost that as well. Then the question seemed hopeless. We thought for a long time that our money was all lost. The matter rested some two years before anything more was done. My friend Mr. Wilson G. Hunt used to talk to me often about it; for we had brought him into the Board some two or three years before. He said he did not feel much interest in it, but he felt concerned about spending so much money; and he remarked that he was not sure, as we had spent so much money already about the telegraph line, but that we had better spend a little more. So we sent Mr. Field out again. We had spent so much money already, it was "like pulling teeth" out of Roberts and Taylor to get more money from them; but we got up the sum necessary to send Mr. Field out.

When he arrived there, Mr. Field said they laughed at him for thinking of getting up another cable. They said that they thought the thing was dead enough, and buried deep enough in the ocean to satisfy anybody. But Mr. Field was not satisfied. Finally, he got hold of an old Quaker friend, who was a very rich man, and he so completely electrified him with the idea of the work that he put three or four hundred thousand dollars into it immediately to lay another cable, and in fourteen days after Mr. Field had got that man's name he had the whole amount of subscriptions made up, six millions of dollars.

The cable was made and put down, and it worked successfully. We then went out to see if we could not pick up the other one. The balance of the lost cable was on board the ship. The cable was found, picked up, and joined to the rest; and this wonder of the world was accomplished. I do not think that feat is surpassed by any other human achievement. The cable was taken out of water, two and a half miles deep, in mid-ocean. It was pulled up three times, before it was saved. They got it up just far enough to see it, and it would go down again, and they would have to do the work over again. They used up all their coal, and spent ten or twelve days in "hooking" for the cable before it was finally caught. But they succeeded: the two ends of the cable were brought in connection, and then we had two complete cables across the ocean.

In taking up the first cable, the cause of the failure was discovered. It originated in the manufacture of the cable. In passing the cable into the vat provided for it, where it was intended to lie under water all the time, until put aboard the ship, the workmen neglected to keep the water at all times over the cable; and on one occasion, when the sun shone very hotly down into this vat where the cable was lying uncovered, its rays melted the gutta-percha, so that the copper wire inside sunk down against the outer covering. I have a piece of the cable which shows just how it occurred. The first cable that was laid would have been a perfect success if it had not been for that error in manufacturing it. The copper wire sagged down against the outside covering, and there was just a thin layer of gutta-percha to prevent it from coming in contact with the water. In building the first cables, their philosophy was not so well understood as it is now; and so, when the cable began to fail, they increased the power of the battery, and it is supposed that a spark of the electricity came in contact with water, and the electricity passed off into the water.

After the two ocean cables had been laid successfully, it was found necessary to have a second cable across the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Our delays had been so trying and unfortunate in the past that none of the stockholders, with the exception of Mr. Field, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Roberts, and myself, would take any interest in the matter. We had to get the money by offering bonds, which we had power to do by charter; and these were offered at fifty cents on the dollar. Mr. Field, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Taylor, and myself were compelled to take up the principal part

of the stock at that rate, in order to get the necessary funds. We had to do the business through the Bank of Newfoundland, and the bank would not trust the company, but drew personally on me. I told them to draw on the company, but they continued to draw on me, and I had to pay the drafts or let them go back protested. I was often out ten or twenty thousand dollars in advance, in that way, to keep the thing going. After the cable became a success, the stock rose to ninety dollars per share, at which figure we sold out to an English company. That proved to be the means of saving us from loss. The work was finished at last, and I never have regretted it, although it was a terrible time to go through.

ABRAM S. HEWITT'S SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT OF THE COOPER UNION, MAY 31, 1902.

For forty-three blessed years it has been my privilege to present on behalf of the Trustees, the report of the operations of the Cooper Union. I have never had the report read, but usually talked to the audience here assembled in a confidential sort of way, pointing out various matters which I thought might interest us as members of one family, all devoted to one great object,—the diffusion of knowledge through the Cooper Union. Usually I have had no difficulty in selecting the topic upon which I desired to talk. It was generally a statement that the income of the Institution was entirely inadequate to meet the demands made by the public for its privileges; that we wanted more money; that we wanted more room; that we wanted to get rid of the tenants; that we wanted more funds to pay more teachers, and to let in more of the public until every foot of space, from this floor where we are assembled to-night, right up to the roof, should be entirely devoted to the purpose for which Mr. Cooper designed it; namely, the free education of the masses of the people of the city of New York, who desired not only to be self-supporting, but to aid others in the course of time in getting an honest livelihood.

The greater part of these forty-three years this appeal seemed to fall upon deaf ears. Very few persons gave us anything, and although the amounts, when they were given, were perhaps considerable in themselves, yet they were totally inadequate to carry out the plans which we had in view. In other words, my task was like the wail of Jeremiah, and I confess that I did not expect to live to see accomplished the great object which the Trustees had in view—of freeing this Institution from its secular uses and devoting it entirely to educational purposes. But we have struck what my young friend, the valedictorian, calls a volcano, and we have done what I think he

will find it rather difficult to do with his volcano. Ours is a financial volcano, and we have appropriated what was discharged with a facility and a success that we think thoroughly commendable.

If you had at hand a report of last year, you would find that our endowment fund then amounted to nine hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars. By the report which the Treasurer has just presented to you, our endowment fund now amounts to two million one hundred and thirteen thousand, three hundred and fifty dollars and thirty cents, being an increase during the year, in round numbers, of twelve hundred thousand dollars. I really do not want to take up your time, but this is such an extraordinary event, and the results of it are so far-reaching, that I think I will have to ask your indulgence while I go into a little history of the Cooper Union. Mr. Cooper was a poor boy, born of good Revolutionary stock, but, like most of the patriots of that time, he had a good deal more patriotism than money. He began life as an apprentice. There were no schools in New York in those days,—no night schools. He was very anxious to get on, but there was no place where he could obtain an education. He had no money with which to pay a teacher. So he had to get what knowledge he could get by himself, and, as I have often heard him say, by the light of the single tallow candle which his means made him able to get; and that every night he passed his time trying to acquire some knowledge which would be of use to him in the battle of life. This made a great impression on him, and he determined that the reproach of New York, of its lack of means for free education, should be removed

This occurred about the beginning of the last century, in 1804 or 1805, and he set himself to work, alone, without friends, without suggestions from any quarter, to get money enough together to open what he called a night school, for at that time there was not a single free night school in New York City. This was the purpose of his life. He never lost sight of it; and I will tell you this—I tell these young men and women here this story particularly in order that they may see how a noble purpose formed by even the most friendless boy may result in course of time in great benefits to society. And so he pursued his course. He was, of course, a man of great natural ability and great strength of character. I have often heard him say that the first thing a young man should do was to save a little money; that no man could succeed in life who did not begin by saving; and that when a man had saved a little money and had acquired some property he was pretty sure then to make a good citizen. So, in the institution which he proposed to found, he never lost sight of the fact that he wanted to inculcate thrift; he wanted to teach industry; he wanted the lesson of saving to be learned; and he left the rest to the conscience of the good citizens he knew would be produced by such lessons. And, as he provided for the kind of education which these young gentlemen have had, he said that of all the things to be taught in the Cooper Union the pre-eminent one must be the art—the science, as he called it—of

good government. He did not mean by this merely the teachings of political economy or political science, but an inculcation of the principle that men "shall do unto each other as they would have others do unto them."

The time came when he had accumulated money enough to begin to build a building. His original idea of a night school was of a rather moderate character, but it very soon enlarged itself until at last, having selected this site, on which he had carried on business for some years, he was able to buy the whole block, and he proceeded to erect this building. He knew, when he undertook this task, that his means would not suffice for more than the erection of the building, and he was determined not to incur any debts. When he called the Trustees together to receive the property at his hands, he said to them: "Here is this building. I want it appropriated as soon as possible to the education of the young men and young women of New York City, and appropriated to *free* education. There must be no fee paid in the Cooper Union, for education ought to be as free as air and water." He said: "I have given practically all the property that I can control to build this building, and here is thirty thousand dollars more which I have left over, with which you can furnish the apparatus required, and for carrying on the work of instruction. I have called this building the Union for the Advancement of Science and Art. Against my wishes and against my will the legislature have, unfortunately, attached to it the name of Cooper. I did not want my name attached to the Union. I wanted this to be a union of all well-disposed people in New York who are willing to contribute to carry out the work of free education in the building I have created. But," he said, "the use of this name will inevitably, to some extent, interfere with my views for that purpose, and hence you will have to rent as much as is necessary of this building in order to maintain the classes and the reading-room."

Under those circumstances, forty-three years ago, the Trustees entered upon their task. From the very outset the demands upon the institution for admission to it were far greater than the income which they could possibly derive from the rented portions of the building. Hence the great object of these Trustees was to secure an endowment fund; and Mr. Cooper before his death was able to provide two hundred thousand dollars, the income from which he thought would be able to pay the running expenses of the building and keep it in order, but would not, of course, pay the expenses of instruction. He said to the Trustees, "I hope, before you die, the day will come when some one will give money enough to free this institution from the encumbrance of tenants, and devote it entirely to the work of free education."

Up to the time of his death very little money had been contributed; but soon after his death the family of his younger brother, Mr. William Cooper, who had obtained a fortune in connection with Mr. Cooper, gave in successive gifts, owing to the death of successive members of

the family, the sum of three hundred and forty thousand dollars. Those of you who have been in the institution for any length of time will remember that this happened about five years ago, and was immediately followed by the enlargement of the classes in the rooms in the two floors above this. That was the first considerable sum of money the Trustees had received, and it did not come until thirty years after the building had been established. In giving an account of this transaction in the report of that year, it was mentioned that this sum would enable the extension of the work, but it was also stated that it was entirely inadequate to gain the great object which we all had in view, of ridding the building of tenants, and an appeal was made to the public to gain money, but none came.

But this appeal came to the notice of Mr. Carnegie, who was a great admirer of Mr. Cooper, and he has never tired of saying that Mr. Cooper's example had been of great help to him, and had given him great inspiration in the use of his money in advancing public education. He wrote to me that he wanted in some way to manifest his admiration for Mr. Cooper and his sympathy for our efforts in enlarging the institution. The amount he offered to give us was one hundred thousand dollars. In reply to this offer I mentioned to Mr. Carnegie that we were very glad to get it, and that it would be the beginning of a fund that would be sufficient in the course of time to keep the whole institution. He said in reply: "I did not understand the case. Let me give three hundred thousand dollars."

"Yes," I replied, "three hundred thousand dollars, with three hundred thousand dollars more added to it, will enable us to begin to take possession of the greater part of the building,—of all the building except the stores,—and to widen the scope of the scheme of education."

Later Mr. Carnegie offered to give three hundred thousand dollars more And this reminds me of President Lincoln during the war times, when he was always asking for three hundred thousand more. It had previously been arranged by Mr. Peter Cooper's descendants that a trust fund of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars created by him for the benefit of his grandchildren, and the residuary interest of his children of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in the property subject to the trust, should come to the institution on the deaths of the members of the family as they occurred. It was now arranged that the whole property should be transferred to the institution at once to meet Mr. Carnegie's gifts, so that in the month of January last between this six hundred thousand dollars and Mr. Carnegie's two gifts of three hundred thousand dollars each there was an increase in the amount of the endowment fund of twelve hundred thousand dollars over what it was before Mr. Carnegie gave his first three hundred thousand.

On the strength of this gift I thought I saw the way clear to notify the tenants to quit the stores, and most of them have moved out, all but two, who have leases which will not be terminated until next year.

We shall then have possession of the floor above, and practically the whole floor will be made into a great physical laboratory.

But this would not be sufficient. The scale on which the operation of the institution was to be carried on would require another sum of money, and I was speculating in my own mind where the next three hundred thousand dollars would come from. You can imagine my astonishment at what followed. A gentleman whom I have long known —a gentleman who had never manifested any special interest in the Cooper Union—called at my house, and after chatting pleasantly on various subjects, and after having had a little cup of tea with me, as he was just going away, he said, "By the way, I have got something for you, a little gift for Cooper Union"; and to my intense astonishment he handed me two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. I confess that I have not recovered. I cannot realize it, that for forty odd years we have been struggling with this problem, with a sort of vague hope that in some way or other the answer would come from some quarter or other,—I cannot realize that it has been answered. There was an arrangement which Mr. Edward Cooper and I had made with our respective families by which we knew that ultimately six hundred thousand dollars would come to the institution, so as to at least replace the rents which would be lost. But we had gone on for forty years considering this matter, and every trustee doing what he could to make the position more tolerable. Let me say that three of us of the original trustees, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Parsons, and myself, are still living. There were originally five trustees, and three of them are still alive. To them he gave this charge, that they should see to it, if they could, that this institution should be made free from every occupation except that of the distribution of knowledge. Mr. Parsons is not here to-night. For forty odd years he has gratuitously attended to all the legal business of this institution, and that in itself is no small undertaking. And besides this he has contributed to the endowment fund, he has given twenty thousand dollars to the endowment fund in order to manifest his interest in the institution.

And here we are, with an income of not less than ninety thousand dollars, possibly it may amount to a hundred thousand dollars, sufficient to pay the expenses of this institution according to the original plans of Mr. Cooper, made nearly a hundred years ago; yes, quite a hundred years ago, when he was a poor boy, working as an apprentice, and followed during his long lifetime of ninety-three years; followed by his children since his death, and prior to his death for forty years, and before his immediate family has passed away this great undertaking had been accomplished.

Now, young gentlemen, I want you to see and to learn that a noble resolution, once formed and resolutely adhered to from generation to generation, will ultimately work out its destiny and secure its triumph. That is the great moral lesson which this institution has taught, and, while I do not underestimate the value of the technical and scientific

instruction which has been given by this institution, let me say that the moral lesson afforded by the Cooper Union in the story as I have told it to you,—the moral lesson is one of the greatest I have ever known, or ever expect to know, in the history of man.

You may ask me if the days of miracles have really passed; for this seems like some miracle, that the Cooper Union should have achieved this result. I will tell you how it was expected to be achieved. Mr. Cooper said that of course in the course of a hundred years there would be a great many graduates of the institution, alumni. "The day will come," he said, "when they, these graduates, will rally around this institution, and, if the plans I have formed can be executed in no other way, they will see that my plans are executed." Now in forty years I have been waiting for these alumni, but they did not pan out. But in many respects this has been a very remarkable year, for about two months ago I received a letter from Mr. Elmer E. Garnsey, in which he says:—

I thank you for your kind letter of the 4th inst., and for your approval of my suggestion, made through Mr. R. Swain Gifford. I shall take an early opportunity of arranging with him to accept your very courteous invitation to meet, at your house, the ladies who have founded the Museum of Decorative Art; and later I shall be glad to revisit the Night Classes in Art, and to report to the Trustees anything that may occur to me, worthy their consideration. I am glad that my little contribution may be kept separate from the general funds of the Union, and the foundation may bear my name or not, as you may consider wise and proper. My whole desire is to express in some degree my appreciation of what Cooper Union and its great founder have done for me, in a manner that shall have the approval of those who have so splendidly carried on the work begun by Peter Cooper, and at the same time be of benefit to those who are studying and working to improve themselves, in their leisure hours. For the establishment of the fund, I enclose, to your order, my cheque for one thousand dollars.

I read that letter because it is the first contribution in money we have ever received from an alumnus. Then a few days ago—it was received too late to put in this year's report—I got this letter from Mr. John F. O'Rourke:—

Dear Sir,— It gives me great happiness to enclose you herewith check for $5,000 to be used by the Board of Trustees as they deem best. The education which I received at Cooper Union fitted me for the practice of civil engineering in such a thorough and practical manner that it was my good fortune to occupy positions of responsibility at an earlier age than I have known graduates of other technical schools to attain, with the result that I can make this contribution now, anticipating to further aid my Alma Mater in a far greater degree some time in the not very distant future.

Mr. O'Rourke stands to-day at the head of the constructive engineers in the United States. His success has been phenomenal. He is the

inventor of the system which is used in all the sky-scrapers, these tall buildings, of placing the foundations on pneumatic caissons. Every one of these buildings has to use Mr. O'Rourke's system, and he tells me that for every foundation which he puts in in the future he expects to make a further contribution to the Cooper Union.

They say that misfortunes never come singly, but in our case I am very glad to say that good fortune never comes alone. I received a letter from the town of Krakow in Poland some weeks ago, announcing that a Mr. Felix Kucielski had died and left the sum of five thousand dollars to the Cooper Union. I did not attach much importance to it until I got a notice from the Austrian consul in New York that there were five thousand dollars awaiting us in Krakow, Poland, which we could get as soon as we sent the proper vouchers and identifications for its collection. I suppose that this gentleman must at some time have been in New York and have had some knowledge of the Cooper Union, for I cannot imagine how any one away off in Poland could make such an endowment unless that had been the case.

Young gentlemen, wherever you may go, wherever your work may take you, whether to Kamtschatka or to Martinique, I want you to remember that Cooper Union is quite ready to receive contributions from every habitable part of the world.

Now a word or two more. I may be saying so much on account of your applause. I have not always had so much applause given me in the course of my lifetime. They say, "Old men dream dreams." Well, Dr. Slicer says that it is the young men who dream. And the dream that I dreamed forty years or more ago has to-night come true. "Old men see visions." I think I am right, but it may be that I have reversed the Scriptures. I am an old man, and I see a vision of the future. The Cooper Union is now complete. It is a finished institution, although, as a matter of course, we can spend a great deal more money when it is sent to us. But it can run from this day forward on the resources which it has acquired. But I should be sorry to see that the Cooper Union was going to stop with this building or the work it is doing here. The work which we have undertaken to do is to teach the scientific principles which underlie the arts of the country. We never undertook to teach the trades. We never intend to teach what are known as the constructive trades. But there are established in Germany, England, and, to some extent, in France, industries which are not extensively carried on in the United States, although we have the richest country in the world. These trades are what are known as the handicrafts. They deal with the application of the arts to the finer classes of constructive work and materials, the textiles, gold, silver, and the metals, the manufacture of instruments of precision, and a high order of mechanical work. Work of this class we chiefly import, as a rule, for not many Americans are art workers of that kind. To carry out this work, we require a good deal of money and a good deal of space. That is the second chapter in the history of the Cooper

Union. The present Trustees have no hope of being able to execute this object in their lifetime. They but look forward to these handicrafts. In Paris at the present time there are ninety schools which are giving instruction in art industry.

Now we have located in this neighborhood the armory of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, which is soon to be vacated. This armory belongs to the city, and if the city would turn it over to us after it is vacated, for the establishment of these classes of handicraft work, I am very sure, from what I now know, that I can secure an endowment sufficient to carry on the work. This would cost the city nothing, and there would be no burden on the city for keeping it up. The city would merely appropriate the armory for the work in the same way that they have appropriated land and buildings for the establishment of the Museum of Art and the Museum of Natural History.

By the time our new laboratory is done, the Astor Library will be vacant. The building in itself is of no value except as a library, and we need it for a library. It is admirably designed for this purpose, and is admirably located for the extension of the work of this institution, and in proximity to this building, where the work of administration would have to be carried on. The most economical use to which it could be put would be to turn it over to Cooper Union, as otherwise it would be of no value except for the value of the land. Now I hope it will enter into the heart of some one, after I am dead and gone,—though I do not object if they do it while I am alive,—to add to the Cooper Union one or both of these great buildings for the extension of the work we are carrying on here. We could then remove our reading-room and library to the Astor Library, and that space could be devoted to the Art Museum, which I think is getting to be one of the most instructive additions to the education of New York.

If Dr. Slicer had not told me it is the old men who have visions, I should think that I was a young man. Perhaps it was after all not a mistake, but a twist of the tongue. I am in my eightieth year. I am seeing visions because I am so much younger than some of less years than are mine, because I am still young and fresh. If so, I shall be quite glad to live to see any extensions to the Cooper Union which may be possible. In conclusion let me again quote the Scriptures, and say, for the Trustees, that we have "fought the good fight. We have finished our course with joy." And for myself, since I have got in the quotation line, I think I am quite prepared to say, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

The account of Peter Cooper's early life printed in the present leaflet is described by Professor J. C. Zachos of the Cooper Union, who prepared it for publication, as an "autobiography written by another." It is the record of conversations by Mr. Cooper upon his early life, and was prefixed to a collection of "The Political and Financial Opinions of Peter Cooper," published by Professor Zachos in 1877. What Professor Zachos properly calls the "crowning glory" of Mr. Cooper s life, the Cooper Union, is hardly mentioned in the autobiography. The speech by Abram S. Hewett in 1902, here appended to the autobiography, tells the story of the founding of the Union and of the remarkable series of gifts by which in recent years its work and influence have been so largely expanded. This speech was made by Mr. Hewett in his eightieth year, the year before his death. Mr. Cooper's son-in-law and associate in business, and one of the trustees of the Cooper Union for more than forty years, no other understood so well as Mr. Hewett its history and its founder's purposes. The Union was incorporated and the building (begun in 1854) completed, at a cost of $634,000, in 1859, in the centre of the industrial and trading population of New York. In an address to the graduating class in 1864, Mr. Cooper spoke as follows of the idea which prompted the founding of the Union:

"It happened more than thirty years ago that I was elected a member of the Common Council of this city. At that time I became acquainted with a gentleman who had then lately returned from France. That gentleman informed me that while he was in Paris he had attended the free Polytechnic school provided by the government. He spoke in glowing terms of the great advantage he had received from the consummate ability of the teachers and the perfect appliances used for illustration. What interested me most deeply was the fact that hundreds of young men were there from all parts of France, living on a bare crust of bread a day to get the benefit of those lectures. Feeling then, as I always have, my own want of education, and more especially my want of scientific knowledge as applicable to the various callings in which I had been engaged, it was this want of my own, which I felt so keenly, that led me, in deep sympathy for those whom I knew would be subject to the same wants and inconvenience that I had encountered,—it was this feeling which led me to provide an institution where a course of instruction would be open and free to all who felt a want of scientific knowledge, as applicable to any of the useful purposes of life. Having started in life with naked hands and an honest purpose, I persevered through long years of trial and effort to obtain the means to erect this building, which is now entirely devoted, with all its rents and revenue of every name and nature, to the advancement of science and art."

There is a biography of Peter Cooper by Rossiter W. Raymond, who knew him well; and in its chapters Mr. Cooper's active interests in municipal affairs and national politics, as well as in business, invention, education and philanthropy, are clearly set forth. Various pamphlets and addresses by Mr. Cooper upon slavery, currency problems and other public issues were published during his lifetime. In 1876 he was the nominee of the Greenback party for the presidency. He died in 1883. His funeral was an almost unexampled manifestation of public love and veneration. In the great multitude which passed through All Souls' Church, where his body lay, were 3,500 students of the Cooper Union, who cast flowers upon the coffin. See "Recollections of Peter Cooper," by Susan N. Carter, in the Century Magazine, December, 1883, and other magazine articles.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 148.

Memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts 1843

By DOROTHEA L. DIX.

Gentlemen,—I respectfully ask to present this Memorial, believing that the *cause*, which actuates to and sanctions so unusual a movement, presents no equivocal claim to public consideration and sympathy. Surrendering to calm and deep convictions of duty my habitual views of what is womanly and becoming, I proceed briefly to explain what has conducted me before you unsolicited and unsustained, trusting, while I do so, that the memorialist will be speedily forgotten in the memorial.

About two years since leisure afforded opportunity and duty prompted me to visit several prisons and almshouses in the vicinity of this metropolis. I found, near Boston, in the jails and asylums for the poor, a numerous class brought into unsuitable connection with criminals and the general mass of paupers. I refer to idiots and insane persons, dwelling in circumstances not only adverse to their own physical and moral improvement, but productive of extreme disadvantages to all other persons brought into association with them. I applied myself diligently to trace the causes of these evils, and sought to supply remedies. As one obstacle was surmounted, fresh difficulties appeared. Every new investigation has given depth to the conviction that it is only by decided, prompt, and vigorous legislation the evils to which I refer, and which I shall proceed more fully to illustrate, can be remedied. I shall be obliged to speak with great plainness, and to reveal many things revolting to the taste, and from

which my woman's nature shrinks with peculiar sensitiveness. But truth is the highest consideration. *I tell what I have seen*—painful and shocking as the details often are—that from them you may feel more deeply the imperative obligation which lies upon you to prevent the possibility of a repetition or continuance of such outrages upon humanity. If I inflict pain upon you, and move you to horror, it is to acquaint you with sufferings which you have the power to alleviate, and make you hasten to the relief of the victims of legalized barbarity.

I come to present the strong claims of suffering humanity. I come to place before the Legislature of Massachusetts the condition of the miserable, the desolate, the outcast. I come as the advocate of helpless, forgotten, insane, and idiotic men and women; of beings sunk to a condition from which the most unconcerned would start with real horror; of beings wretched in our prisons, and more wretched in our almshouses. And I cannot suppose it needful to employ earnest persuasion, or stubborn argument, in order to arrest and fix attention upon a subject only the more strongly pressing in its claims because it is revolting and disgusting in its details.

I must confine myself to few examples, but am ready to furnish other and more complete details, if required. If my pictures are displeasing, coarse, and severe, my subjects, it must be recollected, offer no tranquil, refined, or composing features. The condition of human beings, reduced to the extremest states of degradation and misery, cannot be exhibited in softened language, or adorn a polished page.

I proceed, gentlemen, briefly to call your attention to the *present* state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth, in *cages*, *closets*, *cellars*, *stalls*, *pens! Chained*, *naked*, *beaten with rods*, and *lashed* into obedience.

As I state cold, severe *facts*, I feel obliged to refer to persons, and definitely to indicate localities. But it is upon my subject, not upon localities or individuals, I desire to fix attention; and I would speak as kindly as possible of all wardens, keepers, and other responsible officers, believing that *most* of these have erred not through hardness of heart and wilful cruelty so much as want of skill and knowledge, and want of consideration. Familiarity with suffering, it is said, blunts the sensibilities, and where neglect once finds a footing other injuries are multiplied. This is not all, for it may justly and strongly be added that, from the deficiency of adequate means to meet the wants of

these cases, it has been an absolute impossibility to do justice in this matter. Prisons are not constructed in view of being converted into county hospitals, and almshouses are not founded as receptacles for the insane. And yet, in the face of justice and common sense, wardens are by law compelled to receive, and the masters of almshouses not to refuse, insane and idiotic subjects in all stages of mental disease and privation.

It is the Commonwealth, not its integral parts, that is accountable for most of the abuses which have lately and do still exist. I repeat it, it is defective legislation which perpetuates and multiplies these abuses. In illustration of my subject, I offer the following extracts from my Note-book and Journal:—

Springfield. In the jail, one lunatic woman, furiously mad, a State pauper, improperly situated, both in regard to the prisoners, the keepers, and herself. It is a case of extreme self-forgetfulness and oblivion to all the decencies of life, to describe which would be to repeat only the grossest scenes. She is much worse since leaving Worcester. In the almshouse of the same town is a woman apparently only needing judicious care, and some well-chosen employment, to make it unnecessary to confine her in solitude, in a dreary unfurnished room. Her appeals for employment and companionship are most touching, but the mistress replied "she had no time to attend to her."

Northampton. In the jail, quite lately, was a young man violently mad, who had not, as I was informed at the prison, come under medical care, and not been returned from any hospital. In the almshouse the cases of insanity are now unmarked by abuse, and afford evidence of judicious care by the keepers.

Williamsburg. The almshouse has several insane, not under suitable treatment. No apparent intentional abuse.

Rutland. Appearance and report of the insane in the almshouse not satisfactory.

Sterling. A terrible case; manageable in a hospital; at present as well controlled perhaps as circumstances in a case so extreme allow. An almshouse, but wholly wrong in relation to the poor crazy woman, to the paupers generally, and to her keepers.

Burlington. A woman, declared to be very insane; decent room and bed; but not allowed to rise oftener, the mistress said, "than every other day: it is too much trouble."

Concord. A woman from the hospital in a cage in the almshouse. In the jail several, decently cared for in general, but

not properly placed in a prison. Violent, noisy, unmanageable most of the time.

Lincoln. A woman in a cage. *Medford.* One idiotic subject chained, and one in a close stall for seventeen years. *Pepperell.* One often doubly chained, hand and foot; another violent; several peaceable now. *Brookfield.* One man caged, comfortable. *Granville.* One often closely confined; now losing the use of his limbs from want of exercise. *Charlemont.* One man caged. *Savoy.* One man caged. *Lenox.* Two in the jail, against whose unfit condition there the jailer protests.

Dedham. The insane disadvantageously placed in the jail. In the almshouse, two females in stalls, situated in the main building; lie in wooden bunks filled with straw; always shut up. One of these subjects is supposed curable. The overseers of the poor have declined giving her a trial at the hospital, as I was informed, on account of expense.

Franklin. One man chained; decent. *Taunton.* One woman caged. *Plymouth.* One man stall-caged, from Worcester Hospital. *Scituate.* One man and one woman stall-caged. *West Bridgewater.* Three idiots. Never removed from one room. *Barnstable.* Four females in pens and stalls. Two chained certainly. I think all. Jail, one idiot. *Wellfleet.* Three insane. One man and one woman chained, the latter in a bad condition. *Brewster.* One woman violently mad, solitary. Could not see her, the master and mistress being absent, and the paupers in charge having strict orders to admit no one. *Rochester.* Seven insane; at present none caged. *Milford.* Two insane, not now caged. *Cohasset.* One idiot, one insane; most miserable condition. *Plympton.* One insane, three idiots; condition wretched.

Besides the above, I have seen many who, part of the year, are chained or caged. The use of cages all but universal. Hardly a town but can refer to some not distant period of using them; chains are less common; negligences frequent; wilful abuse less frequent than sufferings proceeding from ignorance, or want of consideration. I encountered during the last three months many poor creatures wandering reckless and unprotected through the country. Innumerable accounts have been sent me of persons who had roved away unwatched and unsearched after; and I have heard that responsible persons, controlling the almshouses, have not thought themselves culpable in sending away from their shelter, to cast upon the chances of remote relief,

insane men and women. These, left on the highways, unfriended and incompetent to control or direct their own movements, sometimes have found refuge in the hospital, and others have not been traced. But I cannot particularize. In traversing the State, I have found hundreds of insane persons in every variety of circumstance and condition, many whose situation could not and need not be improved; a less number, but that very large, whose lives are the saddest pictures of human suffering and degradation. I give a few illustrations; but description fades before reality.

Danvers. November. Visited the almshouse. A large building, much out of repair. Understand a new one is in contemplation. Here are from fifty-six to sixty inmates, one idiotic, three insane; one of the latter in close confinement at all times.

Long before reaching the house, wild shouts, snatches of rude songs, imprecations and obscene language, fell upon the ear, proceeding from the occupant of a low building, rather remote from the principal building to which my course was directed. Found the mistress, and was conducted to the place which was called "*the home*" of the *forlorn* maniac, a young woman, exhibiting a condition of neglect and misery blotting out the faintest idea of comfort, and outraging every sentiment of decency. She had been, I learnt, "a respectable person, industrious and worthy. Disappointments and trials shook her mind, and, finally, laid prostrate reason and self-control. She became a maniac for life. She had been at Worcester Hospital for a considerable time, and had been returned as incurable." The mistress told me she understood that, "while there, she was comfortable and decent." Alas, what a change was here exhibited! She had passed from one degree of violence to another, in swift progress. There she stood, clinging to or beating upon the bars of her caged apartment, the contracted size of which afforded space only for increasing accumulations of filth, a *foul* spectacle. There she stood with naked arms and dishevelled hair, the unwashed frame invested with fragments of unclean garments, the air so extremely offensive, though ventilation was afforded on all sides save one, that it was not possible to remain beyond a few moments without retreating for recovery to the outward air. Irritation of body, produced by utter filth and exposure, incited her to the horrid process of tearing off her skin by inches. Her face, neck, and person were thus disfigured to hideousness. She held up a fragment just

rent off. To my exclamation of horror, the mistress replied: "Oh, we can't help it. Half the skin is off sometimes. We can do nothing with her; and it makes no difference what she eats, for she consumes her own filth as readily as the food which is brought her."

It is now January. A fortnight since two visitors reported that most wretched outcast as "wallowing in dirty straw, in a place yet more dirty, and without clothing, without fire. Worse cared for than the brutes, and wholly lost to consciousness of decency." Is the whole story told? What was seen is: what is reported is not. These gross exposures are not for the pained sight of one alone. All, all, coarse, brutal men, wondering, neglected children, old and young, each and all, witness this lowest, foulest state of miserable humanity. And who protects her, that worse than Pariah outcast, from other wrongs and blacker outrages? I do not *know* that such *have been*. I do know that they are to be dreaded, and that they are not guarded against.

Some may say these things cannot be remedied, these furious maniacs are not to be raised from these base conditions. I *know* they are. Could give *many* examples. Let *one* suffice. A young woman, a pauper, in a distant town, Sandisfield, was for years a raging maniac. A cage, chains, and *the whip* were the agents for controlling her, united with harsh tones and profane language. Annually, with others (the town's poor), she was put up at auction, and bid off at the lowest price which was declared for her. One year, not long past, an old man came forward in the number of applicants for the poor wretch. He was taunted and ridiculed. "What would he and his old wife do with such a mere beast?" "My wife says yes," replied he, "and I shall take her." She was given to his charge. He conveyed her home. She was washed, neatly dressed, and placed in a decent bedroom, furnished for comfort and opening into the kitchen. How altered her condition! As yet *the chains* were not off. The first week she was somewhat restless, at times violent, but the quiet, kind ways of the old people wrought a change. She received her food decently, forsook acts of violence, and no longer uttered blasphemies or indecent language. After a week the chain was lengthened, and she was received as a companion into the kitchen. Soon she engaged in trivial employments. "After a fortnight," said the old man, "I knocked off the chains and made her a free woman." She is at times excited, but not violently. They are careful of her diet. They

keep her very clean. She calls them "father" and "mother." Go there now, and you will find her "clothed," and, though not perfectly in her "right mind," so far restored as to be a safe and comfortable inmate.

Newburyport. Visited the almshouse in June last. Eighty inmates. Seven insane, one idiotic. Commodious and neat house. Several of the partially insane apparently very comfortable. Two very improperly situated; namely, an insane man, not considered incurable, in an out-building, whose room opened upon what was called "the dead room," affording, in lieu of companionship with the living, a contemplation of corpses. The other subject was a woman in a *cellar.* I desired to see her. Much reluctance was shown. I pressed the request. The master of the house stated that she was *in the cellar;* that she was *dangerous to be approached;* that she had lately attacked his wife, and *was often naked.* I persisted, "If you will not go with me, give me the keys and I will go alone." Thus importuned, the outer doors were opened. I descended the stairs from within. A strange, unnatural noise seemed to proceed from beneath our feet. At the moment I did not much regard it. My conductor proceeded to remove a padlock, while my eye explored the wide space in quest of the poor woman. All for a moment was still. But judge my horror and amazement, when a door to a closet *beneath* the *staircase* was opened, revealing in the imperfect light a female apparently wasted to a skeleton, partially wrapped in blankets, furnished for the narrow bed on which she was sitting. Her countenance furrowed, not by age, but suffering, was the image of distress. In that contracted space, unlighted, unventilated, she poured forth the wailings of despair. Mournfully she extended her arms and appealed to me: "Why am I consigned to hell? dark—dark—I used to pray, I used to read the Bible—I have done no crime in my heart. I had friends. Why have all forsaken me!—my God, my God, why hast *thou* forsaken me!" Those groans, those wailings, come up daily, mingling with how many others, a perpetual and sad memorial. When the good Lord shall require an account of our stewardship, what shall all and each answer?

Perhaps it will be inquired how long, how many days or hours, was she imprisoned in these confined limits? *For years!* In another part of the cellar were other small closets, only better, because higher through the entire length, into one of which she

by turns was transferred, so as to afford opportunity for fresh whitewashing, etc.

Saugus. December 24. Thermometer below zero; drove to the poorhouse; was conducted to the master's family-room by himself; walls garnished with handcuffs and chains, not less than five pairs of the former; did not inquire how or on whom applied; thirteen pauper inmates; one insane man; one woman insane; one idiotic man; asked to see them; the two men were shortly led in; appeared pretty decent and comfortable. Requested to see the other insane subject; was denied decidedly; urged the request, and finally secured a reluctant assent. Was led through an outer passage into a lower room, occupied by the paupers; crowded; not neat; ascended a rather low flight of stairs upon an open entry, through the floor of which was introduced a stove-pipe, carried along a *few feet*, about six inches above the floor, through which it was reconveyed below. From this entry opens a room of moderate size, having a sashed window; floor, I think, painted; apartment *entirely* unfurnished; no chair, table, nor bed; neither, what is seldom missing, a bundle of straw or lock of hay; cold, very cold; the first movement of my conductor was to throw open a window, a measure imperatively necessary for those who entered. *On the floor* sat a woman, her limbs immovably contracted, so that the knees were brought upward to the chin; the face was concealed; the head rested on the folded arms. For clothing she appeared to have been furnished with *fragments* of many discharged garments. These were folded about her, yet they little benefited her, if one might judge by the constant shuddering which almost convulsed her poor crippled frame. Woful was this scene. Language is feeble to record the misery she was suffering and had suffered. In reply to my inquiry if she could not change her position, I was answered by the master in the negative, and told that the contraction of limbs was occasioned by "neglect and exposure in former years," but *since she had been crazy*, and before she fell under the charge, as I inferred, of her present *guardians*. Poor wretch! she, like many others, was an example of what humanity becomes when the temple of reason falls in ruins, leaving the mortal part to injury and neglect, and showing how much can be endured of privation, exposure, and disease without extinguishing the lamp of life.

Passing out, the man pointed to a something, revealed to more than one sense, which he called "her bed; and we throw

some blankets over her at night." Possibly this is done; others, like myself, might be pardoned a doubt if they could have seen all I saw and heard abroad all I heard. The *bed*, so called, was about *three* feet long, and from a half to three-quarters of a yard wide; of old ticking or tow cloth was the case; the contents might have been a *full handful* of hay or straw. My attendant's exclamations on my leaving the house were emphatic, and can hardly be repeated.

The above case recalls another of equal neglect or abuse. Asking my way to the almshouse in Berkeley, which had been repeatedly spoken of as greatly neglected, I was answered as to the direction, and informed that there were "plenty of insane people and idiots there." "Well taken care of?" "Oh, well enough for such sort of creatures!" "Any violently insane?" "Yes, my sister's son is there,—a real tiger. I kept him here at my house awhile, but it was too much trouble to go on: so I carried him there." "Is he comfortably provided for?" "Well enough." "Has he decent clothes?" "Good enough; wouldn't wear them if he had more." "Food?" "Good enough; good enough for him." "One more question,—has he the comfort of a fire?" "Fire! fire, indeed! what does a crazy man need of fire? Red-hot iron wants fire as much as he!" And such are sincerely the ideas of not a few persons in regard to the actual wants of the insane. Less regarded than the lowest brutes. No wonder they sink even lower.

Ipswich. Have visited the prison three several times; visited the almshouse once. In the latter are several cases of insanity; three especially distressing, situated in a miserable outbuilding, detached from the family-house, and confined in stalls or pens; three individuals, one of whom is apparently very insensible to the deplorable circumstances which surround him, and perhaps not likely to comprehend privations or benefits. Not so the person directly opposite to him, who looks up wildly, anxiously by turns, through those strong bars. Cheerless sight! strange companionship for the mind flitting and coming by turns to some perception of persons and things. He, too, is one of the returned incurables. His history is a sad one. I have not had all the particulars, but it shows distinctly what the most prosperous and affluent may come to be. I understand his connections are excellent and respectable; his natural abilities in youth were superior. He removed from Essex County to Albany, and was established there as the editor of a popular newspaper. In

course of time he was chosen a senator for that section of the State, and of course was [?] a judge in the Court of Errors.

Vicissitudes followed, and insanity closed the scene. He was conveyed to Worcester, after a considerable period, either to give place to some new patient or because the county objected to the continued expense, he, being declared incurable, was removed to Salem jail, thence to Ipswich jail; associated with the prisoners there, partaking the same food, and clad in like apparel. After a time the town complained of the expense of keeping him in jail. It was cheaper in the almshouse. To the almshouse he was conveyed, and there perhaps must abide. How sad a fate! I found him in a quiet state, though at times was told that he is greatly excited. What wonder, with such a companion before him, such cruel scenes within! I perceived in him some little confusion as I paused before the stall against the bars of which he was leaning. He was not so lost to propriety but that a little disorder of the bed-clothes, etc., embarrassed him. I passed on, but he asked, in a moment, earnestly, "Is the lady gone—gone quite away?" I returned. He gazed a moment without answering my inquiry if he wished to see me. "And have you, too, lost all your dear friends?" Perhaps my mourning apparel excited his inquiry. "Not all." "Have you any dear father and mother to love you?" and then he sighed and then laughed and traversed the limited stall. Immediately adjacent to this stall was one occupied by a *simple* girl, who was "put there to be out of harm's way." A cruel lot for this privation of a sound mind. A madman on the one hand, not so much separated as to secure decency; another almost opposite, and no screen. I do not know how it is argued that mad persons and idiots may be dealt with as if no spark of recollection ever lights up the mind. The observation and experience of those who have had charge of hospitals show opposite conclusions.

Violence and severity do but exasperate the insane: the only availing influence is kindness and firmness. It is amazing what these will produce. How many examples might illustrate this position! I refer to one recently exhibited in Barre. The town paupers are disposed of annually to some family who, for a stipulated sum, agree to take charge of them. One of them, a young woman, was shown to me well clothed, neat, quiet, and employed at needlework. Is it possible that this is the same being who, but last year, was a raving mad woman, exhibiting every degree of violence in action and speech; a very tigress

wrought to fury; caged, chained, beaten, loaded with injuries, and exhibiting the passions which an iron rule might be expected to stimulate and sustain. It is the same person. Another family hold her in charge who better understand human nature and human influences. She is no longer chained, caged, and beaten; but, if excited, a pair of mittens drawn over the hands secures from mischief. Where will she be next year after the annual sale?

It is not the insane subject alone who illustrates the power of the all-prevailing law of kindness. A poor idiotic young man, a year or two since, used to follow me at times through the prison as I was distributing books and papers. At first he appeared totally stupid, but cheerful expressions, a smile, a trifling gift, seemed gradually to light up the void temple of the intellect, and by slow degrees some faint images of thought passed before the mental vision. He would ask for books, though he could not read. I indulged his fancy, and he would appear to experience delight in examining them, and kept them with a singular care. If I read the Bible, he was reverently, wonderingly attentive; if I talked, he listened with a half-conscious aspect. One morning I passed more hurriedly than usual, and did not speak particularly to him. "Me, me, me a book." I returned. "Good morning, Jemmy: so you will have a book to-day? Well, keep it carefully." Suddenly turning aside, he took the bread brought for his breakfast, and, passing it with a hurried earnestness through the bars of his iron door, "Here's bread, ain't you hungry?" Never may I forget the tone and grateful affectionate aspect of that poor idiot. How much might we do to bring back or restore the mind if we but knew how to touch the instrument with a skilful hand!

My first visit to Ipswich prison was in March, 1842. The day was cold and stormy. The turnkey very obligingly conducted me through the various departments. Pausing before the iron door of a room in the jail, he said: "We have here a crazy man whose case seems hard; for he has sense enough to know he is in a prison and associated with prisoners. He was a physician in this county, and was educated at Cambridge, I believe. It was there or at one of the New England colleges. Should you like to see him?" I objected that it might be unwelcome to the sufferer, but, urged, went in. The apartment was very much out of order, neglected, and unclean. There was no fire. It had been forgotten amidst the press of other

duties. A man, a prisoner waiting trial, was sitting near a bed where the insane man lay, rolled in dirty blankets. The turnkey told him my name; and he broke forth into a most touching appeal that I would procure his liberation by prompt application to the highest State authorities. I soon retired, but communicated his condition to an official person before leaving the town, in the hope he might be rendered more comfortable. Shortly I received from this insane person, through my esteemed friend, Dr. Bell, several letters, from which I venture to make a few extracts. They are written from Ipswich, where is the general county receptacle for insane persons. I may remark that he has at different times been under skilful treatment, both at Charlestown and Worcester; but being, long since, pronounced incurable, and his property being expended, he became chargeable to the town or county, and was removed, first to Salem jail, thence to that at Ipswich by the desire of the high sheriff, who requested the commissioners to remove him to Ipswich as a more retired spot, where he would be less likely to cause disturbance. In his paroxysms of violence, his shouts and turbulence disturb a whole neighborhood. These still occur. I give the extracts literally: "Respected lady, since your heavenly visit my time has passed in perfect quietude, and for the last week I have been entirely alone. The room has been cleansed and whitewashed, and is now quite decent. I have read your books and papers with pleasure and profit, and retain them subject to your order. You say, in your note, others shall be sent if desired, and if any particular subject has interest it shall be procured. Your kindness is felt and highly appreciated," etc. In another letter he writes, "You express confidence that I have self-control and self-respect. I have, and, were I free and in good circumstances, could command as much as any man." In a third he says, "Your kind note, with more books and papers, were received on the 8th, and I immediately addressed to you letter superscribed to Dr. Bell; but, having discovered the letters on your seal, I suppose them the initials of your name, and now address you directly," etc.

The original letters may be seen. I have produced these extracts, and stated facts of personal history, in order that a judgment may be formed from few of many examples as to the justness of incarcerating lunatics in all and every stage of insanity, for an indefinite period or for life, in dreary prisons, and in connection with every class of criminals who may be lodged succes-

sively under the same roof, and in the same apartments. I have shown, from two examples, to what condition men may be brought, not through crime, but misfortune, and that misfortune embracing the heaviest calamity to which human nature is exposed. In the touching language of Scripture may these captives cry out: "Have pity upon me! Have pity upon me! for the hand of the Lord hath smitten me." "My kinsfolk have failed, and my own familiar friend hath forgotten me."

The last visit to the Ipswich prison was the third week in December. Twenty-two insane persons and idiots: general condition gradually improved within the last year. All suffer for want of air and exercise. The turnkey, while disposed to discharge kindly the duties of his office, is so crowded with business as to be positively unable to give any but the most general attention to the insane department. Some of the subjects are invariably confined in small dreary cells, insufficiently warmed and ventilated. Here one sees them traversing the narrow dens with ceaseless rapidity, or dashing from side to side like caged tigers, perfectly furious, through the invariable condition of unalleviated confinement. The case of one *simple* boy is peculiarly hard. Dec. 6, 1841, he was committed to the house of correction, East Cambridge, from Charlestown, as an *insane* or *idiotic* boy. He was unoffending, and competent to perform a variety of light labors under direction, and was often allowed a good deal of freedom in the open air. Sept. 6, 1842, he was directed to pull some weeds (which indulgence his harmless disposition permitted) without the prison walls, merely, I believe, for the sake of giving him a little employment. He escaped, it was thought, rather through sudden waywardness than any distinct purpose. From that time nothing was heard of him till in the latter part of December, while at Ipswich, in the common room, occupied by a portion of the lunatics not furiously mad, I heard some one say, "I know her, I know her," and with a joyous laugh John hastened toward me. "I'm so glad to see you, so glad to see you! I can't stay here long: I want to go out," etc. It seems he had wandered to Salem, and was committed as an insane or *idiot* boy. I cannot but assert that most of the idiotic subjects in the prisons in Massachusetts are unjustly committed, being wholly incapable of doing harm, and none manifesting any disposition either to injure others or to exercise mischievous propensities. I ask an investigation into this subject for the sake of many whose association with prisoners and

criminals, and also with persons in almost every stage of insanity, is as useless and unnecessary as it is cruel and ill-judged. If it were proper, I might place in your hands a volume, rather than give a page, illustrating these premises.

Sudbury. First week in September last I directed my way to the poor-farm there. Approaching, as I supposed, that place, all uncertainty vanished as to which, of several dwellings in view, the course should be directed. The terrible screams and imprecations, impure language and amazing blasphemies, of a maniac, now, as often heretofore, indicated the place sought after. I know not how to proceed The English language affords no combinations fit for describing the condition of the unhappy wretch there confined. In a stall, built under a woodshed on the road, was a naked man, defiled with filth, furiously tossing through the bars and about the cage portions of straw (the only furnishing of his prison) already trampled to chaff. The mass of filth within diffused wide abroad the most noisome stench. I have never witnessed paroxysms of madness so appalling: it seemed as if the ancient doctrine of the possession of demons was here illustrated. I hastened to the house overwhelmed with horror. The mistress informed me that ten days since he had been brought from Worcester Hospital, where the town did not choose any longer to meet the expenses of maintaining him; that he had been "dreadful noisy and dangerous to go near" ever since. It was hard work to give him food at any rate; for what was not immediately dashed at those who carried it was cast down upon the festering mass within. "He's a dreadful care; worse than all the people and work on the farm beside." "Have you any other insane persons?" "Yes: this man's sister has been crazy here for several years. She does nothing but take on about him; and maybe she'll grow as bad as he." I went into the adjoining room to see this unhappy creature. In a low chair, wearing an air of deepest despondence, sat a female no longer young; her hair fell uncombed upon her shoulders; her whole air revealed woe, unmitigated woe. She regarded me coldly and uneasily. I spoke a few words of sympathy and kindness. She fixed her gaze for a few moments steadily upon me, then grasping my hand, and bursting into a passionate flood of tears, repeatedly kissed it, exclaiming in a voice broken by sobs: "Oh, my poor brother, my poor brother. Hark, hear him, hear him!" then, relapsing into apathetic calmness, she neither spoke nor moved; but the tears again flowed

fast as I went away. I avoided passing the maniac's cage; but there, with strange curiosity and eager exclamations, were gathered, at a safe distance, the children of the establishment, little boys and girls, receiving their early lessons in hardness of heart and vice; but the demoralizing influences were not confined to children.

The same day revealed two scenes of extreme exposure and unjustifiable neglect, such as I could not have supposed the whole New England States could furnish.

Wayland. Visited the almshouse. There, as in Sudbury, caged in a wood-shed, and also *fully exposed* upon the *public* road, was seen a man at that time less violent, but equally debased by exposure and irritation. He then wore a portion of clothing, though the mistress remarked that he was "more likely to be naked than not"; and added that he was "less noisy than usual." I spoke to him, but received no answer. A wild, strange gaze, and impatient movement of the hand, motioned us away. He refused to speak, rejected food, and wrapped over his head a torn coverlet. Want of accommodations for the imperative calls of nature had converted the cage into a place of utter offence. "My husband cleans him out once a week or so; but it's a hard matter to master him sometimes. He does better since the last time he was broken in." I learnt that the confinement and cold together had so affected his limbs that he was often powerless to rise. "You see him," said my conductress, "in his best state." *His best state!* What, then, was the *worst?*

Westford. Not many miles from Wayland is a sad spectacle; was told by the family who kept the poorhouse that they had twenty-six paupers, one idiot, one simple, and one insane, an incurable case from Worcester Hospital. I requested to see her, but was answered that she "wasn't fit to be seen. She was naked, and made so much trouble they did not know how to get along." I hesitated but a moment. I must see her, I said. I cannot adopt descriptions of the condition of the insane secondarily. What I assert for fact, I must see for myself. On this I was conducted above stairs into an apartment of decent size, pleasant aspect from abroad, and tolerably comfortable in its general appearance; but the inmates —grant I may never look upon another such scene! A young woman, whose person was partially covered with portions of a blanket, sat upon the floor; her hair dishevelled; her naked arms crossed

languidly over the breast; a distracted, unsteady eye and low, murmuring voice betraying both mental and physical disquiet. *About the waist was a chain*, the extremity of which was fastened into the wall of the house. As I entered, she raised her eyes, blushed, moved uneasily, endeavoring at the same time to draw about her the insufficient fragments of the blanket. I knelt beside her and asked if she did not wish to be dressed. "Yes, I want some clothes." "But you'll tear 'em all up, you know you will," interposed her attendant. "No, I won't, I won't tear them off"; and she tried to rise, but the waist-encircling chain threw her back, and she did not renew the effort, but, bursting into a wild, shrill laugh, pointed to it, exclaiming, "See there, see there, nice clothes!" Hot tears might not dissolve that iron bondage, imposed, to all appearance, most needlessly. As I left the room, the poor creature said, "I want my gown." The response from the attendant might have roused to indignation one not dispossessed of reason and owning self-control.

Groton. A few rods removed from the poorhouse is a wooden building upon the roadside, constructed of heavy board and plank. It contains one room, unfurnished, except so far as a bundle of straw constitutes furnishing. There is no window, save an opening half the size of a sash, and closed by a board shutter. In one corner is some brick-work surrounding an iron stove, which in cold weather serves for warming the room. The occupant of this dreary abode is a young man, who has been declared incurably insane. He can move a measured distance in his prison; that is, so far as a strong, heavy chain, depending from an *iron collar which invests his neck* permits. In fine weather—and it was pleasant when I was there in June last—the door is thrown open, at once giving admission to light and air, and affording some little variety to the solitary in watching the passers-by. But that portion of the year which allows of open doors is not the chiefest part; and it may be conceived, without drafting much on the imagination, what is the condition of one who for days and weeks and months sits in darkness and alone, without employment, without object. It may be supposed that paroxysms of frenzy are often exhibited, and that the tranquil state is rare in comparison with that which incites to violence. This, I was told, is the fact.

I may here remark that severe measures, in enforcing rule, have in many places been openly revealed. I have not seen chastisement administered by stripes, and in but few instances

have I seen the *rods* and *whips*, but I have seen blows inflicted, both passionately and repeatedly.

I have been asked if I have investigated the causes of insanity. I have not; but I have been told that this most calamitous overthrow of reason often is the result of a life of sin: it is sometimes, but rarely, added, they must take the consequences; they deserve no better care. Shall man be more just than God, he who causes his sun and refreshing rains and life-giving influence to fall alike on the good and the evil? Is not the total wreck of reason, a state of distraction, and the loss of all that makes life cherished a retribution sufficiently heavy, without adding to consequences so appalling every indignity that can bring still lower the wretched sufferer? Have pity upon those who, while they were supposed to lie hid in secret sins, "have been scattered under a *dark veil of forgetfulness*, over whom is spread a heavy night, and who unto themselves are more grievous than the darkness."

Fitchburg. In November visited the almshouse: inquired the number of insane. Was answered, several, but two in close confinement, one idiotic subject. Saw an insane woman in a dreary, neglected apartment, unemployed and alone. Idleness and solitude weaken, it is said, the sane mind; much more must it hasten the downfall of that which is already trembling at the foundations. From this apartment I was conducted to an outbuilding, a portion of which was enclosed, so as to unite shelter, confinement, and solitude. The first space was a sort of entry, in which was a window; beyond, a close partition with doors indicated where was the insane man I had wished to see. He had been returned from the hospital as incurable. I asked if he was violent or dangerous. "No." "Is he clothed?" "Yes." "Why keep him shut in this close confinement?" "Oh, my husband is afraid he'll run away; then the overseers won't like it. He'll get to Worcester, and then the town will have money to pay." "He must come out; I wish to see him." The opened door disclosed a squalid place, dark, and *furnished* with straw. The crazy man raised himself slowly from the floor upon which he was couched, and with unsteady steps came toward me. His look was feeble and sad, but calm and gentle.

"Give me those books, oh, give me those books," and with trembling eagerness he reached for some books I had carried in my hand. "Do give them to me, I want them," said he with kindling earnestness. "You could not use them, friend; you

cannot see them." "Oh, give them to me, do"; and he raised his hand and bent a little forward, lowering his voice, "*I'll pick a little hole in the plank and let in some of God's light.*"

The master came round. "Why cannot you take this man abroad to work on the farm? He is harmless. Air and exercise will help to recover him." The answer was in substance the same as that first given; but he added, "I've been talking with our overseers, and I proposed getting from the blacksmith an iron collar and chain, then I can have him out by the house." An iron collar and chain! "Yes, I had a cousin up in Vermont, crazy as a wildcat, and I got a collar made for him, *and he liked it.*" "Liked it! how did he manifest his pleasure?" "Why, he left off trying to run away. I kept the almshouse at Groton. There was a man there from the hospital. I built an out-house for him, and the blacksmith made him an iron collar and chain, so we had him fast, and the overseers approved it, and"— I here interrupted him. "I have seen that poor creature at Groton in his doubly iron bondage, and you must allow me to say that, as I understand you remain but one year in the same place, and you may find insane subjects in all, I am confident, if overseers permit such a multiplication of collars and chains, the public will not long sanction such barbarities; but, if you had at Groton any argument for this measure in the violent state of the unfortunate subject, how can you justify such treatment of a person quiet and not dangerous, as is this poor man? I beg you to forbear the chains, and treat him as you yourself would like to be treated in like fallen circumstances."

Bolton. Late in December, 1842; thermometer 4° above zero; visited the almshouse; neat and comfortable establishment; two insane women, one in the house associated with the family, the other "*out of doors.*" The day following was expected a young man from Worcester Hospital, incurably insane. Fears were expressed of finding him "dreadful hard to manage." I asked to see the subject who was "out of doors"; and, following the mistress of the house through the deep snow, shuddering and benumbed by the piercing cold, several hundred yards, we came in rear of the barn to a small building, which might have afforded a degree of comfortable shelter, but it did not. About two-thirds of the interior was filled with wood and peat. The other third was divided into two parts; one about six feet square contained a cylinder stove, in which was no fire, the rusty pipe seeming to threaten, in its decay, either suffocation by smoke,

which by and by we nearly realized, or conflagration of the building, together with destruction of its poor crazy inmate. My companion uttered an exclamation at finding no fire, and busied herself to light one; while I explored, as the deficient light permitted, the cage which occupied the undescribed portion of the building. "Oh, I'm so cold, so cold," was uttered in plaintive tones by a woman within the cage; "oh, so cold, so cold!" And well might she be cold. The stout, hardy driver of the sleigh had declared 'twas too hard for a man to stand the wind and snow that day, yet here was a woman caged and imprisoned without fire or clothes, not naked, indeed, for one thin cotton garment partly covered her, and part of a blanket was gathered about the shoulders. There she stood, shivering in that dreary place; the gray locks falling in disorder about the face gave a wild expression to the pallid features. Untended and comfortless, she might call aloud, none could hear. She might die, and there be none to close the eye. But death would have been a blessing here. "Well, you shall have a fire, Axey. I've been so busy getting ready for the funeral!" One of the paupers lay dead. "Oh, I want some clothes," rejoined the lunatic; "I'm so cold." "Well, Axey, you shall have some as soon as the children come from school; I've had so much to do." "I want to go out, do let me out!" "Yes, as soon as I get time," answered the respondent. "Why do you keep her here?" I asked. "She appears harmless and quiet." "Well, I mean to take her up to the house pretty soon. The people that used to have care here kept her shut up all the year; but it *is* cold here, and we take her to the house in hard weather. The only danger is her running away. I've been meaning to this good while." The poor creature listened eagerly: "Oh, I won't run away. Do take me out!" "Well, I will in a few days." Now the smoke from the kindling fire became so dense that a new anxiety struck the captive. "Oh, I shall smother, I'm afraid. Don't fill that up, I'm afraid." Pretty soon I moved to go away. "Stop, did you walk?" "No." "Did you ride?" "Yes." "Do take me with you, do, I'm so cold. Do you know my sisters? They live in this town. I want to see them so much. Do let me go"; and, shivering with eagerness to get out, as with the biting cold, she rapidly tried the bars of the cage.

The mistress seemed a kind person. Her tones and manner to the lunatic were kind; but how difficult to unite all the cares of her household, and neglect none! Here was not wilful abuse,

but great, very great suffering through undesigned negligence. We need an asylum for this class, the incurable, where conflicting duties shall not admit of such examples of privations and misery.

One is continually amazed at the tenacity of life in these persons. In conditions that wring the heart to behold, it is hard to comprehend that days rather than years should not conclude the measure of their griefs and miseries. Picture her condition! Place yourselves in that dreary cage, remote from the inhabited dwelling, alone by day and by night, without fire, without clothes, *except when remembered;* without object or employment; weeks and months passing on in drear succession, not a blank, but with keen life to suffering; with kindred, but deserted by them; and you shall not lose the memory of that time when they loved you, and you in turn loved them, but now no act or voice of kindness makes sunshine in the heart. Has fancy realized this to you? It *may* be the state of some of those you cherish! Who shall be sure his own hearthstone shall not be so desolate? Nay, who shall say his own mountain stands strong, his lamp of reason shall not go out in darkness! To how many has this become a heart-rending reality. If for selfish ends only, should not effectual legislation here interpose?

Shelburne. November last. I found no poorhouse, and but few paupers. These were distributed in private families. I had heard, before visiting this place, of the bad condition of a lunatic pauper. The case seemed to be pretty well known throughout the county. Receiving a direction by which I might find him, I reached a house of most respectable appearance, everything without and within indicating abundance and prosperity. Concluding I must have mistaken my way, I prudently inquired where the insane person might be found. I was readily answered, "Here." I desired to see him; and, after some difficulties raised and set aside, I was conducted into the yard, where was a small building of rough boards imperfectly joined. Through these crevices was admitted what portion of heaven's light and air was allowed by man to his fellow-man. This shanty or shell enclosing a cage might have been eight or ten feet square. I think it did not exceed. A narrow passage within allowed to pass in front of the cage. It was very cold. The air within was burdened with the most noisome vapors, and desolation with misery seemed here to have settled their abode. All was still, save now and then a low groan. The person who conducted

me tried, with a stick, to rouse the inmate. I entreated her to desist, the twilight of the place making it difficult to discern anything within the cage. There at last I saw a human being, partially extended, cast upon his back, amidst a mass of filth, the sole furnishing, whether for comfort or necessity, which the place afforded. There he lay, ghastly, with upturned, glazed eyes and fixed gaze, heavy breathings, interrupted only by faint groans, which seemed symptomatic of an approaching termination of his sufferings. Not so thought the mistress. "He has all sorts of ways. He'll soon rouse up and be noisy enough. He'll scream and beat about the place like any wild beast half the time." "And cannot you make him more comfortable? Can he not have some clean, dry place and a fire?" "As for clean, it will do no good. He's cleaned out now and then; but what's the use for such a creature? His own brother tried him once, but got sick enough of the bargain." "But a fire: there is space even here for a small box stove." "If he had a fire, he'd only pull off his clothes, so it's no use." "But you say your husband takes care of him, and he is shut in here in almost total darkness, so that seems a less evil than that he should lie there to perish in that horrible condition." I made no impression. It was plain that to keep him securely confined from escape was the chief object. "How do you give him his food? I see no means for introducing anything here." "Oh," pointing to the floor, "one of the bars is cut shorter there: we push it through there." "There? Impossible! You cannot do that. You would not treat your lowest dumb animals with that disregard *to decency!*" "As for what he eats or where he eats, it makes no difference to him. He'd as soon swallow one thing as another."

Newton. It was a cold morning in October last that I visited the almshouse. The building itself is ill-adapted for the purposes to which it is appropriated. The town, I understand, have in consideration a more advantageous location, and propose to erect more commodious dwellings. The mistress of the house informed me that they had several insane inmates, some of them very bad. In reply to my request to see them she objected "that they were not fit; they were not cleaned; that they were very crazy," etc. Urging my request more decidedly, she said they should be got ready if I would wait. Still no order was given which would hasten my object. I resumed the subject, when, with manifest unwillingness, she called to a colored man, a cripple, who, with several others of the poor,

was employed in the yard, to go and get a woman up, naming her. I waited some time at the kitchen door to see what all this was to produce. The man slowly proceeded to the remote part of the wood-shed where, part being divided from the open space, were two small rooms, in the outer of which he slept and lived, as I understood. There was his furniture, and there his charge. Opening into this room only was the second, which was occupied by a woman, not old, and furiously mad. It contained a wooden bunk filled with filthy straw, the room itself a counterpart to the lodging-place. Inexpressibly disgusting and loathsome was all; but the inmate herself was even more horribly repelling. She rushed out, as far as the chains would allow, almost in a state of nudity, exposed to a dozen persons, and vociferating at the top of her voice, pouring forth such a flood of indecent language as might corrupt even Newgate. I entreated the man, who was still there, to go out and close the door. He refused. That was *his place!* Sick, horror-struck, and almost incapable of retreating, I gained the outer air, and hastened to see the other subject, to remove from a scene so outraging all decency and humanity. In the apartment over that last described was a crazy man, I was told. I ascended the stairs in the woodshed, and, passing through a small room, stood at the entrance of the one occupied,—occupied with what? The furniture was a wooden box or bunk containing straw, and something I was told was a man,—I could not tell, as likely it might have been a wild animal,—half-buried in the offensive mass that made his bed, his countenance concealed by long, tangled hair and unshorn beard. He lay sleeping. Filth, neglect, and misery reigned there. I begged he might not be roused. If sleep could visit a wretch so forlorn, how merciless to break the slumber! Protruding from the foot of the box was—nay, it could not be the feet; yet from these stumps, these maimed members, were swinging chains, fastened to the side of the building. I descended. The master of the house briefly stated the history of these two victims of wretchedness. The old man had been crazy about twenty years. As, till within a late period, the town had owned no farm for the poor, this man, with others, had been annually put up at auction. I hope there is nothing offensive in the idea of these *annual sales* of old men and women, —the sick, the infirm, and the helpless, the middle-aged, and children. Why should we not *sell* people as well as otherwise blot out human rights: it is only being *consistent*, surely not worse

than chaining and caging naked lunatics upon public roads or burying them in closets and cellars! But, as I was saying, the crazy man was annually sold to some new master; and a few winters since, being kept in an out-house, the people within, being warmed and clothed, "did not reckon how cold it was"; and so his feet froze. Were chains now the more necessary? He cannot run. But he might *crawl* forth, and in his transports of frenzy "do some damage."

That young woman,—her lot is most appalling. Who shall dare describe it? Who shall have courage or hardihood to write her history? That young woman was the child of respectable, hard-working parents. The girl became insane. The father, a farmer, with small means from a narrow income had placed her at the State Hospital. There, said my informer, she remained as long as he could by any means pay her expenses. Then, then only, he resigned her to the care of the town, to those who are, in the eye of the law, the guardians of the poor and needy. She was placed with the other town paupers, and given in charge to a man. I assert boldly, as truly, that I have given but a *faint representation* of what she was, and what was her condition as I saw her last autumn. Written language is weak to declare it.

Could we in fancy place ourselves in the situation of some of these poor wretches, bereft of reason, deserted of friends, hopeless, troubles without, and more dreary troubles within, overwhelming the wreck of the mind as "a wide breaking in of the waters,"—how should we, as the terrible illusion was cast off, not only offer the thank-offering of prayer, that so mighty a destruction had not overwhelmed our mental nature, but as an offering more acceptable devote ourselves to alleviate that state from which we are so mercifully spared?

It may not appear much more credible than the fact above stated, that a few months since a young woman in a state of complete insanity was confined entirely naked in a pen or stall in a barn. There, unfurnished with clothes, without bed and without fire, she was left—but not alone. Profligate men and idle boys had access to the den, whenever curiosity or vulgarity prompted. She is now removed into the house with other paupers; and for this humanizing benefit she was indebted to the remonstrances, in the first instance, *of an insane man.*

Another town now owns a poorhouse, which I visited, and am glad to testify to the present comfortable state of the inmates;

but there the only provision the house affords for an insane person, should one, as is not improbable, be conveyed there, is a closet in the cellar, formed by the arch upon which the chimney rests. This has a close door, not only securing the prisoners, but excluding what of light and pure air might else find admission.

Abuses assuredly cannot always or altogether be guarded against; but, if in the civil and social relations all shall have "done what they could," no ampler justification will be demanded at the great tribunal.

Of the dangers and mischiefs sometimes following the location of insane persons in our almshouses, I will record but one more example. In Worcester has for several years resided a young woman, a lunatic pauper of decent life and respectable family. I have seen her as she usually appeared, listless and silent, almost or quite sunk into a state of dementia, sitting one amidst the family, "but not of them." A few weeks since, revisiting that almshouse, judge my horror and amazement to see her negligently bearing in her arms a young infant, of which I was told she was the unconscious parent. Who was the father, none could or would declare. Disqualified for the performance of maternal cares and duties, regarding the helpless little creature with a perplexed or indifferent gaze, she sat a silent, but, oh, how eloquent, a pleader for the protection of others of her neglected and outraged sex! Details of that black story would not strengthen the cause. Needs it a mightier plea than the sight of that forlorn creature and her wailing infant? Poor little child, more than orphan from birth, in this unfriendly world! A demented mother, a father on whom the sun might blush or refuse to shine!

Men of Massachusetts, I beg, I implore, I demand pity and protection for these of my suffering, outraged sex. Fathers, husbands, brothers, I would supplicate you for this boon; but what do I say? I dishonor you, divest you at once of Christianity and humanity, does this appeal imply distrust. If it comes burdened with a doubt of your righteousness in this legislation, then blot it out; while I declare confidence in your honor, not less than your humanity. Here you will put away the cold, calculating spirit of selfishness and self-seeking; lay off the armor of local strife and political opposition; here and now, for once, forgetful of the earthly and perishable, come up to these halls and consecrate them with one heart and one

mind to works of righteousness and just judgment. Become the benefactors of your race, the just guardians of the solemn rights you hold in trust. Raise up the fallen, succor the desolate, restore the outcast, defend the helpless, and for your eternal and great reward receive the benediction, "Well done, good and faithful servants, become rulers over many things!"

But, gentlemen, I do not come to quicken your sensibilities into short-lived action, to pour forth passionate exclamation, nor yet to move your indignation against those whose misfortune, not fault, it surely is to hold in charge these poor demented creatures, and whose whole of domestic economy or prison discipline is absolutely overthrown by such proximity of conflicting circumstances and opposite conditions of mind and character. Allow me to illustrate this position by a few examples: it were easy to produce hundreds.

The master of one of the best-regulated almshouses, namely, that of Plymouth, where every arrangement shows that the comfort of the sick, the aged, and the infirm, is suitably cared for, and the amendment of the unworthy is studied and advanced, said, as we stood opposite a latticed stall where was confined a madman, that the hours of the day were few when the whole household was not distracted from employment by screams and turbulent stampings, and every form of violence which the voice or muscular force could produce. This unfortunate being was one of the "returned incurables," since whose last admission to the almshouse they were no longer secure of peace for the aged or decency for the young. It was morally impossible to do justice to the sane and insane in such improper vicinity to each other. The conviction is continually deepened that hospitals are the only places where insane persons can be at once humanely and properly controlled. Poorhouses converted into madhouses cease to effect the purposes for which they were established, and instead of being asylums for the aged, the homeless, and the friendless, and places of refuge for orphaned or neglected childhood, are transformed into perpetual bedlams.

This crying evil and abuse of institutions is not confined to our almshouses. The warden of a populous prison near this metropolis, populous not with criminals only, but with the insane in almost every stage of insanity, and the idiotic in descending states from silly and simple, to helpless and speechless, has declared that, since their admission under the Revised Statutes of 1835, page 382, "the prison has often more resembled the in-

fernal regions than any place on earth!" And, what with the excitement inevitably produced by the crowded state of the prisons and multiplying causes, not subject to much modification, there has been neither peace nor order one hour of the twenty-four. If ten were quiet, the residue were probably raving. Almost without interval might, and *must*, these be heard, blaspheming and furious, and to the last degree impure and indecent, uttering language from which the base and the profligate have turned shuddering aside and the abandoned have shrunk abashed. I myself, with many beside, can bear sad witness to these things.

Such cases of transcendent madness have not been few in this prison. Admission for a portion of them, not already having been discharged as incurable from the State Hospital, has been sought with importunity and pressed with obstinate perseverance, often without success or advantage; and it has not been till application has followed application, and petition succeeded petition, that the judge of probate, absolutely wearied by the "continual coming," has sometimes granted warrants for removal. It cannot be overlooked that in this delay or refusal was more of just deliberation than hardness; for it is well known that, in the present crowded state of the hospital, every new patient displaces one who has for a longer or a shorter time received the benefit of that noble institution.

A few months since, through exceeding effort, an inmate of this prison, whose contaminating influence for two years had been the dread and curse of all persons who came within her sphere, whether incidentally or compelled by imprisonment, or by daily duty, was removed to Worcester. She had set at defiance all efforts for controlling the contaminating violence of her excited passions; every variety of blasphemous expression, every form of polluting phraseology, was poured forth in torrents, sweeping away every decent thought, and giving reality to that blackness of darkness which, it is said, might convert a heaven into a hell. There, day after day, month after month, were the warden and his own immediate household; the subordinate officials, and casual visitors; young women detained as witnesses; men, women, and children, waiting trial or under sentence; debtors and criminals; the neighborhood, and almost the whole town, subjected to this monstrous offence—*and no help!* the *law* permitted her there, and there she remained till July last, when, after an application to the judge so determined

that all refusal was refused, a warrant was granted for her transfer to the State Hospital. I saw her there two weeks since. What a change! Decent, orderly, neatly dressed, capable of light employment, partaking with others her daily meals. Decorously, and without any manifestation of passion, moving about, not a rational woman by any means, but no longer a nuisance, rending off her garments and tainting the moral atmosphere with every pollution, she exhibited how much could be done for the most unsettled and apparently the most hopeless cases by being placed in a situation adapted to the wants and necessities of her condition. Transformed from a very Tisiphone, she is now a controllable woman. But this most wonderful change may not be lasting. She is liable to be returned to the prison, as have been others, and then no question but in a short time like scenes will distract and torment all in a vicinity so much to be dreaded.

Already has been transferred from Worcester to Concord a furious man, last July conveyed to the hospital from Cambridge, whose violence is second only to that of the subject above described. While our *Revised Statutes* permit the incarceration of madmen and madwomen, epileptics and idiots, in prisons, all responsible officers should, in ordinary justice, be exonerated from obligation to maintain prison discipline. And the fact is conclusive, if the injustice to prison officers is great, it is equally great toward prisoners; an additional penalty to a legal sentence pronounced in a court of justice, which might, we should think, in all the prisons we have visited, serve as a sound plea for false imprisonment. If reform is intended to be united with punishment, there never was a greater absurdity than to look for moral restoration under such circumstances; and, if that is left out of view, we know no rendering of the law which sanctions such a cruel and oppressive aggravation of the circumstances of imprisonment as to expose these prisoners day and night to the indescribable horrors of such association.

The greatest evils in regard to the insane and idiots in the prisons of this Commonwealth are found at Ipswich and Cambridge, and distinguish these places only, as I believe, because the numbers are larger, being more than twenty in each. Ipswich has the advantage over Cambridge in having fewer furious subjects, and in the construction of the buildings, though these are so bad as to have afforded cause for presentment by the grand jury some time since. It is said that the new County House, in progress of building, will meet the exigencies of the case.

If it is meant that the wing in the new prison, to be appropriated to the insane, will provide accommodation for all the insane and idiotic paupers in the county, I can only say that it could receive no more than can be gathered in the three towns of Salem, Newburyport, and Ipswich, supposing these are to be removed, there being in Ipswich twenty-two in the prison and eight in the almshouse; in Salem almshouse, seventeen uniformly crazy, and two part of the time deranged; and in that of Newburyport eleven, including idiots. Here at once are sixty. The returns of 1842 exhibit an aggregate of one hundred and thirty-five. Provision is made in the new prison for fifty-seven of this class, leaving seventy-eight unprovided for, except in the almshouses. From such a fate, so far as Danvers, Saugus, East Bradford, and some other towns in the county reveal conditions of insane subjects, we pray they may be exempt.

I have the verbal and written testimony of many officers of this Commonwealth, who are respectable alike for their integrity and the fidelity with which they discharge their official duties, and whose opinions, based on experience, are entitled to consideration, that the occupation of prisons for the detention of lunatics and of idiots is, under all circumstances, an evil, subversive alike of good order, strict discipline, and good morals. I transcribe a few passages which will place this mischief in its true light. The sheriff of Plymouth County writes as follows: "I am decidedly of the opinion that the county jail is a very improper place for lunatics and idiots. The last summer its bad effects were fully realized here, not only by the prisoners in jail, but the disturbance extended to the inhabitants dwelling in the neighborhood. A foreigner was sentenced by a justice of the peace to thirty days' confinement in the house of correction. He was to all appearance a lunatic or madman. He destroyed every article in his room, even to his wearing apparel, his noise and disturbance was incessant for hours, day and night. I consider prisons places for the safe keeping of prisoners, and all these are equally entitled to humane treatment from their keepers, without regard to the cause of commitment. We have in jails no conveniences to make the situation of lunatics and idiots much more decent than would be necessary for the brute creation, and impossible to prevent the disturbance of the inmates under the same roof."

In relation to the confinement of the insane in prisons the sheriff of Hampshire County writes as follows:—

"I concur fully in the sentiments entertained by you in relation to this unwise, not to say inhuman, provision of our law (see Rev. Stat. 382) authorizing the commitment of lunatics to our jails and houses of correction. Our jails preclude occupation, and our houses of correction cannot admit of that variety of pursuit, and its requisite supervision, so indispensable to these unfortunates. Indeed, this feature of our law seems to me a relic of that ancient barbarism which regarded misfortune as a crime, and those bereft of reason as also bereft of all sensibility, as having forfeited not only all title to compassion, but to *humanity*, and consigned them without a tear of sympathy, or twinge of remorse, or even a suspicion of injustice, to the companionship of the vicious, the custody of the coarse and ignorant, and the horrors of the hopeless dungeon. I cannot persuade myself that anything more than a motion by any member of our Legislature is necessary to effect an immediate repeal of this odious provision."

The sheriff of Berkshire says, conclusively, that "jails and houses of correction *cannot* be so managed as to render them suitable places of confinement for that unfortunate class of persons who are the subjects of your inquiries, and who, never having violated the law, should not be ranked with felons or confined within the same walls with them. Jailers and overseers of houses of correction, whenever well qualified for the management of criminals, do not usually possess those peculiar qualifications required in those to whom should be intrusted the care of lunatics."

A letter from the surgeon and physician of the Prison Hospital at Cambridge, whose observation and experience have laid the foundation of his opinions, and who hence has a title to speak with authority, affords the following views: "On this subject, it seems to me, there can be but one opinion. No one can be more impressed than I am with the great injustice done to the insane by confining them in jails and houses of correction. It must be revolting to the better feelings of every one to see the innocent and unfortunate insane occupying apartments with or consigned to those occupied by the criminal. Some of the insane are conscious of the circumstances in which they are placed, and feel the degradation. They exclaim sometimes in their ravings, and sometimes in their lucid intervals, "What have *I* done that I must be shut up in jail?" and "Why do you not let me out?" This state of things unquestionably retards the recovery of the few who do recover their reason under such circumstances, and

may render those permanently insane who under other circumstances might have been restored to their right mind. There is also in our jails very little opportunity for the classification of the insane. The quiet and orderly must in many cases occupy the same rooms with the restless and noisy,—another great hindrance to recovery.

"*Injustice* is also done to the *convicts:* it is certainly very wrong that they should be doomed day after day and night after night to listen to the ravings of madmen and madwomen. This is a kind of punishment that is not recognized by our statutes, and is what the criminal ought not to be called upon to undergo. The confinement of the criminal and of the insane in the same building is subversive of that good order and discipline which should be observed in every well-regulated prison. I do most sincerely hope that more permanent provision will be made for the pauper insane by the State, either to restore Worcester Insane Asylum to what it was originally designed to be or else make some just appropriation for the benefit of this very unfortunate class of our 'fellow-beings.'"

From the efficient sheriff of Middlesex County I have a letter upon this subject, from which I make such extracts as my limits permit: "I do not consider it right, just, or humane, to hold for safe keeping, in the county jails and houses of correction, persons classing as lunatics or idiots. Our prisons are not constructed with a view to the proper accommodation of this class of persons. Their interior arrangements are such as to render it very difficult, if not impossible, to extend to such persons that care and constant oversight which their peculiarly unfortunate condition absolutely demands; and, besides, the occupation of prisons for lunatics is unquestionably subversive of discipline, comfort, and good order. Prisoners are thereby subjected to unjust aggravation of necessary confinement by being exposed to an almost constant disquiet from the restless or raving lunatic. You inquire whether 'it may not justly be said that the qualifications for wardenship, or for the offices of overseer, do not usually embrace qualifications for the management of lunatics, whether regarded as curable or incurably lost to reason,' and also whether 'the government of jails and houses of correction for the detention or punishment of offenders and criminals can suitably be united with the government and discipline fitted for the most unfortunate and friendless of the human race; namely, pauper lunatics and idiots, a class not condemned

by the laws, and I must add not mercifully protected by them.' The first of the preceding questions I answer in the *affirmative*, the last *negatively*." [Here follow similar testimonies from the warden of the Cambridge prison, the sheriff of Dukes County, the warden of the prison at South Boston, and the master of the Plymouth almshouse.]

It is not few, but many, it is not a part, but the whole, who bear unqualified testimony to this evil. A voice strong and deep comes up from every almshouse and prison in Massachusetts where the insane are or have been protesting against such evils as have been illustrated in the preceding pages.

Gentlemen, I commit to you this sacred cause. Your action upon this subject will affect the present and future condition of hundreds and of thousands.

In this legislation, as in all things, may you exercise that "wisdom which is the breath of the power of God."

Respectfully submitted,

D. L. DIX.

85 Mt. Vernon Street, Boston.
January, 1843.

Few lives have been more heroic or more fruitful in the achievement of beneficent results than that of Dorothea Dix. Few things in the history of reform offer such encouragement as the comparison of the evils which she found and exposed in a State like Massachusetts only two generations ago and the condition of the care of the criminal and defective classes by the State to-day. With the terrible evils which yet remain, the progress in this field in America and Europe has been immense. The picture given in the accompanying Memorial of 1843 helps us in some measure to estimate how great is the advance.

Dorothea Lynde Dix was born in Hampden, Me., in 1802; but her childhood was largely passed in Worcester and Boston, Mass. When only fourteen, she opened a school for little children in Worcester. Afterwards she taught in Boston, and in the summer of 1827, and afterwards, had charge in Boston and at Newport of the education of the children of Dr. Channing, whose friendship became one of her chief supports. She accompanied Dr. Channing's household for a winter in the West Indies. In 1836, broken down by too strenuous school work, she went to England, remaining chiefly at Liverpool for eighteen months, when she returned to Boston.

In the spring of 1841 Miss Dix had her sympathy aroused by accounts of the hardships and sufferings of the women in the East Cambridge House of Correction, and she at once volunteered to go regularly on Sundays to give them instruction. Among the prisoners she found a few insane persons, in a cold room with no stove; and, after the jailer's refusal to provide a fire, she appealed to the Court, then in session at East Cambridge, and her request was granted. "It was thus that in the East Cambridge jail Miss Dix was first brought into immediate contact with the overcrowding, filth, and herding together of the innocent, guilty, and insane persons, which at that time characterized the prisons of Massachusetts, and the inevitable evils of which were repeated in even worse shape in the almshouses." She succeeded in enlisting the aid of Rev. Robert C. Waterston, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, and Charles Sumner. Dr. Howe made a careful examination, and published his results in the Boston *Advertiser*. His article was fircely attacked, but Charles Sumner wrote, "Your article presents a true picture," adding corroborative details of his own investigations. "Was the state of things in the East Cambridge jail an exception, or did it simply exemplify the rule throughout the whole Commonwealth? This was the painful question now raised in the mind of Miss Dix, to an unmistakable answer to which she resolutely devoted the next two years, visiting every jail and almshouse from Berkshire to Cape Cod." It was the results of these investigations which she embodied in the Memorial to

the Massachusetts Legislature, in January, 1843, reprinted in the present leaflet,—a Memorial dated, it will be noted, at No. 85 Mount Vernon Street, Boston, the home of Dr. Channing. The Memorial produced a profound sensation. Humane people pronounced it incredible, and officials denounced it as "sensational and slanderous lies." The controversy in the newspapers and elsewhere was hot and bitter; but the arraignment stood. Dr. Channing, Horace Mann, John G. Palfrey, and Dr. Luther V. Bell of the McLean Asylum rallied to her side. The Legislature referred her Memorial to a committee, of which Dr. Samuel G. Howe was appointed chairman, and which made a report strongly indorsing Miss Dix's statements and fortifying them with other instances of similar outrages on humanity. A bill for immediate relief was carried by a large majority, and the order passed for providing accommodations at Worcester for two hundred additional insane persons.

Experiences in Rhode Island and Connecticut convinced Miss Dix that all over the United States existed conditions as bad as she had found in Massachusetts, or worse. "Now first broke upon her the length and breadth of the mission to which she felt herself divinely called. Resolutely and untiringly, State by State, would she take up the work, first exhaustively accumulating the facts, and then besieging the various legislatures till they should capitulate to the cry of the perishing within their borders."

The story of her lifetime of almost incredible labors and accomplishments, in a score of our own States, in Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, in England and Scotland, in the Channel Islands, and on the Continent of Europe, is told by Rev. Francis Tiffany in his "Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix," to which the student is referred. As Mr. Tiffany justly says, "the repetition of her achievements year by year, the enormous sums of money they involved, the magnitude of the structures they led to the building of, the range of the field they opened out to advancing medical science, and the vast numbers of poor wretches transferred from stalls and chains to a comparative heaven of asylum comfort, fairly startle the imagination." She obtained "larger appropriations for purely benevolent purposes than probably it was ever given to any other mortal in the old world or the new to raise."

During the Civil War she was Superintendent of Women Nurses for the Union armies. The flags presented her by the War Department in recognition of her services now hang in the Memorial Hall at Harvard University. She raised the money for the monument to the fallen soldiers in the National Cemetery at Hampton, Va. "The first object visible over the low level of the peninsula to vessels coming in from sea to the Roads, it stands the reverential tribute of a heroic woman to the heroic men she honored with all her soul." After the war she took up once again her old prison and asylum work. Two asylums in Japan were added to the thirty-two she had already been the instrument of founding or greatly enlarging. She was accustomed to mark each one on a map with the sign of the cross. After the great Chicago fire of 1871 and the Boston fire of 1872, she was active in those places in the relief of suffering. To animals as well as men her sympathy went out. She projected a drinking-fountain in a crowded part of Boston, where she had noticed the hard labor of the horses; and Whittier wrote this inscription:

"Stranger and traveller,
Drink freely and bestow
A kindly thought on her
Who bade this fountain flow,
Yet hath for it no claim
Save as the minister
Of blessing in God's name."

She died in 1887, at the State Asylum, Trenton, N.J., which she had founded, and was buried in Mount Auburn Cemetery, near Boston.

Old South Leaflets.

No. 149.

The Founding of the Hampton Institute.

By General SAMUEL C. ARMSTRONG.

From the Chapter prepared by General Armstrong in 1890 for the Volume "Twenty-two Years' Work of the Hampton Institute."

It meant something to the Hampton School, and perhaps to the ex-slaves of America, that from 1820 to 1860, the distinctively missionary period, there was worked out in the Hawaiian Islands the problem of the emancipation, enfranchisement, and Christian civilization of a dark-skinned Polynesian people in many respects like the negro race.

From 1831 my parents, Richard Armstrong, of Pennsylvania, and Clarissa Chapman, of Massachusetts, were missionaries, till my father's appointment, in 1847, as Minister of Public Instruction, when he took charge of, and in part built up, the five hundred Hawaiian free schools and some of the higher educational work, until his death in 1860.

Born there in 1839, and leaving the country in 1860 to complete my education under Dr. Mark Hopkins at Williams College, Mass., I had distinct impressions of the people, of the work for them and its results. Let me say here that whatever good teaching I may have done has been Mark Hopkins teaching through me.

On horseback and canoe tours with my father and alone, around those grandly picturesque volcanic islands, inspecting schools and living much among the natives (then generally Christianized), I noticed how easily the children learned from books,

how universally the people attended church and had family prayers; were always charmingly hospitable, and yet lived pretty much in the old ways,—all in one room, including the stranger within their gates, who usually had, however, the benefit of the raised end and a curtain. They seemed to have accepted, but not to have fully adopted, Christianity; for they did not have the conditions of living which make high standards of morality possible. While far above the plane of heathenism, most of its low and cruel practices having disappeared, and while they were simple and sincere believers, contributing of their substance to the churches more, in proportion, than any American community of which I now know, they could not, under the circumstances, keep up to a high level of conduct. The "old man" in them had pretty much his own way. They were like the people to whom the epistles of the New Testament were written; they were grown-up children. To preach the gospel rather than to organize living was the missionary idea. Devoted women visited the houses, and practical morality was thundered from the pulpit. "Let him that stole steal no more," or the like, was the daily precept, followed by severe church discipline; but houses without partitions, and easy-going tropical ways, after generations of licentious life, made virtue scarce. They were not hypocrites, and, from their starting-point, had made a great advance. "Our saints are about up to your respectable sinners," said a returned missionary.

Illustrating two lines of educational work among them were two institutions: the Lahaina-luna (government) Seminary for young men, where, with manual labor, mathematics and other higher branches were taught; and the Hilo Boarding and Manual Labor (missionary) School for boys, on a simpler basis, under the devoted David B. Lyman and his wife. As a rule, the former turned out more brilliant, the latter less advanced but more solid men. In making the plan of the Hampton Institute, that of the Hilo School seemed the best to follow. Mr. Lyman's boys had become among the best teachers and workers for their people; while graduates of the higher school, though many had done nobly at home and in foreign fields, had frequently been disappointing. Hence came our policy of teaching only English and our system of industrial training at Hampton. Its graduates are not only to be good teachers, but skilled workers, able to build homes and earn a living for themselves and encourage others to do the same.

Two and a half years' service with the Negro soldiers (after a year as Captain and Major in the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth New York Volunteers), as Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel of the Ninth and Eighth Regiments of United States Colored Troops, convinced me of the excellent qualities and capacities of the freedmen. Their quick response to good treatment and to discipline was a constant surprise. Their tidiness, devotion to their duty and their leaders, their dash and daring in battle, and ambition to improve,—often studying their spelling books under fire,—showed that slavery was a false though doubtless, for the time being, an educative condition, and that they deserved as good a chance as any people.

In March, 1866, I was placed by General O. O. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, in charge of ten counties in Eastern Virginia, with headquarters at Hampton, the great "contraband" camp, to manage Negro affairs and adjust, if possible, the relation of the races. Colored squatters by thousands, and General Lee's disbanded soldiers returning to their families, came together in my district on hundreds of "abandoned" farms which government had seized and allowed the freedmen to occupy. There was irritation, but both classes were ready to do the fair thing. It was about a two years' task to settle matters by making terms with the land-owners, who employed many laborers on their restored homes. Swarms went back on passes to the "old plantations" with thirty days' rations, and nearly a thousand were placed in families in Massachusetts as servants, through the agency of a Home in Cambridgeport, under charge of a committee of Boston ladies.

Hardest of all was to settle the ration question: about two thousand, having been fed for years, were demoralized and seemed hopeless. Notice was given that in three months, on Oct. 1, 1866, all rations would be stopped, except to those in hospital, for whom full provision was made. Trouble was expected, but there was not a ripple of it or a complaint that day. Their resource was surprising: the Negro in a tight place is a genius.

It was my duty, every three months, to personally visit and report upon the condition of the ten counties; to inspect the Bureau office in each, in charge of an army officer, to investigate troubles, and to study the relations of the races. The better class of whites were well disposed, but inactive in suppressing any misconduct of the lower class. Friendliness between the races was general, broken only by political excitement, and was due,

I think, to the fact that they had been brought up together, often in the most intimate way, from childhood,—a surprise to me; for, on missionary ground, parents, with the spirit of martyrs, take every pains to prevent contact of their children with the natives around them.

Martial law prevailed. There were no civil courts, and for many months the Bureau officer in each county acted on all kinds of cases, gaining generally the confidence of both races. When martial law was over, the Military Court at Hampton was kept up by common consent for about six months. Scattered families were reunited. Even from Louisiana—for the whole South was mapped out, each county officered, and, as a rule, wisely administered—would come inquiries about the relatives and friends of those who had been sold to traders years before; and great justice and humanity were shown in bringing together broken households.

General Howard and the Freedmen's Bureau did for the ex-slaves, from 1865 to 1870, a marvellous work, for which due credit has not been given,—among other things, granting three and a half millions of dollars for school-houses, salaries, etc., thereby giving an impulse and foundation to the education of about a million colored children. The principal Negro educational institutions of to-day, then starting, were liberally aided at a time of vital need. Hampton received over $50,000 through General Howard for buildings and improvements.

On relieving my predecessor, Captain C. B. Wilder, of Boston, at the Hampton headquarters, I found an active, excellent educational work going on under the American Missionary Association of New York. This society in 1862 had opened in the vicinity the first school for freedmen in the South, in charge of an ex-slave, Mrs. Mary Peake. Over fifteen hundred children were gathered daily,—some in old hospital barracks; for here was Camp Hamilton, the base hospital of the Army of the James, where during the war thousands of sick and wounded soldiers had been cared for, and now where over six thousand lie buried in a beautiful national cemetery. The largest class was held in the "Butler School" building, since replaced by the "John G. Whittier School-house."

Close at hand the pioneer settlers of America and the first slaves landed on this continent. Here Powhatan reigned, here the Indian was first met, here the first Indian child was baptized, here freedom was first given the slaves by General Butler's fa-

mous "contraband" order. In sight of this shore the battle of the "Monitor" and "Merrimac" saved the Union and revolutionized naval warfare. Here General Grant based the operations of his final campaign. The place was easily accessible by railroad and water routes to the North, and to a population of two millions of Negroes. The centre of prospective great commercial and maritime development—of which Newport News, soon to have the largest and finest ship-yard in the world, is beginning the grand fulfilment—and, withal, a place most healthful and beautiful for situation.

I soon felt the fitness of this historic and strategic spot for a permanent and great educational work. The suggestion was cordially received by the American Missionary Association, which authorized the purchase, in June, 1867, of "Little Scotland," an estate of 125 acres on Hampton River, looking out over Hampton Roads. Not expecting to have charge, but only to help, I was surprised, one day, by a letter from Secretary E. P. Smith, of the A. M. A., stating that the man selected for the place had declined, and asking me if I could take it. I replied, "Yes." Till then my own future had been blind: it had only been clear that there was a work to be done for the ex-slaves and where and how it should be done.

A day-dream of the Hampton School, nearly as it is, had come to me during the war a few times,—once in camp during the siege of Richmond, and once one beautiful evening on the Gulf of Mexico, while on the wheel-house of the transport steamship "Illinois," *en-route* for Texas with the Twenty-fifth Army Corps (Negro) for frontier duty on the Rio Grande River, whither it had been ordered under General Sheridan, to watch and, if necessary, defeat Maximilian in his attempted conquest of Mexico.

The thing to be done was clear: to train selected Negro youth who should go out and teach and lead their people, first by example by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they could earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and, to these ends, to build up an industrial system, for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character. And it seemed equally clear that the people of the country would support a wise work for the freedmen. I think so still.

The missionary plan in Hawaii had not, I thought, considered enough the real needs and weaknesses of the people, whose ig-

norance alone was not half the trouble. The chief difficulty with them was deficient character, as it is with the Negro. He is what his past has made him. The true basis of work for him and all men is the scientific one,—one recognizing the facts of heredity and surrounding all the facts of the case.

There was no enthusiasm for the manual labor plan. People said, "It has been tried at Oberlin and elsewhere and given up: it won't pay." "Of course," said I, "it cannot pay in a *money* way, but it will pay in a *moral* way, especially with the freedmen. It will make them men and women as nothing else will. It is the only way to make them good Christians."

The school has had, from the first, the good fortune of liberal-minded trustees. They accepted its unformulated, practical plan, when it opened in April, 1868, with two teachers and fifteen pupils, and adopted my formal report of 1870, the year of its incorporation under a special Act of the Assembly of Virginia. By this Act of Incorporation the school became independent of any association or sect and of the government. It does work for the state and general government, for which it receives aid, but is not controlled or supported by them.

From the first it has been true to the idea of education by self-help, and I hope it will remain so. Nothing is asked for the student that he can provide by his own labor; but the system that gives him this chance is costly. The student gets nothing but an opportunity to work his way. While the workshops must be made to pay as far as possible, instruction is as important as production.

The Slater Fund has been a great stimulus to technical training. The Negro girl has proved a great success as a teacher. The women of the race deserve as good a chance as the men. So far it has been impossible to supply the demand for Negro teachers. School-houses and salaries, such as they are, are ready; but competent teachers are the great and pressing need, and there is no better work for the country than to supply them. But the short public school sessions, of from three to seven months, do not give full support, and skilled labor is the only resource of many teachers for over half the year. As farmers and mechanics, they are nearly as useful as in the school-room. Hence the importance of industrial training.

Hampton's thousand graduates (discounting ten per cent. as disappointing), with half that number of undergraduates, are a working force for Negro and Indian civilization.

It was not in the original plan of the school that any but Negroes should be received, though the liberal State charter made no limit as to color; but when, in April, 1878, a "Macedonian cry" came from some Indian ex-prisoners of war in Florida—once the worst of savages—through Captain R. H. Pratt, seventeen were accepted at private expense, Bishop Whipple providing for five of them.

A few weeks after the arrival of the Indian ex-prisoners, I called on the Hon. Carl Schurz, then Secretary of the Interior, to suggest that the so far very encouraging experiment in Indian civilization be tried more fully by bringing some younger material, girls especially. He called in Mr. E. A. Hayt, Commissioner, who stated, in effect, that the education of Indian girls had been a failure, and threw cold water on the plan. I urged that there is no civilization without educated women, and begged the Secretary to let us try. He decided to do so, and gave the necessary orders, and at my request sent Captain Pratt—whom Secretary of War Robert Lincoln had, on my application, detailed temporarily to help us in our Hampton experiment—to Dakota, whence he brought back to Hampton, in November, 1878, forty boys and nine girls, chiefly Sioux. I wish to give Mr. Carl Schurz the credit of creating, on the government side, the work of Eastern Indian schools. This action of his was a turning-point. The work then became routine, though not without difficulties, and our Indian contingent soon reached its limit of one hundred and twenty, aided by government, and from fifteen to twenty by charity, occasionally an able-bodied young man working out his entire expenses.

The old homesickness of Indians at Eastern schools is over. The three years' period at school, which was formerly too much like a prison term, is more and more ignored; and the idea of fitting for life, whatever time it takes, gains strength. Indians are no longer coaxed to come. Twice as many as we can take wish to come, yet the really desirable ones are not very many, and we do not care to increase our numbers. Our Indian work is illustrative rather than exhaustive. Hampton's work for the "despised races" of our country, while chiefly for the Negro, is really for all who need it. Till our limit is reached, any youth in the land, however poor, can come here and work his way.

In this review I cannot but refer to my associates, without whom this work could not have been what it is. Too little credit has been given them,—the men and women who have

labored with noblest zeal, have enjoyed the privileges of such work, and are thankful for it. The present efficient force of officers and teachers could manage successfully every department of the school, should its head be taken away. In twenty-two years it has attained a life of its own: it would be poor organization and development that would not in that time have reached this point. It might once have been, but is not now, run by "one-man power." The change will come, and the school will be ready for it.

We have been fortunate in our neighbors, who from the first have been most friendly. The wide-awake town of Hampton, with an enterprising white community, has a Negro population of about three thousand, and illustrates as well as any place in the South the formation of two classes among the freedmen, the progressive and non-progressive. For miles around the country is dotted with their hard-earned homesteads; yet the "shiftless" class is large. There is little race friction, and steady improvement. Adjoining our grounds is the National Soldiers' Home, with its three thousand army veterans, and two miles distant is the United States Artillery School at Fort Monroe.

Full of resources, this famous peninsula, comparatively dormant for two hundred and fifty years, is awakening to a wonderful development, especially along its magnificent harbor front on Hampton Roads and James River. From historic Yorktown, Old Point Comfort, Newport News, and up to Jamestown Island, where stands the oldest ruin of English civilization on this continent, have already sprung large commercial, national, and educational enterprises and institutions. Thousands flock to these shores, winter and summer, for rest and recreation. The growth has only begun.

This new life and energy but typifies the awakening of the whole South under the idea which won in the war. The "Boys in Blue" did a fearful but necessary work of destruction. "It is for us to finish the work which they so nobly began," said Lincoln at Gettysburg. The duty of the hour is construction, to build up. With all credit to the pluck and heroic self-help of the Southern people and to Northern enterprise for railroad, mineral and other commercial development, the great constructive force in the South and everywhere is the Christian teacher. "*In hoc signo vinces*," is as true now as in the days of Constantine. Let us make the teachers, and we will make the people.

The Hampton Institute should be pushed steadily, not to larger but to better, more thorough effort, and placed on a solid foundation. It is big enough, but its work is only begun. Its work, with that of other like schools, is on the line of Providential purpose in ending the great struggle as it did,—the redemption of both races from the evils of slavery, which, while to the Negro educative up to a certain point, was a curse to the country. God said, "Let my people go," and it had to be done.

GENERAL ARMSTRONG'S FIRST REPORT TO THE TRUSTEES OF THE HAMPTON INSTITUTE (1870).

We have before us this question: What should be the character of an educational institution devoted to the poorer classes of the South? It is presumed that the greatest amount of good, the wisest expenditure of effort and money, are sought.

It is useless at present to expect the ignorant whites to accept instruction side by side with the colored race. To a broad impartiality the Negro only responds. Let us consider, therefore, what answer to our problem is indicated by the character and needs of the freed people. Plainly a system is required which shall be at once constructive of mental and moral worth, and destructive of the vices characteristic of the slave. What are these vices? They are improvidence, low ideas of honor and morality, and a general lack of directive energy, judgment and foresight. Thus disabled, the ex-slave enters upon the merciless competition incident to universal freedom. Political power being placed in his hands, he becomes the prey of the demagogue, or attempts that low part himself. In either case he is the victim of his greatest weakness,—vanity. Mere tuition is not enough to rescue him from being forever a tool, politically and otherwise. The educated man usually overestimates himself, because his intellect has grown faster than his experience in life; but the danger to the Negro is greater proportionally, as his desire is to shine rather than to do. His deficiencies of character are, I believe, worse for him and the world than his ignorance. But with these deficiencies are a docility and enthusiasm for improvement, and a preseverance in the pursuit of it, which form a basis of great hope, and justify any outlay and the ablest service in his behalf.

At Hampton, Va., a spot central and accessible from a wide extent of country, we are trying to solve the problem of an education best suited to the needs of the poorer classes of the South, by sending out to them teachers of moral strength as well as mental culture. To this end the most promising youths are selected. The poverty of these pupils has required the introduction of manual labor. Let us examine the system in its threefold aspect, industrial, moral and intellectual, and disciplinary, or administrative.

First, the plan of combining mental and physical labor is *a priori* full of objections. It is admitted that it involves friction, constant embarrassment, and apparent disadvantage to educational advancement, as well as to the profits of various industries. But to the question, "Do your students have sufficient time to study all their lessons faithfully?" I should answer, "Not enough, judging from the common use of time; but under pressure they make use of the hours they have. There is additional energy put forth, an increased rate of study which makes up for the time spent in manual labor, while the physical vigor gained affords abundant strength for severe mental labor." Nothing is of more benefit than this compulsory waking up of the faculties. After a life of drudgery the plantation hand will, under this system, brighten and learn surprisingly well.

In the girls' industrial housework departments there is an assignment, for a period, of a certain number to certain duties. On the farm the plan of working the whole force of young men for a few hours each day has been given up for the better one of dividing them into five squads, each of which works one day of each week and all on Saturdays. All are paid by the hour for their service, at the rate of from four to ten cents, according to the kind of work done. Under these arrangements our industries thrive and were never so hopeful as now. The very difficult problem of creating a profitable female industry has been solved in the most fortunate manner by supplying the boys with clothing made of good material, at a fair price. Our students, both young men and young women, go to their appointed duties with cheerfulness; and the school is full of the spirit of self-help.

However the future may decide the question, our two years' experience of the manual labor system has been satisfactory. Progress in study has been rapid and thorough,—I venture to say, not excelled in any school of the same grade. There have been a steadiness and solidity of character and a spirit of self-denial

developed, an appreciation of the value of opportunities manifested, which would not be possible under other conditions. Unfortunately there is a limit to the number that can be profitably employed. This institute should, I think, be polytechnic,—growing step by step, adding new ones as the old ones shall become established and remunerative, thus enlarging the limits of paying labor and increasing the attendance, hoping finally to crown its ruder products with the results of finer effort in the region of art.

There are two objective points before us, toward one or the other of which all our energies must soon be directed as the final work of this institute. One is the training of the intellect, storing it with the largest amount of knowledge, producing the brightest examples of culture. The other is the more difficult one of attempting to educate in the original and broadest sense of the word, to draw out a complete manhood. The former is a laborious but simple work. The latter is full of difficulty. It is not easy to surround the student with a perfectly balanced system of influences. The value of every good appliance is limited, and ceases when not perfectly adjusted to the higher end. The needle, the broom, and wash-tub, the awl, the plane, and the plough become the allies of the globe, the blackboard, and the text-book.

The course of study does not run smoothly. There is action and reaction, depression and delight; but the reserve forces of character no longer lie dormant. They make the rough places smooth. The school becomes a drill ground for the future work; it sends men and women rather than scholars into the world.

But what should be studied in a course like this? The question brings us to the second branch of our subject; namely, its moral and intellectual aspect. The end of mental training is a discipline and power not derived so much from knowledge as from the method and spirit of the student. I think too much stress is laid on the importance of choosing one of the great lines of study, the classics or the natural sciences, and too little upon the vital matter of insight into the life and spirit of that which is studied. Latin, as taught by one man, is an inspiration; by another, it is drudgery. Who can say that the study of this or that is requisite, without conditioning its value upon the fitness of the teacher? Vital knowledge cannot be got from books: it comes from insight, and we attain it by earnest and steady thought under wise direction.

But let us consider the practical question whether the classics should be made an object in our course, or whether, ruling them out, we should teach only the higher English studies.

It is the theory of Matthew Arnold that a teacher should develop the special aptitudes. To ignore them is a failure. The attempt to cast all mind in one mould is useless. But for one Anglo-African who would, on this theory, need to acquire the ancient languages, there are, I believe, twenty whose best aptitude would find full scope in the study of the mother tongue and its literature, supposing them to have a taste for language and for the higher pursuits of the human mind. Emerson says, "What is really best in any book is translatable,—any real insight or broad human sentiment." He who has mastered the English, then, has within reach whatever is best in all literature.

Our three years' course, with but little preliminary training, cannot be expected to furnish much. Our students can never become advanced enough in that time to be more than superficially acquainted with Latin and Greek. Their knowledge would rather tend to cultivate their conceit than to fit them for faithful educators of their race, because not complete enough to enable them to estimate its true value. The great need of the Negro is logic, and the subjection of feeling to reason; yet in supplying his studies we must exercise his curiosity, his love of the marvellous, and his imagination as means of sustaining his enthusiasm.

An English course embracing reading and elocution, geography, mathematics, history, the sciences, the study of the mother tongue and its literature, the leading principles of mental and moral science and political economy, would, I think, make up a curriculum that would exhaust the best powers of nineteen-twentieths of those who would, for years to come, enter the institute. Should, however, any pupil have a rare aptitude for the classics, and desire to become a man of letters in the largest sense, it would be our duty to provide special instruction for him or send him where he could receive it. For such the Howard University at Washington offers a broad and high plane of intellectual advantage.

The question of coeducation of the sexes is, to my mind, settled by most favorable experience with the present plan. Our school is a little world. The life is genuine, the circle of influence is complete. The system varies industry, and cheapens the cost of living. If the condition of woman is the true gauge of civilization, how should we be working, except indirectly, for a

real elevation of society by training young men alone? The freed woman is where slavery left her. Her average state is one of pitiable destitution of whatever should adorn and elevate her sex. In every respect the opportunities of the sexes should be equal, and two years of experience have shown that young men and women of color may be educated together to the greatest mutual advantage, and without detriment to a high moral standard.

We now come to the consideration of the third branch of our subject,—namely, the disciplinary features of the institution. No necessity has so far arisen for the adoption of a system of marks, prizes, or other such incentives. Expulsion has sometimes, though rarely, been resorted to. Our most perplexing cases have been those of honest, well-meaning students, either of limited ability and fine character, or those of low propensity or childishness or coarseness of character. One of the latter class may be a zealous student, and there may be a power in him that will be used in a good or bad cause, yet this evil trait will be quickly caught by the pliant and younger ones around him. He finally may become a strong and worthy man, but meanwhile great mischief is wrought. The tone of the school is lowered. Many have learned wickedness of which they can scarcely be cured. The celebrated head-master of Rugby said, "Till a man learns that the first, second, and the third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be." A course of study, beyond the rudiments, is not best for all. I expect young men will be discharged, without dishonor, from this institute, who will become eminent partly because sent off to travel a more difficult and heroic way.

To implant right motive power and good habits, aided by the student's own perceptions, to make him train himself, is the end of discipline. Yet there is need of much external force, mental and moral, especially upon the plastic natures with whom we deal. There must be study of the character, advice, sympathy, and, above all, a judicious letting alone.

Of all our work, that upon the heart is the most important. There can be no question as to the paramount necessity of teaching the vital precepts of the Christian faith, and of striving to awaken a genuine enthusiasm for the higher life, that shall be sustained, and shall be the strong support of the young workers who may go out to be examples of their race.

In the history of our institution so far, we have cause for en-

couragement. Three years ago this month our building began with but $2,000 on hand or in prospect; for, although the American Missionary Association selected and purchased this most fortunate spot and paid our running expenses, it could not offer the means of construction. Already nearly $100,000 have been expended in permanent improvements, for which we may thank the Freedman's Bureau and Northern benefactors. I think we may reasonably hope to build up here, on historic grounds, an institution that will aid freedmen to escape from the difficulties that surround them, by affording the best possible agency for their improvement in mind and heart, by sending out, not pedagogues, but those whose culture shall be upon the whole circle of living, and who with clear insight and strong purpose will do a quiet work that shall make the land purer and better.

MEMORANDA FOUND AMONG GEN. ARMSTRONG'S PAPERS AT HIS DEATH.

"Now that all is bright, the family together, and there is nothing to alarm and very much to be thankful for, it is well to look ahead and, perhaps, to say the things that I should wish known should I suddenly die.

"I wish to be buried in the school graveyard, among the students, where one of them would have been put had he died next.

"I wish no monument or fuss whatever over my grave; only a simple headstone,—no text or sentiment inscribed, only my name and date. I wish the simplest funeral service, without sermon or attempt at oratory—a soldier's funeral.

"I hope there will be enough friends to see that the work of the school shall continue. Unless some shall make sacrifice for it, it cannot go on.

"A work that requires no sacrifice does not count for much in fulfilling God's plans. But what is commonly called sacrifice is the best, happiest use of one's self and one's resources—the best investment of time, strength, and means. He who makes no such sacrifice is most to be pitied. He is a heathen, because he knows nothing of God.

"In the school the great thing is not to quarrel; to pull all together; to refrain from hasty, unwise words and actions; to unselfishly and wisely seek the best good of all; and to get rid of workers whose temperaments are unfortunate—whose heads are not level; no matter how much knowledge or culture they may have Cantankerousness is worse than heterodoxy.

"I wish no effort at a biography of myself made. Good friends might get up a pretty good story, but it would not be the whole truth. The truth of life usually lies deep down—we hardly know ourselves—God only does. I trust His mercy. The shorter one's creed the better. 'Simply to Thy cross I cling' is enough for me.

"I am most thankful for my parents, my Hawaiian home, for war experiences, and college days at Williams, and for life and work at Hampton. Hampton has blessed me in so many ways; along with it have come the choicest people of this country for my friends and helpers, and then such a grand chance to do something directly for those set free by the war, and, indirectly, for those who were conquered; and Indian work has been another great privilege.

"Few men have had the chance that I have had. I never gave up or sacrificed anything in my life—have been, seemingly, guided in everything.

"Prayer is the greatest thing in the world. It keeps us near to God—my own prayer has been most weak, wavering, inconstant, yet has been the best thing I have ever done. I think this is universal truth—what comfort is there in any but the broadest truth?

"I am most curious to get a glimpse of the next world. How will it seem? Perfectly fair and perfectly natural, no doubt. We ought not to fear death. It is friendly.

"The only pain that comes at the thought of it is for my true, faithful wife and blessed, dear children. But they will be brave about it all and in the end stronger. They are my greatest comfort.

"Hampton must not go down. See to it, you who are true to the black and red children of the land and to just ideas of education.

"The loyalty of old soldiers and of my students has been an unspeakable comfort.

"It pays to follow one's best light—to put God and country first, ourselves afterward.

"Taps has just sounded.

"S. C. Armstrong.

"Hampton, Virginia, New Year's Eve, 1890."

Samuel Chapman Armstrong was born Jan. 30, 1839, in the island of Maui, Hawaiian Islands, his father and mother being missionaries to the Hawaiians. He received his early education at the "Royal School" at Punahou, founded for the training of the young chiefs, Kalakaua and Liliuokalani, who later became king and queen of the islands, being among his playmates. The school was presided over by two Americans, and the mission children outnumbered the natives. Armstrong wrote of the school in later years, "I regard it as the ideal school of all I have ever known for the perfect balance of its mental and moral inspiration." Manual labor was required of all the pupils, and the school furnished Armstrong with many suggestions later for Hampton. In 1860 he entered the Junior Class at Williams College in Massachusetts, it being the dearest wish of his father, who died just before, that he should be under the influence of Dr. Mark Hopkins, its revered president. Armstrong formed a lasting friendship with the great teacher, and felt his influence through life. Immediately upon his graduation he entered the army, as captain

of a company in a New York regiment, reached the front in September, 1862, and served until the close of the war. Just after the battle of Gettysburg, where his skill and courage were conspicuous, he was promoted to the rank of major. Later, in 1863, he became lieutenant colonel of a colored regiment. "All mankind," he wrote, "are looking to see whether the African will show himself equal to the opportunity before him. And what is this opportunity? It is to demonstrate to the world that he is a *man*." In 1864 he became colonel of another colored regiment, which he commanded until the end.

Early in 1866 he entered the service of the Freedmen's Bureau. "We've a great lot of contrabands down on the Virginia Peninsula," said one of the aides at the Washington office, "and can't manage them: no one has had success in keeping them straight. General Howard thinks you might try it." Armstrong tried it. He arrived at Fortress Monroe in March, 1866, and rode out a few miles to his post at the village of Hampton. The work which followed is detailed by General Armstrong himself in the paper reprinted in the present leaflet. The Hampton Institute was founded in 1868; and its life and Armstrong's life were one for the next twenty-five years. His first report to the trustees of the Institute, in 1870, given in the present leaflet, stated his principles and programme for the school. He said twenty years later that the statement "is as much the work of my friend and former associate, Mr. Francis Richardson, then farm manager (a graduate of Haverford College), as it is my own. After about two years of service together and careful discussion for several evenings, each with pen in hand, we wrote our ideas of a proper 'platform' for the school, and put them together." He reprinted this "platform" in his Report for 1890, with the remark: "I would now hardly change a word of the above statement either for present or future use." General Armstrong died at Hampton, May 11, 1893. His body was laid among those of his Negro and Indian students who had died at the school,—"where one of them would have been put, had he died next," was his charge,—with a block of Williamstown granite at one end of the grave and one of Hawaiian volcano rock at the other.

There is a biography of General Armstrong by his daughter, Edith Armstrong Talbot, to which the student is primarily referred. The volume entitled "Twenty-two Years' Work of the Hampton Institute," published in 1893, containing the chapter by General Armstrong reprinted in this leaflet and chapters by General Marshall, Miss Ludlow, and others of his associates, is of high historical value concerning the early period of the Institute. Many important words upon Armstrong's life and work have been published, among them the noble addresses by Professor Francis G. Peabody, Mr. Robert C. Ogden, Rev. John H. Denison, and President Franklin Carter of Williams College. President Carter, speaking at Hampton in 1902, said:—

"Think of the great schools that have had their origin in this school; think of the hundreds of little schools that have been guided by the student graduates of this school; think of the thousands of children that throughout the South have learned how to read, cipher, write and speak properly, to watch the growth of plants and animals, to know something of the history of our country and of the world, to whom the world is such a different place because General Armstrong lived and died here; think of the hundreds of steady, productive farmers, carpenters, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, bricklayers, leather-workers, who have gone out from here to contribute to the comfort and improvement of their own race and to the stability of society; and think of the hundreds of mothers trained to neatness and thrift, with enough perception and love of knowledge to quicken in their little ones the thirst for respectable attainments and the sincere love of home, all because General Armstrong lived and died here. The cost has been indeed great, but the harvest also wonderfully great. Had this school done nothing more than to send out one Booker Washington, it would have been a glorious success. Had Williams College no other graduate than Samuel Chapman Armstrong, it would have amply paid for its cost."

Old South Leaflets.

No. 150.

Old Jersey.

By GEORGE E. WARING, Jr.

Nothing in the whole experience of travel produces such genuine emotion as discovery. To come upon an interesting and important old town, of which we had hitherto known next to nothing, and of which we are sure that most of our countrymen are equally ignorant, awakens an introverted enthusiasm that proves us akin to Columbus. "Where is Treves, exactly? I don't think I quite know." Such a question as this, from one who is otherwise our equal, always emphasizes the secret satisfaction with which we contemplate our individual merit of good fortune.

Discovery is not the least of the great pleasures that finally reward those who climb down from the high quay at St. Malo and embark on the side-wheeler "Pinta," bound for the untried waters of La Manche, which we found still so lashed by the tail of the "forte tempête" that even the barbarous passage from Dover to Calais faded from our recollection. After four hours of almost mortal agony, we ran past the great mole at St. Helier's, and were in still water. In due time we were in the old "Hôtel de la Pomme d'Or," and were at rest, amid such wholesome old-fashioned hospitality and cordial attention as only a combination of French and English customs can give. Think of Southdown mutton and "Suprême de Volaille," of English tea and French coffee, under the same roof!

The rain, which had so much interfered with our pleasure in France, had rained itself out, and our two weeks in Jersey were

blessed with the most superb autumn weather. We were in a land rarely visited by Americans, and so little known to our literature of travel that at each turn of its beautiful lanes we found a fresh surprise and delight. So much as is generally known of the island relates—just as our popular notions of Siam centre around its twins—to the cattle for which it has long been famous. The cattle are still there in all their beauty, but they are only an element of a beauty that is almost universal.

Our own interest in Jersey was largely an agricultural one, but we found much else that cannot fail to engage the attention of all who care for the picturesqueness of history, of society, and of nature. The island lies sixteen miles west of the coast of Normandy, forty miles north of Brittany, and about one hundred miles south of England. It is about as large as our own Staten Island, containing nearly forty thousand acres of land, about twenty-five thousand of which are under cultivation. The population is over fifty-six thousand, or about two and one-fourth for each acre of cultivated land. More than one-half of the population is in St. Helier's, which is the only town of considerable size.

More even than most islands, Jersey is a little world by itself, with its own history and local peculiarities, very different from any that we find in other countries. Its agriculture is as unlike that of England or France as are the people themselves unlike their French cousins or their English compatriots.

If one feature of the scenery is more peculiar to the island than any other (and almost more charming than anything of its kind elsewhere), it is the embowered lanes which intersect it in every direction, like a network of lovers' walks. They are always of about the same character, yet always varying: a narrow, capitally made road—as hard and smooth as those of Central Park—often only wide enough for a single vehicle, but with frequent bays for passing; high earthen banks at the sides for fences, which make the lane seem a trench cut into the soil; trees growing from the tops of these banks, sending their snake-like roots down under the grass and clustering ferns, to the firm ground beneath, and overarching the way with their branches; and, to crown all, the greenest and most luxuriant ivy, starting at the roadside gutters, and, claiming its share of the bank, winding itself closely around the trunks of the trees, and draping their interlocked branches overhead, or infolding the end of a dead limb with a mass of sturdy blossom or fruit. New trees are

springing up to replace those which the ivy has reduced to mere stumps or trunks of solid verdure, and so the form and combination of the row is varied at every step. Frequent gate-ways open glimpses into the fields. Here and there a bit of stone-work replaces or supports the earthen wall. There are many cool-looking, stone-arched, natural fountains sunk in the verdure, and sometimes the land slopes away from the road into an overgrown ravine, from which there comes the sound of running water.

The winding lane at Rozel, which runs at the crest of a damp and sheltered ravine, in whose deep shade a rivulet runs, and the old manor road at Vinchelez (with an ancient Norman gate-way), are good examples of Jersey lanes; but there are miles and miles of these in every direction, all of the same general character, and constantly changing in detail.

It is through such secluded ways as these, and past comfortable farm-houses and thatched cottages and sheds, that one drives to get an impression of the agriculture and the life of Jersey. It soon becomes evident, however, that no traveller's casual impression will do justice to this compact little country. It is too different from what we find elsewhere, and needs study to be understood.

Wishing to get the full impression of *living* in Jersey, we made but a short stay at the "Pomme d'Or," for the blessed English institution of "lodgings" prevails,—an institution whose adoption in America would add much to the comfort of the nomadic part of our population. Driving about in the neighborhood of the town, we decided on a cottage on the shore of St. Aubin's Bay (about a mile from St. Helier's), kept by a widow and her daughter, who, with the help of a small handmaiden, did all the work of the establishment. We had a pleasant parlor and dining-room *en suite*, three chambers and sufficient closets. For this, with service, fires, gas, and all extras, the charge was three guineas per week (about seventeen dollars currency). We did our own marketing in person, and had passbooks with the butcher, grocer, and baker, and were soon as much at home, and in as regular relations with our base of supply in the town, as though we had no other home in the world. In the house the hours, the customs, and the diet were quite under our control, and we were fast growing into Jerseymen, which seemed a very pleasant thing to do. Our rooms occupied the whole sea-front of the house, and commanded a superb view (toward the afternoon sun and

the crescent moon) over the bay and past Noirmont Point. The view to the left was bounded by the town and harbor, and before us stood the storied pile of Elizabeth Castle, like Mont St. Michel, an island at high tide, and accessible over the dry sands at low water. Looking to the right, toward Noirmont Point, the view lies across St. Aubin's Bay, with the cluster of rocks on which St. Aubin's castle stands. Even Jersey has not been exempt from the invasion of the railroad, and every half-hour there rattled along the shore in front of us the odd little train that runs from St. Helier's to St. Aubin's, four miles. It was drawn by a little pony of a locomotive, and consisted of two cars, like those of England, but with a covered and well-railed balcony running along each side, and usually occupied by the passengers, who at this season generally avoided the closer compartments within. This arrangement gives an unusual width to the cars, but there seems to be no objection to it for roads where there are no cuttings: it is, certainly, most agreeable in pleasant weather, and admits of the opening of windows during rain.

Being much favored in the matter of weather, we passed a good part of every day in driving about the country, sometimes lingering over the majestic rocks of the north coast, which rises about three hundred feet above the sea, and is especially abrupt and grand, but more often haunting the quieter lanes and drinking our fill of a sensation not to be repeated in our different rural surroundings at home. Jersey is pre-eminently a country for idling. It is large enough for varied excursions, but small enough for any point to be reached easily, and it has an ever-varying and never-ending charm of coast and interior, of which one does not tire.

An impression of the island, gained only from the extreme western and northern coasts, would be an impression of a high, rocky, and almost treeless land, with little to invite the visitor, save the noble bluffs and rocks; but almost immediately on leaving the coast one drops into the characteristic rural scenes which greet him at every turn until he reaches the low-lying shores of Grouville and St. Clements. Little dells near the north side of the island, their rivulets combining to form the growing brooks, unite in deeper and broadening valleys which spread into the plains at the south,—plains into which the hills project here and there, giving admirable variety to even these lower lands, and affording the most charming sites for country-houses that overlook the St. Clements coast, fringed at low tide with far-reaching,

mellow-colored rocks. Among these the spring tides rise to the height of forty feet, leaving them bare for miles as they recede.

A good object in driving is to see the old parish churches, going from one to the other, with the aid of a map, through the cross-lanes, which are much more picturesque than the main highways, and which often drop down into charming valleys, past old-time mills, and among old thatched farm-houses.

The churches themselves are interesting from without, but the interiors that we saw are dull and cold and colorless. They all stand in ancient church-yards thickly set with tombstones, whose inscriptions are in French, and many of which are very old. These churches are all ancient, and there has never been an elaborate restoration of any of them. They seem to have been merely kept in suitable condition for use, and the necessary additions have generally been made in the style of the original structure.

The most recent of these edifices is that of St. Helier's, which was consecrated in 1341. Eight of the twelve were consecrated in the twelfth century,—the oldest, St. Brelade's, in 1111. This was the earliest Christian church in the Channel Islands, and is much the most antiquated and picturesque of all. St. Saviour's Church, with a square tower and fine ivy, which stands just beyond the edge of the town, and St. Martin's, four miles out, with the more usual angular spire, are perhaps the finest examples of the type.

These churches, in nearly every instance, consist of two or three similar stone buildings standing side by side (probably built one after another as needed by the growing population). The separating wall is opened with archways, so as to bring the congregation all within range of the minister's voice, though the heavy pillars still cut off very many from the controlling reach of his eye.

I found attendance at two of the country churches at which I stopped on Sunday morning rides anything but inspiriting. Aside from the novelty of the use of the French language in the familiar Episcopal service, there was little to relieve that heavy air of blank *ennui* which so dulls us in the whitewashed interiors of many of our old parish churches at home.

From their quaint exteriors, their conspicuous age, the æsthetical capacities of the church ritual, the fair assumption that French congregations would put more form and art into their religious exercises than New England congregations do, and from the

rustic simplicity of the people (no less than from their charming rural surroundings), one would naturally expect an ideal service, —simple, tender, and full of dim religious emotion. Indeed, as I recall the conditions under which these exercises are held, I can only think that my selections were unfortunate, and that in those churches which I did not visit (in spite of their glaring white walls) I might have had a better experience, and that the interest which is necessarily awakened by these gray, mossy, and ivy-grown sanctuaries need not always be checked on passing their low portals.

The Channel Islands boast of being the oldest possessions of the present ruling house of Great Britain. Normandy, to which they then belonged, was given by Charles the Simple to Duke Rollo in 912, and it passed to the English crown with William the Conqueror. When Normandy was regained by France, the islands remained with England, and, although Jersey has been frequently attacked and sometimes invaded by the French, they have never had possession of more than a portion of the island, and never succeeded in conquering the loyal spirit of its people, though they committed wide devastation. So much was Norman or French invasion feared that there were inserted in the litany the words, "And from the fury of the Normans, good Lord, deliver us!"

When King John lost Normandy, he looked upon these islands "as the last Plank left of so great a Shipwrack," and resolved to keep them at whatever cost. He was twice in Jersey in person, and became a sort of vicarious father of the country, to which he gave "many excellent Laws and Priviledges."

During the reign of Edward III., the famous Du Guesclin, with an army that included the flower of French chivalry, effected a landing, held possession of the eastern parishes, and besieged for some months Mont Orgueil Castle, to which the chief person of the island had retired. The castle held out, and the invaders withdrew into France.

Henry VI., during his contest for the throne, solicited French aid against Edward IV., and his Queen contracted with the Count de Maulevrier that, in consideration for his services, the Channel Islands should be made over to him. He seized Mont Orgueil Castle by surprise, and employed every device of kindness to induce the people of Jersey to renounce their allegiance to England and to acknowledge him. "He could never prevail on the inclinations of a people who were enraged to see them-

selves sold to the French, a nation which they hated; insomuch that, in about six years' time, he could never make himself master of above half the island." During this period there were frequent skirmishes between the French and the troops of the loyal Seigneur of St. Ouen, who held the western parishes.

Finally, under Edward IV. the castle was reduced by famine, and the French were driven quite out of the island.

Mont Orgueil, which dates back to the time of Cæsar, figures largely in the early history of Jersey, and its story is full of interest. It is now a noble mass of ruin, and the ivy which frames its abandoned loopholes piles massy green upon its crumbling parapet, and drapes its ponderous sides with living verdure; the ivy and the salt sea-winds have claimed it for their own; it is only a dreamy old crag of solid walls, whispering its tale of the bygone times in the idle and gladly credulous ear of the traveller. At its feet breaks the summer spray of La Manche, and from its crest one sees, across the smoky distance, the phantom spires of Coutances. There is a snug inn in the little village of Gorey beneath the castle. In front of this, vessels lie heeled over on their sides on the harbor mud, waiting idly for the rising tide. There are charming walks near at hand, when the single visit has been paid to the prosaic cromlech on the hill, where the old Druids celebrated their now forgotten rites.

Between the castle and St. Helier's is La Hougue Bie, a tumulary mound, overgrown with rhododendron, on which stands an ancient tower with several furnished rooms and a little chapel. This is one of the lions of Jersey (admission sixpence, and "please remember the guide, sir"). A quaint legend of treachery and retribution and wifely devotion is droned off by the small showman, and the visitor is conducted to the elevated platform, from which the charming freshness and beauty of the southeastern parishes are realized as from no other point, and where the best idea is gained of the insular character of Jersey, and of its nearness to the French coast.

It is not, after all, for its lions that one should visit Jersey, but rather for the great enjoyment of its lanes and homelike little farms. Any mile of its smaller roads is worth all else that it has to offer to those who are only in pursuit of pleasure; and, indeed, one who enjoys simple country things, and an air of foreign and unmodern quaintness, need seek no farther to find these in their most engaging and unspoiled form.

Naturally, one who visits this island will have much of his

attention taken up by the town and the people, and their institutions. It is not an attractive town, nor especially unattractive. Falle wrote, in 1693: "The chief Town is St. Helier, a neat, well-built Town, seated near the Sea, containing about a 1,000 Inhabitants, who are for the most part Merchants, Traders, and Artificers; The Gentry and People of the best Fashion living generally in the Country. Tis the ordinary Seat of Justice; and here is kept a Market, in the nature of a Fair, every Saturday, where Gentlemen meet for Conversation as well as for Business." It is closely built, and has a busy air, and its population includes a large element of English families, who have been attracted here by a combination of climate, cheapness, and good schools; and, in the summer time, a more conspicuous element of cheap tourists. These are known as "Five Pounders," many of them being clerks spending their holiday weeks and their five-pound notes in noisy and unlovely pastimes. Happily they fill the great open excursion-cars and spend the whole day in the country. These cars, drawn by four horses, are of such width that they must needs keep to the broad roads, and their routes are easily avoided. In all our wanderings, we very rarely fell in with them.

This incursion of tourists and the large floating population have built up certain branches of trade to unexpected proportions. The port of Jersey is absolutely free (save for a slight impost on spirits); and wages and the cost of living are so low that shopping is exceptionally cheap. Some of the shops are a surprise for their size and completeness. One establishment has every conceivable article of useful and ornamental furniture, including rare china and glass. Another shop, De Gruchy's, is larger and more complete than any that I know in America, except two or three in New York, especially in its supply and variety of useful goods: it includes a capital tailoring establishment, and ladies' dresses and men's hats seem to be important branches. We found the prices of certain goods much lower than in corresponding shops in London, and could very well understand that, to a family man in need of an outfit, the æsthetic inducement is not the only one that Jersey holds out.

The native population of the town are English of the English, —in their dress and in their sentiment of nationality; but there lurk under the surface some qualities that betray the unmixed Norman blood that still fills their veins, modified by eight hundred years of English nationality, but lacking the admixture of the Saxon and old Briton elements. In the presence of the world

at large the Jerseyman is an Englishman; but in the presence of the English he asserts himself (at least to himself) a Jerseyman. He is proud of his allegiance to England, but prouder still that he is of this choicest and oldest part of the English possessions.

The odd thing about this island, and the one that seems most incongruous, is that the language of the people, especially in the country, but also very largely in the town, is French. We often met women and children on the farms who spoke no English, and in one very attractive photograph shop in St. Helier's we were asked if we did not speak French. Many of the market-women seem to be only sufficiently acquainted with English for the purposes of their traffic. The regular service in all the parish churches is in French, but there is in St. Helier's Church an afternoon service in English for the benefit of the garrison. The official language of the courts is French, but English suitors may examine witnesses and address the court in their own tongue. Official notices are posted in the two languages. The reading part of the population is more largely English, if we may judge from the fact that there are six English newspapers and only three French ones. This, however, may result from the fact that the newspaper is much more fully developed in England than in France.

One might pass some time in the town, in the usual way of tourists, without discovering that he was not in an English community; but a trip to the country would soon inform him. The men and the younger women and the larger children speak modern French as their language of law and devotion, and English (usually less readily and perfectly) as their language of trade and business intercourse; but both tongues are in a measure foreign to them, while to the younger children and the older women they seem to be sometimes but little known, except for the routine of the church service. The language of the Jersey hearthstone—the "mother-tongue" of the country people—is French, it is true, but it is the French of the days of the old Dukes of Normandy, that which was carried by the Conqueror into England, and may be better described as the Anglo-Norman. It is essentially the same language as that of the present country population of Normandy, save that this has some engraftings of modern French, as that of Jersey has of English.

The modern language of Jersey (we have hardly the right to call this cradle of our own tongue a *patois*) is illustrated by the following specimen: "J'ai bain des fais paslait a mes ammins à

l'endrait d'esl'ver un monueusment à s'nhonneu, mais chest comme si j'm'capuchais la teste contre la pathé, ils ont poeux desmonaizir quicq' herpins,—eh! Mon Gui, il en laissont drièthe ieux d'ches fréluques, nou n'les mettra pou à lus servir d'ouothill quand nou les pliache 'cha dans lues dernièthe grande naithe casaque et que nou il'z'envietha à s'er' poser dans l'bain grand Gardin a noutr' ammin le Ministre Fillieu."

In modern French this would be: "J'ai bien des fois parlé à mes amis au sujet d'élever un monument à son honneur, mais c'est comme si je me cognais la tête contre un mur, ils ont peur de dépenser quelques sous,—eh! Mon Dieu, ils en laisseront derrière eux de ces fréluques, on ne les mettra point à leur servir d'oreiller, quand nous les placerons dans leur dernier grand habit noir, et qu'on les enverra se reposer dans le beau grand jardin de notre ami le Révérend Filleul."

A knowledge of French helps hardly at all to an understanding of Jersey French when spoken. It is a rude language, and seems not out of place among the poorer people, but it is odd to hear it familiarly used by educated persons; yet in the most aristocratic families it is the language of the household. We once asked our way of an old woman who was working in her garden. Pointing to the left, she told us to go "too gowshe" (*tout gauche*). We addressed very few who could not speak modern French, but the knowledge of English is much less common than would seem possible in an island so small that no house is more than about ten miles from a large town, where it is so generally used that it seems at first the language of the place.

Jersey is an outpost of England rather than an integral part of the Empire. It is under the protection rather than under the control of the Crown, which appoints (and supports at its own cost) a Lieutenant-Governor, who is a military officer of high rank, and commander of the considerable garrison, which is maintained without charge to the population. Acts of Parliament are not binding unless they have been specially sent by order of Council to be registered in the island. For most purposes, the local legislature ("The States of Jersey") is an independent authority, but their acts are passed "subject to the sanction of Her Most Excellent Majesty in Council." If not approved, they lapse three years after their enactment, but may be renewed from time to time.

The chief local officer is called the Bailiff. He with twelve Jurats (one from each parish) constitute the Royal Court, and

these, with the twelve rectors, twelve constables, and the fourteen deputies, elected, one from each parish, and two additional from St. Helier's, form "The States of Jersey." The bailiff presides, and he has the casting vote; but the States cannot be convened without the consent of the governor, who has the right of veto,—rarely exercised, for this official, if he be wise, confines himself mainly to the affairs of the garrison, to the management of the militia, to the enjoyment of his beautifully placed country-seat on the hill back of the town, and to systematic entertainments.

The bailiff, the jurats, and the rectors hold office for life. The bailiff and the rectors are appointed by the crown, and the jurats are elected by the rate-payers. They are not required to have legal qualifications, but certain occupations disqualify, such as butcher, baker, and innkeeper. When sitting in the Royal Court, the bailiff and the jurats wear robes of red cloth, which are more or less suggestive of bathing-dresses. In this snug little republic the *vox populi* is not so much expressed at the ballot-box as in the close intercourse of all classes, which must make the will of the people clear to their rulers, who are born Jersey-men themselves and who, probably, value the approval of their fellow-islanders beyond all other worldly incentive to right-doing.

Even-handed justice, according to the laws, seems to prevail, if we may judge from the fact that on the occasion of our visit a former jurat was in prison, and awaiting trial before the body of which he had lately been a member. So far as I could understand the case, his crime was that of having declared a dividend when the bank of which he was a director was in an insolvent condition, though in a fair way to pull through if a good dividend should have the effect of putting up the price of its shares and attracting depositors. How would such a test of crime apply in our republic?

I was one day talking with a Jersey gentleman about this case, and asked him how in such a community so large a failure was possible, suggesting that the affairs of the bank could hardly be kept from the knowledge, nor, in a measure, from the control of many of the best people. He replied sadly, and without enlightening me:—

"Ah! You see, it was a Dissenting bank."

Among the more peculiar laws is one affecting debtors. When a man is unable to pay his debts, he may be forced to "make cession"; that is, he gives up his entire assets to his creditors.

The one whose claim is the most recent has the option of taking the property on paying the other creditors. If he refuses, his claim is annulled, and the next in order of time has the opportunity, which he must accept, or forfeit his claim; and so on, until, from the extinction of a portion of the debts, a creditor is found who will pay what remains and take the estate. By the operation of a recent law a debtor may be released by consent of the majority of his creditors.

Jersey is much sought, especially by invalids, by reason of its equable climate. Much of its natural beauty, too, as well as the character of its ornamental planting, is due to its soft skies and mild winters. Changes of temperature are not often sudden or severe. The summer weather is rarely hot, and the winter is never cold. The fuchsia is a hardy shrub, and grows to a great size: it is much used as a hedge plant. Pampas grass is conspicuous in every lawn, and grows to dimensions which in our climate are quite unknown; the araucaria grows in the open air, and reaches a fine size; maidenhair and hart's-tongue fern grow wild on the fence banks; the oleander, the agave, the yucca, and the azalea flourish in private grounds beside the rich vegetation of New Zealand and the Norfolk Islands. In the grounds of Mr. Gibaut, in St. Laurence valley, there are dozens of large trees of camellia japonica, which bloom throughout the winter in the most magnificent profusion, and these are everywhere successful in the open air. Against south walls the orange ripens its fruit. The geranium is perfectly hardy, and, indeed, very many plants which can be grown only under glass in England, and only with fire heat here, succeed perfectly in the open air in Jersey. The grass is green all winter, and many sorts of trees hold their leaves very late. I have seen the laurestinus bursting its flower-buds early in December, and the whole air of the island, except on the exposed northern and western coasts, is that of a country where one may have a perpetual conservatory at one's door, roofed only by the kindly sky.

There is no miasma, and the air is not depressing, as might be suspected. On the contrary, it is a perfectly satisfactory climate for walking, quite as much so, and even more constantly so, than that of England. Consumption in its early stages is said to be checked by a residence here, and many chronic diseases yield to the effect of the wholesome air and the out-of-door life. Rheumatism, however, is said to be aggravated. Ansted, in his work on the Channel Islands, says: "It may safely be assumed

that all the islands are admirably adapted to restore the health, and strengthen both mentally and bodily the overtaxed energies of the inhabitants of great cities. They afford a pure, clear atmosphere, containing a large quantity of saline matter and iodine, and the frequent high winds insure a constant freshness, preventing the depressing effect sometimes accompanying humidity."

Falle, the historian of Jersey (Rector of St. Saviour's), after descanting on the advantage to the island of having its slope all in one direction, so that the rivulets gain sufficient size to turn "betwixt 30 and 40 mills that supply the whole country," says: "The second Benefit we receive from this Situation is that by this Declivity of the Land from N to S, the beams of the Sun fall more directly and perpendicularly thereon than if either the Surface was level and Parallel to the Sea, or which is worse, declined from S to N, as it doth in Guernezey. For there, by an odd opposition to Jersey, the land is high on the S, and low on the N, which causes, if I may so speak, a double obliquity; the one from the Position of the Sun itself, especially in time of the Winter Solstice; the other from the Situation of the Land; and is probably the Reason of the great Difference observed in the Qualities of Soil and Air in both Islands."

The quaintness of Falle's style only adds to his interest in the estimation of the student of Jersey. The roads lose nothing from his account of them. They were of three kinds: 1. "Le Chemin du Roy," twelve feet wide; 2. "Le Chemin de huit pieds," eight feet wide; and 3. "Le Chemin de quatre pieds," four feet wide, "serving only for Carriages or Horseback." "And yearly about Midsummer, there is a Perambulation of the Magistrates in one or more of the Parishes to inquire in what Repair these ways are kept, which is performed very Solemnly. The Constable of the Parish where the Perambulation is to be, takes with him 12 of the Principal Men of his Parish, and meets the Judge attended by 3 or more of the Jurats on Horseback: Before whom rideth the Viscount or Sheriff, with his Staff of Office erected, one End thereof on the Pommel of his Saddle. In ancient times it was *Cum Lanceâ*, with a Launce. He keeps the middle of the way, the Constable and his 12 Men walking on foot by his side; and when his Staff encountereth with a Bough or Branch hanging on the way, the Owner of the hedge is fined: But if the fault be in the bottom of the way, not the Party bordering but the Overseers of that Tything are amerced.

"We had anciently another way, and of very different Use, called *Perquage* from the word *Pertica* because it was exactly 24 Foot broad, which is the measure of a Perch. There were but XII of them in the whole Island beginning one at every Church, and from thence leading straight to the Sea. The Use of them was to conduct those who for some Capital offence had taken Sanctuary in any of the Churches and had been forced to abjure the Island according to an ancient custom practised among Us in those days. Having abjured, they were conducted by the Church-men along those *Perquages* to the Sea, which Perquages were still a Sanctuary to them; for if they strayed never so little, they lost the benefit of the Sanctuary and were liable to the Law."

Some of these Sanctuary roads are still the lines of the main roads leading to the churches.

Deploring the excessive use of "cidar," of which he estimates that there were made in good years twenty-four thousand hogsheads, all of which was consumed in the island "beyond use and necessity, even to Excess and Debauchery," he says: "Could Men be satisfied with the common Drink of Nature, Water I mean, no People in the World are more liberally stored with that than we of this Island: 'Tis in my Opinion the great Wonder of this Island, that whereas it is as it were but a great Rock, standing in the midst of the Salt Sea, it abounds beyond what is seen in any other Country under Heaven, with fresh and excellent Springs, which gush out of the hard Rock, and bubble up everywhere, running in a thousand pretty Brooks and Streams among the Dales, till they lose themselves in that great Receptacle of waters, the Ocean. There is hardly a house that has not such a Spring or Brook near it."

Near the southwest corner of the island there is a high-lying, barren-looking stretch of sandy country, called the Quenvais, which is in strange contrast to the rest of Jersey. Of this the devout Rector, who never neglects a chance to point a moral, says: "We must except a large Tract of once excellent Lands in the West of the Island, which within these 200 Years have been so overrun with Sands, that the Island on that side beareth the Image of a Desart. This is said to have happened by Divine Vengeance on the Owners of those Lands, for detaining the Goods of Strangers that had been Shipwrackt on that Coast, though enjoyned by the highest Censure of the Church to restore them. There must be from time to time such publick Example

of Divine Justice among Men, that *the inhabitants of the Earth may learn Righteousness*." Then, his spirit of fair play asserting itself, he goes on: "And yet I confess it may't be also the Effect of a Cause not Preternatural: I mean of those high Westerly winds that blow here almost at all Seasons of the Year, and which on this side of the Island, are daily seen to drive the Sands from the Bottom to the Top of the highest Cliffs."

Outside of the towns the island is mostly divided into very small holdings. Inherited lands cannot be devised by will, but must follow the law of succession. Purchased property may be devised if there are no direct heirs to inherit it. The eldest son has, as his birthright, the house and about two acres of land (five vergées): he has, in addition to this, one tenth of the landed estate and rents. What remains is then divided, two-thirds between the sons, and one-third between the daughters. This law has effected a very minute subdivision, and even the consolidation of estates by purchase is much obstructed by a law that makes land liable for the debts of the former owner, even those contracted after he has sold it. One must know, in buying property, or in taking it on long lease, not only that the person selling or leasing, and his predecessors also, are solvent at the time, but that they are likely to remain so. With all its inconveniences, this law has had the effect of tying the people to the land more completely than is usual elsewhere. The soil owns the man rather than the man the soil. The surplus population is taken up by the professions and by commerce, and very largely by the Newfoundland cod-fisheries. Many small estates are rented, and the rents are high, often fifty dollars per acre for entire farms.

There are very few farms of over fifty acres,—not more than six or eight in the whole island. From fifteen to twenty acres is the usual size of the larger holdings, but the majority of families make a comfortable support from very much less,—often from two or three acres. Nearly every one living in the country cultivates some land, no matter how little: if only a small garden-plot, he still raises vegetables for market. If he has two or three vergées, he keeps a cow and some poultry and swine. Consequently, one's wanderings in any direction outside of the towns are among an almost purely agricultural people. The "gentry" invariably cultivate their own estates, and indeed one is at a loss to learn where the gentry ends and the peasantry begins. The best names in the island are borne by the smaller landholders as

well as by the larger, and cousinship links the population into a very compact community. One result is a much higher grade of intelligence among the very small farmers than would be expected: *noblesse oblige*,—to the extent that all feel themselves to belong in a higher social plane than their possessions would indicate, and that they strive to maintain their rightful dignity. The island directory, which contains the names of many who, from the smallness of their holdings, would be called peasants in other parts of Europe, is headed "List of the names and addresses of the Resident Gentry." The ambition of this people to maintain a good position is furthered by their situation and natural circumstances. Their soil is fertile; the sea-weed is abundant, and is a capital manure; the climate is absolutely a perfect one; and they have the best market in the world (Covent Garden) almost at their doors, to say nothing of their own town, which of itself should be able to consume all their staple products. Add to all this the possession of a race of cattle popular throughout the world, and of which the surplus is eagerly bought at high prices, and we shall understand why the position of the Jersey farmer is exceptionally favorable.

Provincial pride always reaches its most stalwart growth in islands, and in Jersey it attains proportions which are perhaps justified by a peculiarly isolated position, and by the tenacity with which old traditions and customs are still preserved. This incentive seconds that of family pride in stimulating the farmer, large or small, to the gathering of worldly gear, for which the soil is his only resource, and there results a thoroughly good agriculture, which has important lessons for us all. "High farming," in a small way, is as well exemplified here as in Belgium. Indeed, when we consider how much greater are the requirements of these farmers than are those of the Belgian peasants, and how comfortably they are supplied, we must confess that *petite culture* here reaches its best development. . . .

The high farming is not of the sort practised in England, where a large capital is employed, and where everything is done on an extensive scale, but rather that of garden cultivation, where every acre is made to do its very best, and where deep ploughing, heavy manuring, and careful attention produce their greatest effect. It is not to be understood from this that the farms are always neat and trim, and kept polished as if for show. On the contrary, they are very often untidy, and have an ill-kept look about the fence-corners, and tumble-down old thatch-covered stone sheds;

but, as everywhere in this climate, the ivy creeps over all neglected ruin, and decks even the end of an abandoned pigsty with such masses of enchanting green and blossom that one is glad that the business of the fields and stables has left the farmer no time to improve away this wealth of roadside beauty. In our ruder climate, decay is more or less hideous; but under these softer skies, when man abandons his works, Nature takes them into her tenderest clasp and blends them with grass and tree until they seem a part of her own handiwork.

There are generally clusters of houses about the parish churches, and at no point is one often out of sight of habitations. Frequently several houses are grouped together, and the whole of the cultivated part of the island is more like a straggling village than like the most thickly settled of our farming neighborhoods.

The country-houses are almost invariably built of stone, and the older ones are roofed with thatch or red tiles,—often with a combination of the two,—thatch on the upper part of the roof, and tiles near the eaves. Each place is well provided with outbuildings, such as bake-house, stable, cow-house, sties, sheds, barns, cider-house, store-houses, etc., conveniently arranged, and proportioned to the size of the farm. The fields contain usually from less than one to three acres of land, and are divided by huge banks of earth, often studded with trees. As land increases in value, these are in some cases being levelled, and their place supplied by hedges. Orchards abound, and well they may, for cider forms the chief beverage of the poorer classes, and its importation is forbidden by law. This accounts, too, for the prevalence of the cider-house.

Some of the agricultural customs are peculiar, especially the Vraic Harvest and "La Grande Fouerie." Vraic is sea-weed, and the supply is almost unlimited. Probably more than thirty thousand loads are secured every year. The "vraic venant"—that which is washed ashore by the storms—is free to be taken at all times between sunrise and sunset. The "vraic scié" is that which is cut from the rocks, and the harvest is regulated by law or by a hallowed custom. There are two cuttings each year, the first beginning with the first new or full moon after the first day of February, and lasting five weeks, and the second beginning in the middle of June, and terminating absolutely on the last day of August. For the first month of the summer cutting the privilege is confined to the poor, who, however, may take only what they can carry in their arms beyond the line of the spring

tides. The first day of the cutting is a general holiday. Crowds collect about the rocks and cut all they can (using a kind of sickle), throwing it into heaps until the tide turns. It is then, as rapidly as possible, carried beyond the reach of the advancing waters. When the day's work is done, the different groups meet at some house of refreshment and have a dance and a frolic. Some of the vraic is applied directly to the fields and ploughed in, and some is dried for fuel, the abundant ashes remaining being sold at about fourteen cents per bushel for manure.

"La Grande Fouerie," or the *great digging*, is a custom peculiar to the Channel Islands. It is an application in field culture of the practice of "trenching" common in gardens,—that is, of a complete inversion of the soil for a depth of fourteen inches or more,—but it is mainly done with ploughs. Neighbors join forces for this work, and make it a sort of "ploughing-bee." The plough is drawn by four, six, or eight horses, according to the depth desired. . . .

Charming though this little island is in every respect, and however engaging to the general tourist, it is only the farmer who can fully appreciate its most celebrated attraction,—the one which has made it noted throughout the agricultural world. I refer to the beautiful and excellent Jersey cow. . . .

The origin of these cattle is exceedingly obscure. They probably came first from Normandy and Brittany with the early settlers, perhaps a thousand years ago; but their characteristics are quite different from those of the animals of the mainland, and are doubtless an outgrowth of climate, soil, and habit. If we could imagine France to have been the centre from which the cattle spread with the movement of the Gauls to the east and south, and of the Normans to the Channel Islands, we should find a remarkable instance of the development of original characteristics in opposite directions. Throughout Eastern France, Southern Germany, and Northern Italy the cattle are very largely —in some wide districts almost universally—of solid color, with black switches, mealy noses, and rather coarse horns. They are somewhat larger and more beefy than the animals of Western France; and, as even the cows are regularly worked, their product of milk seems to be neither very large nor very rich. In the Channel Islands, while the same general characteristics are to be traced, the question of color has obviously been disregarded, and a large majority of the cattle have more or less white disposed in patches, white switches more often than not, white legs and

feet, finer horns, and much less size and fleshiness; on the other hand, they are, for their size, very large milkers, their milk is of an extreme richness, and their leanness and general want of force are such as might be expected of animals which do no work, not even the comparatively light work of roaming over pastures. [Here follows a careful section upon Jersey cattle, for the benefit of American farmers.]

The typical beauty of this race includes as a prominent feature its constant tendency to vary in its marking. A herd of differently colored Jersey cows, of good breeding and in good condition, may well be thought to furnish the perfection of bovine beauty with which to set off the attractions of ornamental grounds; and, indeed, the marvellous charm of the scenery of the Island of Jersey, where the vegetation of every clime grows in luxuriance, and where the ivy clothes every neglected stump and stone and every mound of earth with its abundant foliage, is emphasized and greatly increased by the beauty and varied coloring of the animals tethered in every field and orchard. . . .

Small though the Island of Jersey is, our two weeks were all too short for more than a glance at the island, with its peculiar manners and customs; but "fresh fields and pastures new" invited us to Guernsey, and with real regret we gave up our little house, with its charming view, transferred our daily drives to our lasting memory, set sail on a summer sea, and saw this charmed land fade into a dreamy blue cloud behind us.

George E. Waring, Jr., was born in Poundridge, Westchester County, New York, July 4, 1833. His boyhood was passed in Stamford, Connecticut, where his father was a manufacturer of agricultural implements, stoves, etc. He was educated in the schools of Stamford and Poughkeepsie, N.Y. He spent a year in the hardware business in New York City, when he was seventeen, and then returned to Stamford and managed a country grist mill for two years, when he became a pupil of Professor Mapes in scientific agriculture. For several winters he lectured before farmers' clubs and other bodies on improved methods of farming. In 1855 he undertook the management of Horace Greeley's famous farm at Chappaqua, N.Y., and soon afterwards acquired Frederick Law Olmstead's farm on Staten Island. This he soon gave up, having been appointed drainage engineer of Central Park, the improvement of which was being directed by Mr. Olmstead. He had charge of most of the agricultural work at the park until May, 1861, when he was commissioned major of the 39th New York Volunteers and went to Virginia. He became, the next year, colonel of a cavalry regiment in the West, and he was frequently in command of cavalry brigades, often on outpost service. After the war he engaged in coal and oil enterprises, which were unsuccessful: and in 1867 he removed to Newport, Rhode Island, and became a market gardener and florist, and a farmer. He had control of "Ogden Farm" for ten years, during which time he wrote "Ogden Farm Papers" for the "American Agriculturist." He founded the American Jersey Cattle Club, and for many years edited the "Herd Book." He gave up his farming in 1877, and devoted the rest of his life chiefly to sanitary engineering. His work in connection with the sewerage of Ogdensburg, Saratoga, Memphis, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Providence, Columbus, Washington, Omaha and other cities was of great importance; and to most of these enterprises he devoted pamphlets or addresses. In his latest years his thoughts were engaged upon a scheme for the drainage of the great New Jersey flats, between New York and Newark.

555

In 1895 he was appointed, by Mayor Strong, Commissioner of Street Cleaning for the City of New York; and his great knowledge, experience, and skill, together with the independence of all demands of party which he courageously maintained, enabled him to reorganize the department, clean the streets of New York, and keep them clean, in a way which made his administration epoch-making in American municipal history. In 1898, soon after his retirement from this office, he went to Havana as special Commissioner of the United States Government to investigate the sanitary condition of the city and devise an adequate system of sanitation. In Havana he contracted the yellow fever, of which he died in New York, October 29, 1898, four days after his arrival home.

Colonel Waring was a prolific writer, and his writings had a wide range. Many of those devoted to sewerage and sanitary engineering are of a technical character, which confines their interest chiefly to the special student; but in this field also he wrote much which commanded public attention and interest. "Draining for Profit and Draining for Health," "The Sanitary Drainage of Houses and Towns," and "Modern Methods of Sewage Disposal" are among such writings. His Reports upon the Social Statistics of Cities, prepared for the 10th census (1880) are of high value. His book upon "Street Cleaning and the Disposal of a City's Waste," published after his retirement from the Street Cleaning Department of New York City, is the record of his unique service in that office, treating the subject of the cleanliness of cities both upon its sanitary and moral sides; and this book will remain one of Colonel Waring's chief monuments. To the subject of agriculture he devoted such books as "Elements of Agriculture" and "The Book of the Farm." He translated from the Dutch a valuable work on "Aerial Navigation." "Whip and Spur" is a collection of stories drawn from his war experiences. He devoted a little volume to "Village Improvements and Farm Villages." To the first series of "Half-Moon Papers" on Historic New York he contributed in collaboration with Mr. G. E. Hill a valuable paper on "Old Wells and Water-courses of the Island of Manhattan." "The Tyrol and the Skirt of the Alps" and "A Farmer's Vacation" are interesting records of travel. The latter volume covers experiences in Holland, France, and the Channel Islands, in 1873; and from this is taken the interesting paper on "Old Jersey," reprinted in the present leaflet. It is accompanied in the volume by papers upon Guernsey and Sark; and no American has written more interesting accounts of the Channel Islands. The student interested in the history and life of these islands will like to compare Colonel Waring's account with the works of English and French writers upon the subject, to which reference may be found at the end of the article on the Channel Islands in the Encyclopædia Brittannica and elsewhere. Colonel Waring's paper upon Jersey and its agriculture is a good illustration of the enthusiasm which he felt always and everywhere for everything relating to agriculture. For an account of the remarkable progress in intensive agriculture in Jersey and Guernsey since Colonel Waring wrote in 1873, the student is referred to Kropotkin's "Fields, Factories, and Workshops." To the American, Jersey possesses a special interest in having given name to one of our own States. New Jersey was so named because Sir George Carteret, one of the original English proprietors, was a Jerseyman.

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